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DICTIONARY

OF

DOCTRINAL AND HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

EDITED BY THE REV.

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A TABULAR GUIDE TO THE SYSTEMATIC READING OF THIS DICTIONARY

THEOLOGY

Fathers
Rule of Faith
Creeds
Apostles' Creed
Nicene Creed
Quicunque vult
Theology, Speculative and Dogmatic
Eclecticism
Syncretism
Neo-Platonism
Antioch, School of
Origenism
Alexandria, School of
Augustinianism
Scholastic Theology
Mysticism
Thomists
Scotists
Conceptualism
Theosophy
Consent of Antiquity
Analogy of Faith
Economy
Disciplina Arcani
Reserve
[*See also* ERRORS, HERESIES, *and* SECTS]

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

Revelation
Scripture
Word, Written
Bible
Canon of Scripture
Antilegomena
Deutero-Canonical
Old Testament
Septuagint
Talmud
Targum
Mishna
Hillel
Cabbala
Haggadah
Halacah
Midrash
New Testament
Gospels
Diatessaron
Vatican Codex
Alexandrine Codex
Sinaitic Codex
Versions
Peschito
Vernacular
Canons, Ammonian or Eusebian
Inspiration
Elements, Divine and Human
Genuineness
Authenticity
Hermeneutics
Interpretation
Literal Interpretation
Metaphorical
Anagogical
Allegorical
Mystical
Tropological
Mythical
Accommodation
Exegesis
Criticism
Criticism, Comparative
Parable
Prophecy
Weeks, Prophetic

DOCTRINES OF THE CREED

God
Theism
Nature, Divine
Incomprehensible
Jehovah
Elohim
Adonai
Lord
Sabaoth
Almighty
Attributes
Glory
Shechinah
Monarchia
Trinity
Circumincession
Theandric Operation
Communicatio Idiomatum
Creation
Providence
Word, The
A and Ω
Messiah
Christ
Jesus
Ἰχθύς
Eternal Generation
Hypostasis
Union, Hypostatic
Homoousion
Divinity of Christ
Pre-existence of Christ
Incarnation
Nativity of Christ
"Ignorance" of Christ
Transfiguration
Passion of Christ
Death of Christ
Expiation
Atonement
Descent into Hell
Resurrection of Christ
Ascension
Session of Christ
Propitiation
Vicarious Sacrifice
Satisfaction
Reconciliation
Redemption
Universal Redemption
Mediation
Intercession of Christ
Presence of Christ
Christology
Spirit, The Holy
Paraclete
Procession of the Holy Ghost
Filioque
Church
Congregation
Body, Mystical
Notes of the Church
Unity of the Church
Catholic
Authority of the Church
Indefectibility of the Church
Saint
Communion of Saints
Intercession of Saints
Absolution
Invocation of Saints
Intermediate State
Paradise
Limbus
Hades
Purgatory
Resurrection of the Body
Body, Spiritual
Antichrist
Second Advent
Chiliasm
Millennium
Last Judgment
Everlasting Punishment
Restoration of the Creature
New Creation
Beatific Vision
Heaven
Hell

ANGELS

Angels
Guardian Angel

THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

Mary
Immaculate Conception
Mother of God
Theotokos
Deipara
Perpetual Virginity
Assumption
Mariolatry

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHRISTIANITY

Infinite
Eternity
Evil
Matter
Substance
Οὐσία
Personality
Natural Religion
Revealed Religion
Nature
Nature, Laws of
Supernatural
Miracles
Life
Light
Nature, Human
Body, Natural
Blood
Head
Heart
Soul
Creationism
Traducianism
Pre-existence of Soul
Spirit
Image of God
Fall of Man
Original Sin
Death
Damnation
Wrath of God
Free Will
Sin
Sacrifice
Grace
Faith
Justification
Sanctification
Prayer
Intercessory Prayer
Fasting
Affections
Illumination
Enthusiasm
Doubt
Truth

THE SACRAMENTS

Sacraments
Mysteries
Means of Grace
Matter, Sacramental
Opus Operatum
Intention
Character
Baptism
Initiation
Regeneration
Infant Baptism
Lay Baptism
Immersion

Affusion
Trine Affusion
Aspersion
Exorcism
Sponsors
Catechumen
Competentes
Neophyte
Clinic
Perfecti
Chrism
Confirmation
Eucharist
Communion, Holy
Lord's Supper
Mass
Missa
Teleion
Real Presence
Representation
Concomitance
Transubstantiation
Consubstantiation
Impanation
Capharnaitism
Ubiquity
Orders, Holy
Penance
Penitence
Repentance
Attrition
Contrition
Exomologesis
Confession of Sins
Auricular Confession
Matrimony, Holy
Marriage
Banns
Degrees, Forbidden
Consanguinity
Affinity
Affinity, Spiritual
Divorce
Unction, Extreme
Euchelaion

THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH

Hierarchy
Holy Orders
Episcopacy
Apostolical Succession
Jurisdiction, Spiritual
Keys, Power of the
Clergy
Apostle
Patriarch
Archbishop
Bishop
Diocese
Chorepiscopi
Suffragan
Archimandrite
Archdeacon
Priest
Parish
Cure of Souls
Pastor
Parson
Deacon
Subdeacon
Orders, Minor
Readers
Deaconess
Vocation
Mission
Celibacy of the Clergy
Re-Ordination
Ἀπολελυμένος

THE LAITY

Faithful, The
Christians
Idiotæ
Laity
Lay Priesthood
Lay Co-operation
Benefit of Clergy

THE LITURGIES AND RITES OF THE CHURCH

Liturgy
Ambrosian Rite
Mozarabic Rite
Ritual
Adoration
Worship
Ceremony
Kneeling
Benediction
Anointing
Imposition of Hands
Ablution
Hymns
Agapæ
Hours
Compline
Purification of Women
Burial of the Dead
Prayer for the Dead
Diptychs
Beatification
Canonization
Missal
Breviary
Euchologion
Menæa
Menology
Martyrology
Gradual
Comes
Anaphora
Ordinary of the Mass
Missa Catechumenorum
Missa Fidelium
Missa Præsanctificatorum
Missa Sicca
Prothesis
Altar
Lord's Table
Wafer
Azyme
Wave-Offering
Litany
Introit
Gloria in Excelsis
Trisagion
Collect
Offertory
Kiss of Peace
Ter Sanctus
Oblation
Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist
Lord's Prayer
Embolismus
Elevation
Intinction
Reservation
Antidoron
Invitatory
Antiphon
Canticle
Benedicite
Gloria Patri
Ave Maria
Kyrie Eleëson
Hosanna
Hallel
Alleluia
Amen
Bema
Ambon
Lessons
Capitulum
Preaching
Homily
Postil
Hermeneutæ
Bidding of Prayers
Lavipedium
Cross

CHURCH SEASONS

Year
Calendar
Annual Commemoration
Festivals
Fast-Days
Jejunia quatuor temporum
Vigil
Sabbath
Lord's Day
Sunday
Advent
Christmas
Circumcision
Epiphany
Bethphany
Candlemas
Annunciation
Septuagesima
Sexagesima
Quinquagesima
Lent
Quadragesima
Ash-Wednesday
Caput Jejunii
Cœna Domini
Passover
Easter
Paschal Controversy
Quartodeciman
Annotine Easter
Rogations
Ascension
Pentecost
Whitsun Day
Trinity Sunday

CHURCH HISTORY

Chronological Tables
Popes, Catalogue of
Councils
Synods
Convocations
Fathers, Apostolic
Apology
Fathers
Martyrs
Paganism
Persecutions of the Church
Recognitions, Clementine
Hellenists
Paschal Controversy
Image Worship
Iconoclasm
Missions
Dark Ages
Monasticism
Jesuits
Gallicanism
Interim
Adiaphoristic Controversy
Pragmatic Sanction
Huguenots
Jansenism
Supremacy, Royal
Articles
Puritanism
Nonconformity
Dissenters
Nonjurors
Toleration
Erastianism
Latitudinarianism
Evangelical

CHURCH OF ROME

Popes, Catalogue of
Ultramontanism
Exemption
Provisions
Unigenitus
Supremacy, Papal
Romanism
Protestantism
Propaganda
Popery
Pardons
Antipopes
Annates
Concordat
In Cœna Domini
Cardinal
Decretals, False
Decretals
Encyclical
Interdict
Ineffabilis Deus
Indulgence
Bull
Brief
Chirograph
Reservation of Benefices
Reserved Cases

CHRISTIAN ETHICS

Morality, Natural
Law, Moral
Law of Christ
Grace
Virtues, Theological
Conscience
Casuistry
Sin
Actual Sin
Mortal Sin
Venial Sin
Vice
Temptation
Works
Merit
Supererogation
Love
Obedience
Alms
Restitution
Oath
Adjuration
Abjuration
Matrimony, Holy
Bigamy
Polygamy
Adultery

THE ASCETIC LIFE

Counsels of Perfection
Contemplation
Mortification
Asceticism
Fasting
Xerophagy
Cenobites
Monasticism
Virginity
Widows
Agapetæ
Nuns

ECCLESIASTICAL LAW AND DISCIPLINE

Jurisdiction, Ecclesiastical
Regale
Law, Ecclesiastical
Canon Law
Civil Law

Apostolic Canons
Apostolic Constitutions
Constitutions of Clarendon
Capitulars
Foundations, Ecclesiastical
Consecration
Sacrilege
Secularization
Blasphemy
Benefice
Tithes
Simony
Monition
Irregularity
Suspension
Deposition
Degradation
Consistory
Ordinary
Official
Visitation
Commendatory Letters
Dispensation
Discipline, Ecclesiastical
Excommunication
Anathema
Maranatha
Ἀφορισμός
Lapsed
Libellatici
Flentes
Energumeni
Audientes
Genuflectentes
Consistentes
Libelli Pacis
Articulus Mortis

ERRORS, HERESIES, AND SECTS

Fetichism
Magic
Zabianism
Polytheism
Atheism
Deism
Buddhism
Sabians
Judaism
Apostasy
Infidelity
Heresy
Schism
Scepticism
Fanaticism
Dualism
Pantheism
Fatalism
Materialism
Spinozism
Rationalism
Positivism
Nicolaitans
Cerinthians
Ebionites
Encratites
Docetæ
Basilidians
Marcionites
Gnosticism
Emanation
Æon
Demiurge
Anthropomorphism
Metempsychosis
Manichæism
Montanism
Priscillianists
Re-Baptism
Monarchianism
Praxeanism
Patripassianism
Sabellianism
Paulianists
Arianism
Semi-Arianism
Homoiousion
Anomœans
Eunomians
Apollinarianism
Macedonianism
Eutychianism
Monophysitism
Monothelitism
Nestorianism
Novatianism
Cathari
Meletian Schism
Donatism
Pelagianism
Semi-Pelagianism
Adoptionism
Paulicianism
Waldenses
Albigenses
Lollards
Lutheranism
Augsburg Confession
Basle Confession
Belgic Confession
Remonstrants
Sacramentarians
Ubiquity
Solifidianism
Zwinglianism
Anabaptism
Antinomianism
Calvinism
Decrees, Eternal
Imputed Righteousness
Five Points
Final Perseverance
Calvinistic Confessions
Lambeth Articles
Election
Indefectible Grace
Unitarianism
Socinianism
Arminianism
Congregationalists
Antitrinitarianism
Sublapsarianism
Supralapsarianism
Pietism
Quietism
Quakerism
Moravianism
Swedenborgianism
Methodism
Mormonism
Universalism

EVIL

Satan
Abaddon
Baal
Evil
Sin
Temptation
Demons: Demoniacal Possession
Antichrist

A

A AND Ω. The first and last letters of the Greek alphabet are used in a theological sense to express the comprehensiveness of God's existence in relation to created things and persons [Rev. i. 8, xxi. 6, xxii. 13]. In this sense the expression is a Hebraism already represented in the Old Testament [Isa. xli. 4, xliv. 6], and otherwise known to the Jews, who employed Aleph and Tau, the first and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet, to express absolute completeness and perfection. So "Abraham and Sarah" are said to have "performed all the law from Aleph to Tau," and "he that walks in integrity is as if he performed all the law from Aleph to Tau." [Lightfoot, *Harmony of the N. T. Rev. of St. John*, vol. iii. 1822.] The word אֵת, as comprehending all the letters, was also used by them as a name of the Shechinah. The Syriac Version of the Revelation renders, *I am Olaph, also Tau*, while the Vulgate retains the Greek letters, Ego sum A et Ω. In the original Greek the definite article is prefixed, and as the terms of contrast are not the *Omicron* and the *Omega*, but the *Alpha* as the *first* and the *Omega* as the *last* letter, the more correct rendering would be, "I am *the* Alpha and *the* Omega," *the one sole* origin and end of all existence.

The meaning intended in the several passages where the formula occurs is apparently that the eternal being, immutability, omnipotence, absolute perfections and truth of the self-existent God, "of Whom, and through Whom, and to Whom, are all things" [Rom. xi. 36], Who is "the First and the Last, and beside" Whom "there is no God" [Isa. xliv. 6], are pledged to the fulfilment of the Revelation given through St. John in an epistolary form to the Seven Churches of Asia, as the representatives of the Church universal; that revelation relating specially to the Second Advent of Christ, and generally to the existence and chequered fortunes of the Church until the final consummation of all things. God, as He Himself is, the Creator and Author of all things, whether old or new, proposes, declares, promises, and will infallibly bring His counsels and promises to pass.

The general tradition of the Church assigns these symbols to our Lord. Commentators, however, are not agreed as to the Person of the Blessed Trinity who is speaking in the different passages of the Revelation. Cornelius a Lapide takes i. 8 (and apparently xxi. 6), of the Godhead in general as common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, referring in proof of his interpretation to v. 4, to which might be added Isa. xliv. 6, "Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel, *and* His Redeemer the Lord of hosts; *I* am the First," &c. Bengel and Alford understand the speaker to be God the Father, while St. Gregory Nazienzen, St. Athanasius, Ruffinus, Wordsworth, and Trench interpret it of the Son. The last writer grounds his view specially upon the words ὁ ἐρχόμενος, "which is in some sort a proper name of our Lord" [Matt. xi. 3; Heb. x. 37; John i. 15, 27; cf. Mal. iii. 1; Hab. ii. 3]. On the other hand, in xxii. 13, there seems a general agreement that Jesus Christ is the speaker. If, then, we compare this passage with i. 17, 18, and ii. 8, it is clear that our Lord, by applying these words to Himself, claims all the attributes of the Godhead, as being the Source, the Upholder and End of all things, more especially the attribute of coeternity with the Everlasting Father.

The letters Alpha and Omega, sometimes written from right to left, are found together with XP in the Roman catacombs and upon the houses in the deserted Christian cities of Syria near the Orontes. It is also said that in the times of Arianism they were inscribed upon the tombs of the orthodox as a protest against that heresy. They found their way too into ecclesiastical Latin poetry. Thus Prudentius, *Cathem.* ix. 10, writes,—

> Corde natus ex Parentis ante mundi exordium
> Alpha et Ω cognominatus, Ipse fons et clausula
> Omnium quæ sunt, fuerunt, quæque post futura sunt,

which was adopted in the Use of York as the

Hymn for Compline, and in the Hereford Use for Prime during the Octave of the Nativity. The Sarum Hymn for Compline at Whitsuntide has

Alpha, Caput Finisque simul, vocitatur et est Ω,

and the magnificent hymn of Hildebert, Ad Tres Personas SS. Trinitatis, commences

Alpha et Ω magne Deus
Heli, Heli, Deus meus.

[Cornelius a Lapide *in Apocalypsim.* Bengelii *Gnomon.* Archb. Trench, *Comm. on the Epistles to the Seven Churches,* and *Sacred Latin Poetry,* pp. 323-325. Bishop Wordsworth's and Dean Alford's *Greek Testaments.* Maitland, *Church in the Catacombs* (1847). *Hymnale secundum Usum Sarum, &c.,* Littlemore, 1850.]

ABADDON is a Hebrew word meaning "destruction" [Job xxxi. 12]. In Job xxvi. 6, the Chaldee paraphrast renders it by the "house of destruction," or Hades; in xxviii. 22, he places the "angel of death" in apposition with the word. The cognate form of "Abdana" occurs not unfrequently in the Targums for "destruction;" and one of the names for Christian schools in the Talmud is "Be' Abidan." In the N. T. it is the personification of Hades, Rev. ix. 11, king and "angel of the bottomless pit;" where it is interpreted "in the Greek tongue Apollyon," and by the Vulgate, "Latine nomen habens Exterminans." Abaddon is one with Asmodeus, "Malca de Shêdê," king of the devils, as he is styled in Targums and Talmud; one also with Sammael, the angel of death, who in form of serpent deceived Eve. All these notions were developed at Babylon and brought back with the Jews after the Captivity. Evil spirits are referred in Rabbinical writings to a common origin with ourselves, either by a simultaneous act of creation, or by generation from Adam through the spectral Lilith; "Adam's erste Frau" [Göthe]. The Jewish trifling on this subject may be seen at more than sufficient length in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Jud.;* Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm. v. Asham;* Smith's *Dict.,* art. *Asmodeus.* The case is, that as the divine attributes were personified in the various grades and Sephiroth of the angelic hierarchy, so human vices and debasing passions were demonized under various grotesque names during the Captivity. Asmodeus has been identified with the spirit of impurity, which would suit Abaddon in the context, Rev. ix. 11. The otherwise ἀβασίλευτον γένος [Prov. xxx. 27] of locusts, as the ἐπιθυμίαι of the human heart, may very justly be derived from the smoke of the bottomless pit [Rev. ix. 3]. Abaddon in this passage may be taken as a synonym for Lucifer, who "as lightning fell from heaven" [Rev. ix. 1; Luke x. 18], *i.e.* Satan.

ABBA. A Syriac word signifying Father, and expressive of loving reverence. Our Lord applies the designation to the First Person of the Blessed Trinity when addressing Him in prayer [Mark xiv. 36]. St. Paul does the same when speaking of the relation of adopted children in which Christians stand towards Him [Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6]. Selden and other late writers allege that the Jews had a law which forbad bond-servants to use the term father to their masters; and that hence the Apostle is using a term which was especially expressive of a relation of liberty. In the churches of Palestine and Egypt the word is used as an episcopal title, hence no doubt it came to be used in the West also in the form of Abbot. [Abuna.]

ABJURATION. A solemn act by which a person renounces any heresy in which he has believed, or of which he has been accused. No formal provision for such a renunciation of error exists in the formularies of the Church of England. The Roman Church has a modern authorized form of Abjuration which is ordered to be said before Confession, in the presence of the Confessor and two or three witnesses. In substance it is "I receive all the definitions of the Council of Trent, abjure such and such heresies, and wish to remain in the unity of the Holy Roman Church. So help me God and these holy Gospels."

ABLUTION. A liturgical term for any ceremonial washing of the person, or of the sacred vessels.

[I.] Of the Person. 1. In the Eastern Church there is a solemn ablution of the newly baptized, which is performed on the octave of the day of Baptism, for the purpose of washing away the Chrism which has been used in Confirmation. 2. The well-known ceremony of washing the feet of the poor on Maundy-Thursday as a sign of humility and love. [Lavipedium.] 3. The ablution of the celebrant's hands before and after the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. In the Sarum rite the first of these takes place immediately after the offertory, and "ad dextrum cornu altaris," the priest saying, "Cleanse me, O Lord, from every defilement of mind and body, that I may be able with purity to perform the holy work of the Lord." The second is for the purpose of removing any portion of the consecrated elements that may adhere to the fingers, and follows the Communion.

[II.] Of the Sacred Vessels. The ablution of these after Communion is a liturgical custom which has for its object the reverent consumption of every portion of the consecrated elements. According to the Sarum rite, the ablution is two-fold—first, with wine and water, and secondly, with wine alone. According to the Roman rite, it is three-fold—first, with wine; secondly, with wine and water; and thirdly, with water alone. The celebrant alone drinks the ablutions, in either case. He also rinses his fingers in them (independently of the second washing of the hands); and it is a modern English custom to rinse the paten with one or both of the ablutions used for the chalice. The Sarum rubric also directs—"Cum vero aliquis sacerdos debet bis celebrare in uno die, tunc ad primam missam non debet percipere ablutionem ullam, sed ponere in sacrario, vel in vase mundo usque ad finem alterius missæ; et tunc sumatur utraque ablutio."

ABSOLUTE. This word is theologically opposed to "relative" and "conditional." For ex-

ample, [1.] Divine goodness is absolute and not relative goodness, being perfect and infinite, without any admixture of imperfection, and without relation to any standard of comparison. [2.] The grace of Holy Baptism is absolute and not conditional when no bar is placed in the way of its reception, as in the case of infants.

ABSOLUTION. [1.] The sacerdotal act of forgiving a penitent's sins in the Name of God. [2.] The legal release of an excommunicated person from the penalties attached to excommunication. The ecclesiastical use of the word is to be traced to Holy Scripture, where our Lord is found giving a spiritual sense to the idea of unbinding or unloosing; as may be seen by the comparison of John xi. 44; Luke xiii. 16; Matt. xvi. 19, and xviii. 18. The word was also familiar to the early Christians of Europe as an official term for "release" or "acquittal" in the Roman law.

Scriptural statements respecting the forgiveness of sins show that such an institution as that of Absolution formed an integral portion of the Christian system as it was revealed in and by our Lord Jesus Christ. Not, indeed, that it was a new institution, for it was recognised under the Jewish system, and the type of its very fullest development is recorded in the Old Testament, where a confessing penitent says, "I have sinned against the Lord," and an absolving priest replies, "The Lord also hath put away thy sin" [2 Sam. xii. 13]. But in the Christian system all things were made new by derivation of grace from the Person of our Lord, and by the operation of His human nature in the work of Mediation and Intercession. And in accordance with this new system, our Lord took pains (if we may venture so to say) to set forth His own Person as the fountain of absolution, and to make His apostles understand that they were the channels through which its stream flowed forth from His Manhood to the Church at large. When a paralyzed man was brought to Him for cure, He uttered the startling words, "Son, thy sins be forgiven thee;" on which the Scribes began "reasoning in their hearts, Why doth this man thus speak blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God only? And immediately when Jesus perceived in His spirit that they so reasoned within themselves, He said unto them, Why reason ye these things in your hearts? Whether is it easier to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, take up thy bed and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins (He saith to the sick of the palsy) I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed and go thy way into thine house" [Mark ii. 5–11]. Thus He illustrated His power of loosing from the bonds of sin by an act of His power of loosing from the bonds of a prostrating bodily infirmity, and showed to the incredulous cavillers that not only was there a Divine Power in heaven to absolve, but also a Human person "on earth," the "Son of Man," the head of the new system.

Our Lord, as Head of His Church, being thus the Fountain of Absolution, He endowed the Apostles with a capacity to become channels for the conveyance of the gift. On two occasions [Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18] He had promised to give them the power of binding and loosing in heaven by their acts of binding and loosing on earth; which was equivalent to a declaration that their absolutions [see also EXCOMMUNICATION] would be ratified by God. This power He actually gave to them when He was about to ascend into heaven; and in doing so he again made it unmistakeably evident that He was the original source of the absolving power bestowed. "Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained" [John xx. 21–23]. They were to minister the virtue of His Touch by means of Baptism, of His Presence by means of the Holy Eucharist, and of His all-forgiving Word, by means of Absolution. And as His eye could look forward into the darkness of the future, and behold a continuous succession of sinners needing forgiveness, so did His wisdom ordain a succession of ministers to give absolution; and he added the same continuous force to the commission to absolve as He added to the commission to baptize, by saying, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" [Matt. xxviii. 20].

Respecting the form which was practically given to this commission of absolution by the Apostles there has been much controversy. Some have contended that the early Church knew no other form of absolution than that of readmitting her penitents to the participation of the Holy Eucharist after satisfactory evidence had been given of penitence by confession and submission to penitential discipline. But no writer of the early ages, nor down to the sixteenth century, ever identified our Lord's commission to forgive sins with the administration of the Holy Eucharist; nor did they ever associate the continued administration of it with "the remission of sins," for which our Lord declared that His Blood was shed [Matt. xxvi. 28]. In the one great gift of Christ's Body and Blood all other spiritual gifts are doubtless, in a sense, contained; but this concentrated power of the Holy Eucharist does not by any means exclude other ordinances for the bestowal of spiritual gifts, and does not exclude that of absolution for the remission of sins.

Upon the authority of Morinus [*De pœnit.* viii. 2, xiii. 8] it is frequently asserted that the Church used no other form of absolution than that of a prayer for 1200 years, and that the indicative form "I absolve thee," was first adopted in the twelfth century. St. Thomas Aquinas writes of the *indicative* form in the thirteenth century as if it had always been in use [*Opuscul.* xxii.], and he certainly could not have so written if the change had been recently made. Goar also [*Euchолog. Græc.* p. 673, n.] asserts his belief that it had been used from primitive ages. And notwithstanding the learning of Morinus, many

other learned men consider that the evidence adduced by him is insufficient to prove the *precatory* form to have been the only form used for 1200 years. Probably the truth is, that in the *public* services of the Church precatory forms were always used, and that an indicative form was used for the absolution of individual penitents, as is the case in the Church of England.[1] The precatory form, "The Lord absolve thee," etc., is alone used in the Eastern Church; but, notwithstanding the adherence of Orientals to ancient usages, this does not prove it to have been the primitive form, for they use an analogous form in baptizing, "*N* the servant of God is baptized," instead of the ministerial form "I baptize thee," which is undoubtedly primitive.

The *precatory* or *optative* form of absolution is illustrated by the general forms used in the English Church after the general confessions at the Holy Communion, Mattins, and Evensong. It must be regarded as an authoritative act of the Church, sown broadcast to become an individualized pardon of sin wherever there is good soil in which it can take root.[2] The circumstances necessitate some reserve in the terms used. The *indicative* form is intended to be used after a particular confession of particular sins, which has been preceded by a searching examination of the conscience. Both the confession and the absolution are here individualized at once, and therefore no reserve in the terms of the latter is necessary, beyond that which distinguishes the absolution as a ministerial act done on behalf of God, in whose Name it is given. [Confession, Penance. Morinus *de Pœnitentia;* St. Thom. Aquin. *Opuscul.* xxii.; Maskell *on Absolution.*]

ABSTINENCE. Diminution of bodily nourishment for the purpose of self-discipline; a mitigated form, therefore, of fasting. It is to be regulated by the circumstances of the individual case, such as the necessities of health, courtesy towards others, and general rules of sound sense and reason. [St. Thom. Aq., quæst. 146, art. i.; Asceticism.]

As regards what is called "Total Abstinence," it is to be noted that by the ancient custom of the Church any man who has a natural abhorrence of wine, or cannot take it without danger, is incapable of receiving priest's orders. Analogy would make a vow of *Total* Abstinence inconsistent with the office of the Christian priesthood.

For the application of the word in a sense that applies to married clergy, see Celibacy.

ABSTRACT. A theological term derived from logicians, and denoting quality as distinguished from and independent of person. It is opposed to "Concrete," but is often used for it in Holy Scripture, as when circumcised persons or Jews are called "the Circumcision," or the captive Jews "the Captivity." It is often, also, used for the purpose of augmenting an idea; as when God is said to be Wisdom, Goodness, Justice, Holiness, rather than wise, good, just, or holy. So Christ is called our Salvation, Redemption, the Truth, the Life.

ABUNA. The title of the metropolitan of Abyssinia. It is etymologically equivalent to *Abbas* and *Papa*. The Abuna is nominated by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria.

ACCIDENTS. This term of ancient philosophy has been appropriated by theologians to express the sensible qualities of the consecrated elements in the Holy Eucharist. Transubstantiation involves the principle that the natural elements of bread and wine cease to exist, but that the size, colour, appearance, and taste of them yet remain. These latter are thus called the "accidents," or "species," of the bread and wine, the only substance being that which results from the work of God in causing the elements to become the Body and Blood of Christ. The application of the term is rather a scholastic refuge from a logical difficulty than an explanation of the mystery. [St. Thom. Aq., iii. quæst. 75, art. ii. and 77, art. i.; *Concil. Trident. De SS. Euch.* can. ii.; *Catech. Trident.* ii. 44, 45. Transubstantiation.]

ACCOMMODATION. A term used to express the manner in which Divine communications are adapted to the understanding, habits, and circumstances of those to whom they are made. In Patristic theology it is also called οἰκονομία (economy), and συγκατάβασις (condescension); and modern writers have defined two modes of such adaptation, [1.] the *accommodation of form*, [2.] the *accommodation of matter*.

[1.] The first of these, accommodation of form, is that adaptation of Divine Truth which consists in the representation of it under figurative or parabolical language: as, for example, when our Lord taught by direct parables, or by such language as "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none," &c. [Matt. xii. 43]. Such also is the language used respecting God, who is incomprehensible and has neither parts nor passions, and yet is represented as sitting on a throne, as beholding men with His eyes, and as repenting, being angry, jealous, and so forth. [Anthropomorphism.] Such accommodation does not misrepresent the truth, but puts it into a form which represents it more vividly to the human understanding. So the Incarnation itself was by some of the Fathers called the Economy, as bringing the unknowable God within the range of human knowledge. Without such an accommodation, the revelation of some Divine truths would be impossible: but it is important to remember that no communication from God, whatever the language in which it is made, can possibly be inconsistent with truth.

[2.] The accommodation of matter is defined as positive or negative. *Negative* is when truth is imparted gradually, with a proportion of re-

[1] The rubric before the Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick, as it stood in the Prayer Book of 1549, ordered, "And the same form of absolution shall be used in all private confessions," which has been the constant practice of later times.

[2] This use of it is very clearly illustrated in the "Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea," by a rubric preceding the Confession.

serve suited to the circumstances of those to whom it is communicated; or as when a law is not enforced fully, but with relaxations adapted in a like manner to circumstances. Thus St. Paul feeds his converts with milk until they are able to bear strong meat [1 Cor. iii. 2]; and the indissoluble character of marriage was not strictly enforced upon the Jews because of the "hardness of their hearts" [Matt. xix. 8]. *Positive* accommodation is the deliberate adoption of untruths for the sake of making truth intelligible, or the adoption of wrong customs for the sake of winning persons to right ones. This is fundamentally inconsistent with the character of God, of Divine Revelation, and of our Lord as Man. And being so, no explanation of any difficult passages of Holy Scripture which is founded upon the principle of "positive accommodation" can be admitted by the Christian theologian.

ACEPHALI. Certain early schismatics so named from ἀ and κεφαλή, without a head or chief. The name has been used in a very general way, but the persons chiefly indicated by it are:— [1.] Those who refused to follow St. Cyril of Alexandria, or John the Patriarch of Antioch, at the condemnation of Nestorius by the Council of Ephesus. [2.] Certain heretics of the fifth century, whose principles were similar to those of the Eutychians. They were condemned by the Synod of Constantinople, A.D. 536. [3.] Priests who refuse to acknowledge the authority of their bishop, and bishops who refuse to acknowledge that of their metropolitans. [Eutychians.]

ACTUAL GRACE is distinguished from habitual grace as that which God gives to Christians for the purpose of doing some action acceptable to Him; habitual grace being an inherent quality making them acceptable to Him, such as the grace possessed by baptized infants. The one is grace combined with will, the other grace independent of will.

ACTUAL SIN is in a similar way distinguished from Original sin; the consent of the will, and the power to discriminate between good and evil being required. [Sin.]

ADIAPHORISTIC CONTROVERSY. A fanciful name given to the dispute about ecclesiastical customs not ordained in Holy Scripture, which agitated for a long time the followers of Luther and Melanchthon. The latter comprehended under things indifferent [ἀδιάφορα] almost all the traditions and ceremonies of the Church; being disposed to give them up for the sake of concord. The opposite opinion was defended by Flacius Illyricus, Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, and his followers long continued in controversy with those of Melanchthon; the two parties being called Philippists and Flacianists. [Interim.]

ADJURATION. The binding of a person by a solemn invocation of the Divine Name, or of something sacred from its association with God. In the one case it is *express*, as "I adjure thee by the living God," or "in the Name of God:" in the other it is *implicit*, as "I adjure thee by the gospel of Christ." It differs from an oath in not calling God to witness, and also in the fact that an oath is not in any way binding upon a person until that person has taken it.

An adjuration can only properly be used when it is used with great reverence, and for a proper purpose. It can seldom be necessary or right for a private person to use any adjuration; but the official use of it as a ministerial act is recognised in Holy Scripture: Matt. xxvi. 63, 64; Acts xix. 13. It is also recognised by the Church in the Exorcism which precedes Baptism in all ancient baptismal offices.

ADONAI. Adonai, Lord, was the term substituted by the Jews in reading Scripture for Jehovah, from fear of incurring guilt under Exod. xx. 7. The Name Jehovah was uttered only in the sanctuary by the priests pronouncing the blessing, and by the high priest within the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement [Maimon. *More Nevochim*, i. 61], and the true pronunciation was said to have been lost. The vowels with which it is pointed do not really belong to the word, but to Adonai; when Adonai, therefore, occurs in juxtaposition with Jehovah in the sacred text, the vowels assumed by the latter are no longer those of Adonai, but of Elohim, which then becomes the substitute, *e.g.*, Jehovih. Philo terms Jehovah the "Incommunicable Name," and even Maimonides, when he has occasion to mention it, does not venture to write it otherwise than by spelling it as the "Shem Hammephorash," the distinctly articulated, Yod, He, Vau, He. The LXX. invariably express the word by the Greek equivalent for Adonai, viz., κύριος, shewing that it was the recognised substitute for the Sacred Name when the Old Testament was translated into Greek. Adonai being a proper name and not an appellative, is always anarthrous, as is Jehovah; all other names for the Deity being affected by the article. The plural form is the expression of majesty as Rashi says [Is. xix. 3]; the longer vowel Kamets being substituted for Pathach to distinguish it from Adonai, "my lords" [Gesen. *Lex.*] In the Cabbala the combination "Jehovah Adonai" is isodynamical with "Amen," the letters in either case summing, as Hebrew numerals, 91. Adonai is termed by Irenæus *nominabile*, i.e., ῥητόν as contrasted with the ἄῤῥητον, "Jehovah." [*Hær.* ii.]

ADOPTION (υἱοθεσία). A term of Roman law taken into the theological vocabulary of the Christian Church by St. Paul when writing to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians [Rom. viii. 15, 23, ix. 4; Gal. iv. 5; Eph. i. 5], and ever since used with loving reverence to signify the relation of Christians to their Heavenly Father. By the Roman law, adoption was effected by a formal act through the process properly called by the name, when a child still under the authority of its natural parent was made over to another person to whom he was henceforth to be as a son; or else by the process of Arrogation, when one who was his own master was taken into sonship by his own consent.[1] Thus, in the Christian

[1] "Cum in alienam familiam inque liberorum locum extranei sumuntur, aut per prætorem fit, aut per populum. Quod per prætorem fit, *adoptio* dicitur; quod per popu

sense, God makes a covenant with the children of men by the force of which they become "children of God, and if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ."

The instrumental cause of adoption in the Scriptural sense, is the Incarnation of our Lord, by which human Nature was so sanctified as to be once more in the relation to God which is expressed in Luke iii. 38, where it is said of Adam, "which was the son of God." The human Nature which our Lord took of His human mother was thus spoken of by the angel,—"that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" [Luke i. 35]; and St. Paul shews that this relation of sonship thus acquired by the human Nature of Christ possessed a capacity of extension: "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" [Gal. iv. 4, 5]. But this capacity of Christ's sonship was not at once extended to all by the act of its acquisition in His own individual person. His Incarnation became the instrumental cause of adoption, but the formal act by which each individual person is adopted as a child of God is the act of baptism, in which they receive "the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father" [Rom. viii. 15]: "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ" [Gal. iii. 26, 27].

It must be remembered that adoption is wholly the work of God. No act of man's own could make him a son of God; but whosoever is baptized being made a member of Christ by God's blessing following on the means used, they thus "put on Christ," and in their union with Him are adopted into the sonship of God.

ADOPTIONISM. The heretical opinion that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Son of God the Father by adoption. It is opposed to the Catholic dogma that He is the "only begotten" Son of God, as stated in the Nicene Creed.

The adoptionist theory was not unknown to the early Church, being refuted by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, in the age succeeding the heresy of Arius. Thus, St. Cyril says that Christ "is the Son of God by nature, begotten of the Father, and not by adoption" [*Catech. Lect.* xi.]; St. Hilary that "the Son of God is not a false God, or God by adoption, or mere metaphor, but true God" [Hilar. *de Trinit.* v. 5]; St. Ambrose that "we do not speak of an adopted son as a son by nature, but we do say that a son by nature is a true son" [Ambros. *de Incarnat.* viii.]; and St. Augustine that "we to whom God has given power to become His sons are not begotten of His nature and substance as His 'only begotten,' but adopted by His love: the Apostle often using the word for no other purpose than to distinguish the 'only begotten' from the sons by adoption" [Aug. *de Consens. Evang.* ii. 3]. From such expressions it is sufficiently evident that adoptionism was already known in the fourth century. [Arianism.]

But it was in the eighth century, and in the Church of Spain that this heretical opinion became distinctly formalized, its chief disseminators being Elipand, Archbishop of Toledo, and Felix, Bishop of Urgel. The latter was a subject of the Emperor Charlemagne; but the diocese of Toledo was within the bounds of the Mahometan rule, and it is probable that the theory of adoption was revived as a means of conciliating the Mahometans, and of making the reception of Christianity easier to them. They acknowledge "Deum, Dei Filium, ante omnia tempora sine initio ex Patre genitum cœternum et consubstantialem, non adoptione, sed genere," but denied that perfect union of the human nature of Christ with His Divine nature by which the Man Christ Jesus was from the beginning of the Incarnation the very Word, the eternal and only begotten Son of God. [Communicatio Idiomatum.] This was substantially a denial of the basis of Christianity, and although many followers were attracted by the new teaching, it was at once opposed by orthodox theologians as involving the same dangerous principles found in the heresy of Nestorius.

The earliest opponents of adoptionism were an abbot named Beatus, and Etherius, Bishop of Osma; but the most effective was Alcuin the friend of Charlemagne, who was summoned by the Emperor from England for the purpose of refuting Felix, and bringing him back to orthodox opinions. After a full examination of the adoptionist statements, Alcuin wrote a treatise against Felix, in seven books, and another in four books in reply to Elipand, besides letters addressed to both. His arguments are founded on the Unity of the Person of Christ, which precludes the possibility of His being at the same time Son of God by nature and Son of God by adoption. His two natures cannot make Christ two sons, for they are perfectly and inseparably united in one Person.

Adoptionism was formally condemned in the first instance by the Synod of Ratisbon [A.D. 792], where Felix abjured and anathematized his errors in presence of the assembled bishops, and of Charlemagne himself. He was, however, sent to Rome as a prisoner by the Emperor, and only obtained his liberty by making a full confession of his faith in orthodox terms, and subscribing to it before the Holy Eucharist. On returning to his diocese of Urgel, however, Felix relapsed into his former opinions, and fled out of Charlemagne's dominions to Elipand, whose diocese was in the Mahometan part of Spain. Elipand and his suffragans pleaded with the Emperor in favour of Felix, and his tenets were referred to the Council of Frankfort, which was then sitting [A.D. 794]. The heresy was condemned in the first canon of that Council, and declared to be one which "ought to be utterly rooted out of the Church" [Hard. *Concil.* iv. 904]. This condemnation was followed up by that of a Council held at Friuli in A.D. 796, which stated the true theology of the case, viz., that Christ is one and

lum *arrogatio.*" Aulus Gellius, v. 19, where a full explanation will be found of the Roman system of adoption.

the same Son of man and Son of God; not putative but real Son of God; not adoptive but proper; proper and not adoptive in each of His natures, forasmuch as after His assumption of manhood, one and the same Person is inconfusibly and inseparably Son of God and of man" [*Ibid.* iv. 756]. The heresy was condemned again, and again retracted by Felix, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in A.D. 799; but Elipand defended it until his death.

ADORATION. Exactly defined, adoration is an act of reverence, *interior* or *exterior*, towards a person entitled to receive it. The Latin *adorare* is supposed to come from "manum ad os mittere," kissing the hand as a sign of respect; as the corresponding Greek term, προσκυνεῖν, refers primarily to genuflexion. The corresponding English word of native origin, "worship," has always been, and still is, used with reference to human persons, and, of course, in an inferior sense to that with which it is used towards the Divine Persons; but the naturalized word "adoration" has been generally applied exclusively to acts of reverence towards God. Hence "adoration," or its correlative "divine worship," answers to the Λατρεία of St. Thomas Aquinas and other exact theologians.

Interior adoration is the devotion of the mind, soul, and heart; that is, of the spiritual part of our nature. *Exterior* adoration consists of bodily acts, such as kneeling, speaking words of prayer, singing praise, or reading Holy Scripture in the offices of the Church. The first must co-exist with the second, to make the latter acceptable as a *personal* offering to God; but the absence of it does not vitiate *ministerial* acts of adoration. [Worship, Latria, Dulia, Hyperdulia.]

ADULTERY. The sexual intercourse of a married person with a man or woman other than the married person's husband or wife; or of an unmarried person with one that is married.

The moral criminality of adultery is implied in the inspired words of Adam [Gen. ii. 24] and declared in the seventh commandment. Our Lord confirmed the former in very distinct language, as is recorded in Mark x. 7; and besides the confirmation of the seventh commandment which is implied in the same discourse, and in His general confirmation of the whole Decalogue, He gave an additional force to the commandment in question by the words "But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart" [Matt. v. 28].

The punishment of adultery under the Mosaic law was death [Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22]. Our Lord's forgiveness of the woman taken in adultery [John viii. 11] may be taken as sufficient authority for the mitigation of this punishment, and it is certain that it was abolished among Christians, although, sometimes, inflicted in Christian times under non-Christian laws. But the words of Christ do not in any degree extenuate the crime, and the Church has always condemned those guilty of it with the severest ecclesiastical censures, and enjoined the strictest penitential discipline upon them.

Several degrees of guilt are distinguished in respect to adultery by moral theologians. [1.] The most heinous form of the crime is when both the man and the woman are married. [2.] The second degree is when the woman is married, a confusion of offspring ensuing which makes the crime worse than it is *per se*. [3.] The third degree is when the woman is unmarried. These distinctions, however, relate rather to the social aspect of the crime than to its relation to the law of God. [Divorce.]

ADVENT. There is an old tradition, handed down by Durandus, that the season of Advent was appointed by St. Peter. [Durand. vi. 2.] But no historical trace of it is to be discovered before the time of St. Jerome and the early Sacramentaries. In the latter, and in the "Comes" of St. Jerome, epistles, gospels, and collects are found for five Sundays before Christmas, and for the Wednesdays and Fridays of the weeks included. There are Sermons *De Adventu Domini* by Maximus, Bp. of Turin, in the year 450, and also by Cæsarius of Arles [A.D. 501-542], which give a full account of the season; and St. Gregory of Tours writes that one of his predecessors, Perpetuus, had ordered the observance as fasts of three days in each week from the feast of St. Martin [Nov. 11] to that of the Nativity. In the Ambrosian and Mozarabic liturgies Advent also commences with St. Martin, and it was anciently known as *Quadragesima Sancti Martini*; from which it seems likely that the ancient Church kept a forty days' fast before Christmas, as is the habit of the Eastern Church at the present day.

The season of Advent was always observed in the same manner as Lent, but with less strictness. The Council of Maçon [A.D. 581] ordered the observance of the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday fast-days by the clergy of France; but Amalarius writes in the ninth century that Advent was kept strictly only by the religious. The Church of England retained the epistles and gospels for Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent until the Reformation of the Liturgy.

The rule by which Advent Sunday is fixed is that it is the nearest Sunday to St. Andrew's Day, that is, the first Sunday after November 26th. In the Western Church that Sunday has long been considered as the beginning of the Christian year. But the ancient Sacramentaries began it with Christmas Day; and until 1752, notwithstanding the arrangement of the Sundays in the Prayer Book, a note stated that the supputation of the year of our Lord was reckoned by the Church of England from Lady Day.

ÆON. [Gnosticism, Eternity.]

AËRIANS. A sect of heretics who derived their name and their principles from Aërius, a priest and monk of the Armenian Church, who was still living in the year 376, when St. Epiphanius wrote against him. The Aërians held the same errors respecting our Lord and the Blessed Trinity as those of the Arians; but they added to them the notion that the office of a bishop differs in no respect from that of a priest, the one

being able to do all that the other can do. Aërius also opposed the observance of Easter as a Jewish superstition.

For further details see the *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.

AËTIANS. Heretics who followed the teaching of Aëtius,[1] a contentious tradesman of Antioch, who was ordained deacon by the Arian bishop Leontius about the middle of the fourth century. He taught Arianism in its boldest form, alleging that the Son differs from the Father in will as well as in substance. The heresy was condemned by the Council of Seleucia, A.D. 359. [ANOMŒANS. EUNOMIANS. *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

AFFECTIONS: "as joy and grief, fear and anger, with such like, being as it were the sundry fashions and forms of appetite," "can neither rise at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power whether we will be stirred with affections or no." [Hooker, *E. P.* i. 7.] "Appetite," the same writer goes on to describe, as "that inferior natural desire," the object of which is "whatsoever sensible good may be wished for" [*ibid*].

This passage appears to take too materialistic a view of the Affections in confining them to modes of the desire for sensible good, but describes them correctly as purely passive, and as in a relation of necessary dependence on the object before them. The substitution, for "Appetite," of the word Feeling avoids the error, and at the same time indicates the notions of passivity and necessary dependence. Feeling is negatively defined by Bain as any mental state, not being volition or intelligence; *i.e.* any state in which man is not active in relation to the world without.

[1.] *Feeling and the Feelings.* The Affections or Feelings (plur.) never exist by themselves in isolation, but always imply an act of transformation by the Reason, whereby alone they can become what they are. In other words, Feeling (sing.) *per se* as a purely passive state, can give no account of itself, cannot distinguish itself from any other state, cannot *of itself* assure us of its presence as opposed to its absence, is unable to distinguish different forms of itself, such as love, joy, fear, &c., until formed, determined, defined, by the Reason. Until then, it is as vague and indescribable as mere Matter destitute of any definite attributes. It is mere "inwardness" in the mind, as Matter *per se* is mere "outwardness" in the world. Even this amount of distinction is not possible to Feeling as such; it cannot of itself become aware even of "something outward" as felt, because the distinction of within and without is again an act of reason. Feeling as such, without the intervention of reason telling of an outward world, can only feel itself; and itself, having no definite character, until it becomes differentiated as a series of Feelings, this feeling of itself is feeling of nothing in particular, and as such is unrealizable as a state of consciousness. Until, then, a distinct object can be presented to be felt, a man to be loved, a course of action to be admired, until (in short) I feel *this as contrasted with that*, Feeling does not become nameable and cogitable as love, admiration, &c., as "the Feelings (plur.) or Affections." But an object can only be presented as distinct, if it be distinguished from some other object with which it is compared; and this comparison is an act of the Reason. Similarly, one feeling, such as awe, can only assume a definite character as what it is and no other, by being compared and contrasted with another feeling, (say) joy or terror, as what it is not; and this comparison is again an act of the Reason. It follows, therefore, that Feeling is either indefinite, totally devoid of attributes, or it is definite as a series of particular Feelings or Affections called up by the presentation of particular objects: in the former case it is inappreciable, in the latter it is no longer unmixed Feeling, but a series of formations by the Reason out of the passive material of Feeling, corresponding to different sets of relations into which man is brought.

[2.] *The so-called appeal from Reason to Feeling* is, therefore, either an appeal from something to nothing, from that which, whatever the value of its verdict, has a verdict to give, to that which has no verdict to give; or it is an appeal from the creations of Reason in one sphere (ideas, images, proofs, &c.) to the creations of the same Reason in another (the separate feelings or affections). On the other hand, it is true that in the development of reason *in us*, it may express itself through the medium of Feeling before it emerges in the sphere of Thought and Reflection. We may be, and often are, in possession of a truth as a sentiment before we attain it as a proposition. And hence in this way an appeal may be valid from a more rudimentary development of Reason in the form of reflection, to a higher and later attainment of the same reason in the medium of Feeling. Thus, the appeal of the Mystics from the mechanical dualism of the mediæval intellect to the ἕνωσις already manifesting itself in religious feeling, was a legitimate one. What they felt, we, their posterity, are thinking.

[3.] *The Affections as the Basis of Religion.* A school of German theologians, of whom Schleiermacher is perhaps the best known, have endeavoured to shelter Religion from the attacks of opponents, by withdrawing it wholly into the province of Feeling, "as the pagan gods used to rescue a nymph from her pursuer by changing her into a river or a tree." For "Religion" Schleiermacher substitutes the word "Piety," which is neither knowledge nor action, but a certain state of feeling. Feeling, according to him, is the immediate consciousness that we are completely dependent upon God; and Piety is a changeless condition of the mind, independent of time and external circumstances. This consciousness of absolute dependence involves no distinction of subject and object, but is a simple oneness of the self. This higher state of feeling cannot, however, be realized for or become cognizable by itself. It exists *for us* only in connection with

[1] An African general of the same name flourished in the earlier half of the fifth century and supported the Donatists.

an inferior feeling which embodies and reveals the higher: as the material chill of the earth condenses and makes visible the more ethereal dew. This feeling of the finiteness of our estate, which lies at the root of experience, prevents our being wholly lost in the feeling of absolute dependence: by limiting the latter, it makes it definite and appreciable; and whilst thus awakening it, is always present to modify it. In the association therefore of these two feelings lies the religious life.

The different modes of pious feeling being made the subjects of reflection, are capable of description in propositions, and these constitute Dogma. The Redemption, *e.g.*, is a deliverance of the soul from the inability to develope the feeling of a common life with God. Faith in Christ is the certainty of the occurrence of an event within us, viz., that our spiritual need has been supplied by Him. To preach Christ is to bear witness to our individual experience of this event, &c. There is thus no room for evidence or argument in Theology, nor any fear of the attacks of unbelief; because every dogma in Theology is nothing but the statement of an individual's experience, of which he alone is judge. The unbeliever is, accordingly, not so much deaf to argument as deficient in self-knowledge. In short, according to the saying of Luther, which was adopted by this school, *Pectus facit theologum.*

The criticism applied by a contemporary to Schleiermacher was coarse, but apt: "If religion consists in modes of the feeling of absolute dependence, then the dog is the best Christian." We may paraphrase this by saying, that feeling cannot be by itself a permanent basis for religion, because man in relation to God is not merely passive and receptive, but active, *i.e.*, as a rational agent. And this is only saying that man holds communion with his Maker on that side of his nature in virtue of which he is, more truly than on any other, the divine image.

A further objection to the absorption of religion into states of the affections is, that it effaces all definite attributes from the conception of God, and "reduces religion to a prolonged monotonous sigh." The eyes may be lifted up, but they know not whither: the breast may be thrilled with awe, but is forbidden to say of whom. [See Schleiermacher, *Reden über Religion*, and *Die Glaubenslehre; British Quarterly Review*, May 1849; Hase, *Dogmatik*, § 44. On the analogous results of a theory of feeling as applied to morals and politics, see *North British Review* for March 1868, "*Popular Philosophy in relation to Life.*" Mysticism, Pietism, Quietism, Molinist, &c.]

AFFINITY. The relationship contracted between a husband and his wife's blood relatives, or between a wife and her husband's blood relatives. By the ancient canon law affinity is contracted by unlawful intercourse as well as by that of marriage.

Within certain degrees affinity is laid down as an impediment to marriage (as well as blood relationship) by the Law of God, as stated in the 18th chapter of Leviticus. The principle there laid down was embodied in the canon law, which anciently forbad marriage between persons related within the first four degrees of affinity. The existing canon law of the Church of England is stated in the "Table of Kindred and Affinity," set forth in 1563, and endorsed by the 99th canon [Consanguinity; Degrees, Forbidden.]

AFFINITY, SPIRITUAL. By the ancient law of the Church a kind of affinity was contracted between a god-parent and his or her child, and marriage between them was forbidden in consequence. The same law also held good respecting a person baptizing and the person baptized by him. The present law of the Roman Church is laid down by a decree of the Council of Trent, Sess. 24, cap. 2.

AFFUSION. The administration of Holy Baptism by *pouring* water on the person to be baptized, instead of by immersion or sprinkling. [Baptism.]

AGAPÆ [ἀγάπαι]. The Agapæ were feasts of the early Church, of apostolical origin, though not of divine institution, and were universally connected with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. St. Jude alludes to "feasts of charity," or ἀγάπαι, which were doubtless the feasts here treated of. Their origin appears to have been as follows:—The first believers lived together, and had all things common [Acts ii. 44], but when, from the increase of their numbers, and from the diversity of the social ranks out of which converts to Christianity were drawn, a strict and literal community of goods became impracticable, this one common meal was retained or came in its room, as an emanation from and witness to that principle of love and charity which found its fullest expression in having all things common.[1]

From early sources we learn that the Agape was of a plain and frugal character. Pliny the Younger, governor of Bithynia, in his famous letter to Trajan [A.D. 104], says that the Christians were in the habit of meeting, firstly, before daybreak on certain days, and singing alternately a hymn to Christ as God, and that, secondly, later in the day they partook in common of a simple and innocent meal.[2] The materials of the feast were partly or entirely furnished by the oblations of bread and wine made by the wealthy, after a sufficient portion had been set aside for the due celebration of the divine liturgy. Whether the feast preceded or followed the Holy Eucharist is a difficult point to determine: the general testimony of antiquity points to the latter. St. Jerome says that the Christians when they met in church made their oblations separately; and, after the communion, whatever remained of those sacrifices they ate and consumed in a common supper together.[3] In the fourth century it became the custom to mark the anniversaries of martyrs by a celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and this was often followed by a love-feast. Of

[1] Chrysos. Hom. 27, in 1 Cor.
[2] Plin. lib. 10, Ep. 97.
[3] Hieron. in 1 Cor. xi. 20.

the licentiousness which sometimes accompanied them, St. Augustine complains strongly.[1] The stringency of the rules on the subject of fasting before Communion is inconsistent with a preceding agape. St. Chrysostom [A.D. 398] writes: "They say that I gave the Communion to some after eating; if I have done this let my name be wiped out of the catalogue of bishops, and not be written in the book of orthodox faith: since, lo, if I have done any such thing, Christ also will cast me out of His kingdom. St. Augustine [A.D. 396] says: "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit, namely, for the honour of so great a Sacrament, that the Lord's Body should enter the mouth of a Christian previous to other food, and for this it is that this custom is observed throughout the whole world." The third Council of Carthage [A.D. 397] has one express canon to this purpose:[2] "That the Sacrament of the altar be never celebrated by any but such as are fasting, except on one anniversary day, when the Supper of the Lord is solemnized." More modern writers,[3] however, assert that the feast preceded the Communion in accordance with the practice of Christ Himself, who first partook of the Last Supper with His twelve disciples, and then instituted the Sacrament of His Body and Blood; and this view certainly tallies best with that passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians [1 Cor. xi. 18-22], where St. Paul reproves them, because when they met together for the Lord's Supper they did not wait for each other, but every one took his own supper, and one was hungry and another was drunken. Bingham arrives at the conclusion that there was no certain rule in the matter, but that the first Christians sometimes had their feast before, sometimes after the Communion.[4] For the first three centuries these love-feasts were held in church; but it was in consequence of the abuses that had grown up that the First Council of Laodicea [A.D. 372] made a law against having them there, forbidding any to spread tables or eat in the house of God; and twenty-five years later the Third Council of Carthage [A.D. 395] forbade the clergy to feast in a church, unless it were by chance on a journey, or for want of other entertainment.

The heathen charged the Christians with abominable uncleanness at their assemblies, with holding Thyestæan orgies, feeding upon human flesh and infants' blood; and though these extravagant charges were successfully refuted and proved to be calumnies by the early apologists, Athenagoras,[5] Tertullian,[6] Justin Martyr,[7] &c.: yet there is little doubt that it was owing to the insobriety and gluttony sometimes displayed at these agapæ, that it was found necessary to suppress them, and that bishops and councils exerted themselves much with this view during the latter part of the fourth century, as St. Augustine says in his letter to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage.[8]

But these celebrations, when dissevered from their necessary connection with the Holy Eucharist, and forbidden to be held in church, had become in the eyes of the multitude a substitute for the heathen parentalia, and had taken such hold on the laity that their abolition could not be effected at once. They were not finally forbidden in France till the Council of Orleans [A.D. 541]; and, later still, in the seventh century, the Quinisextan Council in Trullo [A.D. 692] was compelled to reinforce the canon of Laodicea under pain of excommunication.

A relic of the original agapæ remains in the blessed bread which is distributed after the Eucharist in many French churches, and which was commonly given in the mediæval Church of England. [ANTIDORON.]

AGAPETÆ. A name given, in the primitive Church, to the virgins who lived in common, and served the Church. Some scandal arose from communities of Agapetæ living in the same establishment with communities of priests and monks. St. Jerome [Ep. xxii.] asks, "Unde agapetarum pestis in Ecclesiam introivit?" St. Chrysostom also wrote strongly on the dangers attending such double communities, and they were forbidden by the Council of Lateran held under Innocent III. in the year 1139. The Agapetæ appear to have been distinct from the deaconesses of the early Church.

AGAPETÆ. A sect of Gnostic heretics which arose about A.D. 395, and was principally composed of women, who went astray on an exaggerated interpretation of the principle, that "to the pure all things are pure."

AGENDA. 1. In the mediæval Church the term usually designated the mass for the dead, "Agenda Mortuorum;" 2. Notices of business and motions before convocation; 3. Things to be done—the practical parts of religion—in distinction to *credenda*, matters of belief; and 4. The ritual of a Church as contained in its ceremonial and service books. The term, as applied to the Eucharist, is found in the 9th canon of the Council of Carthage [A.D. 390]; and, as *agenda mortuorum*, in the Antiphonary going by the name of St. Gregory.

AGNOËTÆ. Two sects of heretics are known by this name. [1.] Followers of Theophronius of Cappadocia, who denied that God has knowledge of the future. These arose A.D. 370. [2.] A sect of Monophysites who branched off from the parent heresy about the year 535, on the opinion that the WORD had no knowledge respecting the day of judgment; an opinion founded on a mistaken interpretation of Mark xiii. 32. [See *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

ALBIGENSES [Albigeois]. A French sect which originated at Albi in Languedoc in the twelfth century. They appear in history under many other names, such as Petrobrussians, Cathari,

[1] St. Aug. *de Moribus Eccles. Cathol.* can. 34. tom. i. p. 331.
[2] *Conc. Carth.* III. can. 29.
[3] Suicerus, *Thesaur. Eccles.* sub. ἀγαπή. Estius in 1 Cor. xi. 20.
[4] Bingham, *Antiq.* xv. 7, 7.
[5] Athenag. *Leg.* p. 34.
[6] Tertull. *Apol.* cap. 7, 11
[7] Justin. *Apol.* 1, 2.
[8] Aug. *Epist.* 64, *ad Aurelium.*

Arnaudists, Bonhommes, &c., and some of these names probably represent offshoots from the parent sect. They were in some way derived from the Paulicians, and were deeply infected with Manichæan errors. Opposing the Church in respect to almost all its doctrines and ceremonies they became very obnoxious to the orthodox, and were condemned successively by the Council of Lombez [A.D. 1176], that of Lateran [A.D. 1179], another of Lateran [A.D. 1215], and the Council of Toulouse [A.D. 1228]. In the end they became very troublesome to the Crown of France, and were in a state of constant rebellion, which brought down upon them the full power of the sword. They were exterminated, with such cruelty as was too common in those ages, early in the thirteenth century. [See the *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES for further particulars.]

ALEXANDRIA, SCHOOL OF. The schools of Alexandria were many in the three first centuries of the Christian era. They all partook, in greater or less degree, of that which had ever been the characteristic feature of Alexandrian learning, and were of a critical rather than of an imaginative complexion. The principal schools were the Neo-Platonic, the Eclectic, and the Christian or Catechetical, the subject of this article. The influence of this school cannot be properly understood without referring to the peculiar character of the population. Syncreticism was the principle that pervaded the whole intellectual history of Alexandria; the causes that encouraged it being laid in the very foundation of the place. It was built by Alexander, B.C. 332, and designed by him as the southern metropolis of the Macedonian empire; and it rapidly superseded Athens as the centre of Greek civilization. It was colonized at once by the indigenous Egyptian race, the Greek, and (more numerously than either) by a Jew population, who, as mercenaries, had assigned to them two out of the five districts of the city. Philo computed the Jew population at a million, *μυριάδων ἑκατόν*, for which Mangey proposes *ἑπτά*. Diodorus Siculus only places the entire population of freemen at 300,000. The Greek or residential quarter occupied a third of the entire area, with a circuit of about fifteen miles. It contained the famous library consumed under Caliph Omar as fuel for baths, the books as he said being useless if only confirmatory of the Koran, pestilential if adverse. The Museum also was here, designed originally as a place of resort for learned leisure, but converted into a place of systematic instruction by the more practical Roman. Alexandria seemed destined from the first to amalgamate the different forms of philosophical and religious opinion. It was with this view that Alexander built a temple of Isis in close juxtaposition with the Grecian temples; and his successors founded the museum and library to receive and perpetuate the literature of a mixed population. Thus the civilization of man which unfolded its first germs in Egypt, once more collected these scattered elements of thought; and theories that owed their origin to Aryan immigrants into Egypt came back again variously developed, as the wild flowers of warmer climes are improved by European skill, and are sent back again to their native habitats, radiant with more varied colouring and "flore pleno." The eclectic process had been going on from the beginning, though its origination is usually attributed to Ammonius Saccas [A.D. 231]; and so it always has been; principles, whether right or wrong, long float loosely upon the minds of men and hover upon the lip until the destined man stands forth and gives his name to a novel system that adds another element to the intellectual history of man. [*Encyclop. Metrop.* xi. 209, *Plotinus.*] Thus Clement, writing full thirty years before Ammonius began to draw attention to his system, says,—"But in speaking of philosophy, I mean not Stoic nor Platonic, Epicurean nor Aristotelian, but whatsoever things have been well put by these sects, teaching goodness with religious knowledge, all this (*τὸ ἐκλεκτικόν*) collectively I call philosophy." [*Strom.* i. 7.] It was a principle of the Alexandrian school to extract good from everything. The DISCIPLINA ARCANI had been unable to veil sacred truth entirely from heathen gaze; therefore the catechist in teaching secular knowledge took care that it had its definite bearing upon divine wisdom. While Origen taught pagan philosophy to Gregory of Neocæsarea he led him on insensibly to adopt the Christian faith. [Eus. *H. E.* vi. 18.] Theon, as Bishop of Alexandria, [A.D. 290] charges those about the court to be careful not to give unnecessary offence. The librarian should make himself master of every branch of literature, incidentally commend the Scriptures, introduce the name of Christ, and, as opportunity offered, disclose the real dignity of His Nature. [Newm. *Ar.* p. 73.] It was at Alexandria that the first principles of Hellenic thought were traced back to Moses by Aristobulus; the hymns of Orpheus and Musæus, and the Sibylline verses were as sagas that travestied deep truths revealed to God's people from the beginning. A figurative meaning began to be sought in everything. The Egyptian hieroglyphics were allegories. The Stoic philosophy had long made use of allegory to soften down and rationalize the absurdities of heathen mythology. The same method was applied by Philo to the sacred writings, and an impulse was given to the allegorical exposition of Scripture that formed so marked a feature in Alexandrian hermeneutics, and served to supplement the "disciplina arcani."

The Church of Alexandria was founded by St. Mark, and Jerome [*Catal. Scr.* 36] says that there was a school of instruction there and teachers from the time of the Evangelist. The first name that is given by a writer of no high authority [Philip. Sidens. *ap. Dodw. Iren. Galland.* B. P. IX. xi.] is that of Athenagoras the Apologist. There is greater certainty that Pantænus, the disciple of Apostolic men, was head of the catechetical school about A.D. 179 [Eus. *H. E.* v. 10]. He was of Hebrew extraction, but as he was either a Stoic [*ib.*] or Pythagorean [Phil. Sid.] philosopher, Clement's appellation of Sicilian bee [Strom. I. i.] may not improbably allude to the place

of his birth. He did not consider it to be incumbent upon him to give up his philosophical studies on becoming a Christian. While he was head of the catechetical school, Julian [A.D. 179], Patriarch of Alexandria, was petitioned by the Indians, who were most probably Æthiopians or Nubians, to send to them a Christian instructor. Pantænus was the teacher employed; and from that time may be dated the missionary efforts of the Church of Alexandria. After some years' absence, Pantænus resumed his post at the head of the school, and died A.D. 212. The effect of the school may be traced in the development of the Alexandrian Church. When Demetrius became bishop on the death of Julian [A.D. 189], he had under him only the twelve metropolitan presbyters [Eutych. *Orig. Eccles. Alex.*] and no suffragan sees; but during his incumbency the metropolis of southern Christendom increased so as to surpass in number of population and churches the sees of Antioch and Ephesus. [Wetzer u. Welte, *K. Lex.* art. *Demetrius.*] Yet there were enormous difficulties in the way of progress. Egyptian superstitions were inveterate; Jewish prejudices almost invincible. Philosophy regarded with contemptuous hate the simple teaching of Christian faith. Gnosticism, as a strange mixture of heathenism and the more superficial elements of Christianity, stood in bitter antagonism with the Church; and the blood-red hand of persecution allowed but little respite to the harassed churches of Egypt. Basilidian Gnostics swarmed to such a degree that Hadrian mistook them for the entire body of Christians in Egypt. A succession of three such men as Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, showed that they were fully equal to the work before them; acting as they did under the intelligent superintendence of Demetrius, a man of great practical and administrative skill, though of not much learning, having been occupied through his early years as a vine-grower. Under these men a scheme of evangelical gnosis was developed that threw into the shade the Basilidian and Valentinian medleys. Their establishment became the chief Christian school of the whole world. Every branch of profane learning was included in its curriculum, as a preparative for Christian instruction; while Christian doctrine was made the subject of close and accurate study, both in its theoretical and practical bearing. Crowds of educated heathen flocked to hear these Christian philosophers of the schools, and were gradually drawn within the fold of Christ. Heresy was gradually extirpated, and a multitude of sees were erected in desert places, as dependencies of the patriarchate of Alexandria.

It was during the episcopate of Demetrius, most probably, that catechumens were regularly classified according to the progress made. While the heathen were debarred from entering the porch of the church, the lowest grade of catechumens were admitted within, and having permission to hear the prayers, of which they were partly the object, and the sermons, they were termed ἀκροώμενοι, "hearers." Next being allowed to join in prayers, and receive the imposition of hands they were "worshippers," γονυκλίνοντες. Lastly, within a short time of their baptism, they were taught the Lord's Prayer and the Creed as φωτιζόμενοι. [Catechumens].

Clement of Alexandria was born in heathenism, at Athens as it has been said. An intense thirst for knowledge impelled him to make himself master of literature in all its branches. Egyptian and Grecian antiquities had been thoroughly explored by him, and he had facilities that have never been known since the destruction of the Alexandrian library. Truth was the object of his search, and God's mercy led him to the truth in His Church. Like his predecessor, and under his guidance, he still carried on his secular studies after his conversion; and he made it part of his work to vary his teaching by such rays of reflected light as heathen antiquity could throw on the doctrines and traditions of the Church. He fixed his residence at Alexandria for the express purpose of profiting by the instruction of Pantænus, [Eus. *H. E.* v. 11], whom he succeeded [A.D. 180]. His instruction was most methodical; and he modified it to suit each particular intellect with which he was brought in contact—the teacher's highest praise. In him deep and comprehensive erudition was combined with refined Christian wisdom. The eloquent teacher of Christian ethics shines forth conspicuously in the closing section of his "Cohortatio." This treatise and the "Pædagogus" very possibly contain the substance of catechetical lectures.

Among the many valuable characters formed by Clement were Origen, his successor, and Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, who always spoke of him with filial affection, and declared the debt that both he and his friend Origen owed to his teaching. [Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14.]

Origen, surnamed from his powers of studious endurance ἀδαμάντιος, and by later writers χαλκέντερος, was born at Alexandria of Christian parents. From his earliest years he was brought up as it were for his future labours. His father daily made him learn by heart passages of Scripture. When still young he heard Pantænus. He was a youth of seventeen when his father Leonidas suffered martyrdom under Sulpicius Severus, and his family property was confiscated. He then applied himself more closely to the grammatical studies that had been commenced under his father, those studies embracing the whole encyclopædia of literature; and he shortly commenced teaching. [Eus. *H. E.* vi. 2.] While the catechetical school was closed in time of persecution, two young heathens, Plutarch, afterwards martyr, and Heraclas, the next patriarch of Alexandria, came to him for Christian instruction; he discharged the duty of catechist so ably that Demetrius appointed him to the superintendence of the school vacated by Clement; who from a real sense of duty, both to save a labourer and to rescue the persecutor from blood-guiltiness, when persecuted in one city fled into another, and had retired to Cappadocia. Origen, taking a different view of duty, was in

Alexandrine Codex

seeking out Confessors and Martyrs, and exhorting them to contend nobly for the faith; many of them having been his pupils [Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 3-5]. He carried on with diligence the work of instruction in general literature and Christian doctrine [A.D. 202], finding time also for study on his own account. At length his health gave way under hard mental work and a severe bodily ἄσκησις, and leaving Alexandria for a time he went to Rome. But he could be ill spared, and [A.D. 212] he was soon at his post again in the catechetical school. In the persecution under Caracalla, Origen fled to his friend Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, who had also been his fellow student. Contrary to the canons of the Church he received from him ordination, for which offence he was synodically censured on his return to Alexandria, and he then finally left the place. Heraclas succeeded him, and on his promotion to the see of Alexandria [A.D. 232] Dionysius, his successor in the patriarchate, after an incumbency of fifteen years, received from him the charge of the school. The record of the school under Dionysius would have been especially valuable, as nearly synchronizing with the rise of the eclectic system under Ammonius Saccas, but it has unfortunately perished. Possibly it may have been closed for a time, since Dionysius has recorded the saying that in his day, owing to the disturbed state of the population, it was easier to journey from east to west than to have gone from one part of Alexandria to the other. [Eus. *H. E.* vii. 21.]

Little is known of the school after this period beyond the names that stand in succession as principals. Athenodorus, Pierius, Theognostus [v. Athanas. *de Syn.*], Achillas, Serapion, Peter, Patriarch and Martyr, Didymus, an instance of erudition mastered by one totally blind [340-395], and Rhodon, the instructor of Philip of Side. Arius the heresiarch also seems to have held high office in it. [Theod. *H. E.* i. 2.] The Catechetical School ceased to be a school of learning as adult converts from heathenism became more rare. The causes of its decline may also be traced back to the peculiar notions of Origen, and the controversies to which they gave rise; as well as to the fiercer heats produced by the Arian, Nestorian, and Monophysite heresies. Before the middle of the fourth century it had relapsed into its first condition as a nursing school for younger neophytes. [Matter, *Ecole d'Alexandrie.* Guerike, *Schol. Alexandr.* Dodwell, *Diss. Cypr.* vi. 11, in Iren. Oxon. 1689, 488, 497. Neale, *E. Ch.* i. 3. Le Quien, *Oriens Chr.* Gieseler, *K. Gesch.* § 60. Gieseler, *Dogm. Gesch.* § 11. Neander, *K. Gesch.* IV. iii. Newman's *Arians*, i. 3.]

ALEXANDRINE CODEX. A very ancient Greek MS. of the Old and New Testament, formerly belonging to the patriarchal library of Alexandria, and probably written in that city, but now preserved in the British Museum. It is known among biblical critics as Codex "A."

This MS. was presented to Charles I. by Cyril Lucar (then Patriarch of Constantinople, but previously of Alexandria), in 1628, and by the hands of Sir Thomas Rowe, the English ambassador at Constantinople. It remained in the Royal Library, where it was numbered 1116, until that valuable collection became part of the library of the British Musuem in the year 1757.

The Alexandrine Codex is written on thin vellum in capital letters, the material and the writing being of the most beautiful description found in ancient books. It is about 13 inches high, 10 wide, and is bound in four volumes, the first three of which contain the Old Testament, and the fourth the New Testament. Some other ecclesiastical writings are also contained in each volume. The following is a list of the whole contents in the order in which they are written in the MS.:—

Genesis.	Epistle of Jeremiah.	4 Evangelists.
Exodus.	Ezekiel.	Acts.
Leviticus.	Daniel.	James.
Numbers.	Bel and Dragon.	1 Peter.
Deuteronomy.	Susannah.	2 Peter.
Joshua.	Esther.	1, 2, 3 John.
Judges.	Tobit.	Jude.
Ruth.	Judith.	Romans.
4 Books Kings.	1 Esdras.	1, 2 Corinthians.
2 Books Chronicles.	Ezra.	Galatians.
Hosea.	Nehemiah.	Ephesians.
Joel.	4 Books Maccabees.	Philippians.
Amos.	Epistle of St. Athanasius to Marcellinus.	Colossians.
Obadiah.	The Psalter.	1, 2 Thessalonians.
Jonah.	Hymns (including the *Gloria in Excelsis*).	Hebrews.
Micah.	Job.	1, 2 Timothy.
Nahum.	Proverbs.	Titus.
Habakkuk.	Ecclesiastes.	Philemon.
Zephaniah.	Song of Solomon.	Revelation.
Haggai.	Wisdom.	1, 2 Epistles of St. Clement.
Zechariah	Ecclesiasticus.	18 Psalms of Solomon.
Malachi.		
Isaiah.		
Jeremiah.		
Baruch.		
Lamentations.		

Of the New Testament about sixteen folios are missing at the beginning, St. Matthew commencing at the word ἐξέρχεσθε in xxv. 6, one is missing in St. John,—vi. 50 to viii. 52,—and three in 2d Corinthians, from iv. 13 to xii. 6. The Old Testament is nearly complete.

Each folio of the MS. is written on both sides, and each page is in two columns; and the Eusebian canons, with the Ammonian sections, or κεφάλαια, are marked in the margin. There is also some ornamentation, of which a portion has a distinctly Egyptian character. [Cowper, *Cod. Alexand.* Introd. xxiii.] The writing is much faded in some parts, but not anywhere so much so as to be actually illegible.

The following inscription is contained on a fly-leaf of paper at the beginning of the first volume:

"Liber iste Scripturæ Sacræ Novi et Veteris Testamenti prout ex traditione habemus est scriptus manu Theclæ, nobilis fœminæ Ægyptiæ, ante mille et trecentos annos circiter paulo post Concilium Nicænum. Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum, sed extincto Christianismo in Ægypto a Mahometanis, et libri unà Christianorum in similem sunt reducti conditionem, extinctum ergo et Theclæ nomen, et laceratum,

sed memoria et traditio recens observat. ✠ Cyrillus Patriarch. Constanti."

An ancient Arabic note on the back of the first folio also states that the MS. was written by the hand of Thecla the martyr. If this tradition were correct, the MS. must have been produced in the early part of the fourth century, Thecla being one of the martyrs of Palestine, and contemporary with Eusebius. The tradition has not been disproved, but the general opinions of critics are that the MS. is of later date. Dr. Grabe considered it to have been written not long after the Council of Nicæa. Archbishop Ussher assigned it to the middle of the fourth century, some years before the death of St. Basil in A.D. 378. Mill and Walton thought it even earlier. Tregelles and Cowper agree in thinking it belongs to the middle of the fifth century. There seems, however, some probability that it was one of the copies written under the direction of Eusebius by command of the Emperor Constantine [*De vita Const.* iv. 36]; and the tendency to give *late* dates to MSS. of the Holy Scriptures is one which has been so unreasonably indulged in, that where it comes into conflict with ancient tradition it should be received with caution.

The Codex Alexandrinus has been printed in facsimile under the editorship of Woide in 1786, The O. T. by Baber in 1816; and in 1860, the N. T. portion, in a portable form, was re-edited from Woide's edition by Cowper. The Introduction of the latter may be referred to for a very full account of the history and criticism of the MS.

ALLEGORICAL interpretation assumes that something is intended—usually something more spiritual—different from that which the words or form of speech express. The sense thus elicited is *either* something different from the primary import of the words—*e.g.* Gal. iv. 24, ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα; *or* such that, under the obvious signification, there lies a yet deeper meaning, or many deeper meanings—*e.g.* Eph. v. 32, marriage is "a great mystery." The allegory, accordingly, expresses or explains one thing under the image of another:[1]—the Song of Songs, for instance, as signifying the relation of Christ to the Church; Isaac bearing the wood for the sacrifice, as setting forth a scene during Christ's Passion. To this head some reduce the *type*, which, however, is more properly a concealed prophecy explained by its completion—*e. g.* Jonah [St. Matt. xii. 40]; the brazen serpent [St. John iii. 14]. [Prophecy.] The *Allegory* differs from the *Metaphor* in that the latter is concerned with part only of a proposition. It differs from the parable in form rather than in essence, as containing an historical or literally true sense; while the Parable, although "never transgressing the actual order of things natural," is a fable. In the Allegory, the thing signifying and the thing signified are blended together; in the Parable they are kept distinct. Ps. lxxx. 8-16 is an Allegory; Isa. v. 1-6, resting on the same image, is a Parable. [See Trench *On the Parables.*]

[1] Suidas defines the allegory—ἡ μεταφορά, ἄλλο λέγον τὸ γράμμα, καὶ ἄλλο τὸ νόημα.

ALLELUIA. The Greek and Latin form of the Hebrew Hallelujah, Praise ye the Lord. The adoption of this simple, but technically expressive word by the Church receives an early illustration from Rev. xix. 6, "And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia; for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." But St. Jerome is the first writer who refers to it as being actually used in Divine Service. It was at first only sung at Easter by the Western Church; but the Eastern Church used it more freely, and St. Jerome mentions its use at the funerals of holy persons. St. Gregory ordered the Alleluia to be used constantly in the celebration of Divine service, and was reproached for introducing a Greek custom, but he claimed the authority of his predecessor Damasus for the usage. For some time it was used at the burial of the dead, and even in Lent, but this was forbidden by the Council of Toledo [A.D. 633].

In our first Prayer Book the ancient custom of the Church of England of singing the Alleluia in its original form was continued, as also that of singing it only from Easter to Trinity. In 1552 it was altogether expunged, and restored in the English words "Praise ye the Lord" in 1559. "The Lord's name be praised" was added to the Scottish Prayer Book in 1637, and to the English in 1661.

ALMIGHTY. This word, like its Latin equivalent Omnipotens, represents the LXX. Παντοκράτωρ, which in its turn represents "The Mighty God" and "The Lord God of hosts" of the Hebrew Scriptures.

It is an appellative of God, used by Himself in making His covenant with Abraham [Gen. xvii. 1], and frequently found afterwards in Holy Scripture, especially in the Book of Job and the Revelation. It appears in the earliest known form of the Christian Creed, that given by Irenæus [*Hær.* i. 10], and in nearly every subsequent one that has come down to us.

Thus used it indicates comprehensively the relation of the objective Creative power of God to the subjective phenomena of all existences that are not God. Giving force to the word κρατεῖν (which is represented in the Greek), as well as to the Latin and English forms, this relation is to be taken as threefold: [1] Comprehensive, as containing all things; [2] Originative, as creating all things; [3] Preservative, or Providential, as sustaining all things. [Theophil. *ad Autolyc.* i. 4. Cyril Jer. *Catech.* iv. Gregor. Nyss. *Or.* ii. c. *Eunom.*] Hence it is the highest appellative of the Deity, and as such is used in the eternal praises of Heaven. [Rev. iv. 8; xix. 6.]

The term applies to the First Person of the Holy Trinity as the original fountain of all being, and therefore the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds say "The Father Almighty;" but since He communicates His power to the Second Person by eternal generation, and to the Third Person by procession, therefore the Athanasian hymn enlarges the statement, and declares, "So likewise

the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty; and yet there are not three Almighties, but one Almighty."

ALMS. The word is a contraction from the Greek ἐλεημοσύνη, mercy. The German *almosen*, the French *aumone*, and the old English *almose*, shew how the final word has been arrived at. We use it now as a plural that has no singular; but it was originally a true singular, notwithstanding its apparent plural form, and as such appears in our Authorized Version. [Acts iii. 3. Shakespeare also uses "an alms."]

It will be convenient to consider the subject under the heads of Scriptural Authority, and History.

I. Scriptural Authority. [1.] The express commands of God, His Son, the Apostles, &c., as Deut. xv. 11; Prov. v. 15, 16; Matt. v. 42, vi. 2, 3, 19, xix. 21; Luke vi. 30, xii. 33; Rom. xii. 13; 1 Cor. xvi. 2. [2.] Promises of blessing upon the bountiful, as Prov. xix. 17, xxviii. 27; Eccl. xi. 1, 2; 2 Cor. ix. 6, 7; 1 Tim. vi. 18, 19. [3.] Threatenings of punishment upon the covetous and stony-hearted, as Prov. xi. 24, xxi. 13, xxviii. 27; 2 Cor. ix. 6.

II. History. The various provisions made in the Mosaic code for the support of the poor would partake more of the nature of a poor-law than a voluntary offering: a rate, rather than a contribution. The release of the debtor every seventh year [Deut. xv. 1-6], the leaving the corners of the field ungathered [Lev. xix. 9], the right of the poor to what grew during the year of rest [Ex. xxiii. 11], and similar regulations, could only be included under the head of alms in that they formed a provision for the poor: the voluntary self-sacrifice which we attach to the word is wanting. But the duty of giving alms, besides the payments required by the law, was recognised before Christ. Our Lord and His disciples practised alms-giving [John xiii. 29]. In the early church it was reduced to a system. For the proper administration of relief to the poor, among other objects [Acts vi. 1], the diaconate was instituted. The disciples at Antioch made a general collection for the impoverished church at Jerusalem [A.D. 43: Acts xi. 29]. So also did the disciples of Macedonia and Achaia [A.D. 60: Rom. xv. 26]. And St. Paul especially urges that this practice should be regular and systematic, and not fitful and impulsive: that the contributions should be habitually made weekly in small sums, rather than in larger donations at special occasions of excitement. "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come" [1 Cor. xvi. 2]. And we have evidence that this was done at the weekly services of the early church. Justin Martyr describes the collections during the Holy Communion[1] [A.D. 150]. Chrysostom mentions the custom, and indeed urges it, of bestowing alms on the poor at entering a church.[2] In the fourth century deaconesses collected and administered alms for prisoners. Frequent journeys were made to carry collections of alms to suffering brethren, after the Apostolic example. So Sisinnius went from Gaul "ingenti pecunia" to assist the monks of Palestine, and from thence to Egypt on a like errand [Baron., A.D. 406, xxxv.]. We are told that the Emperor Anastasius attempted to bribe Theodosius in a subtle way by offering him thirty pounds for the poor [*ib.*, A.D. 511, xvi.]. The distribution of the alms was not confined to members of the Church, although the injunction to do good, "specially to them of the household of faith," was not forgotten. Pope Gregory the Great, writing to John, Bishop of Ravenna [A.D. 592], says, "Nobis considerandum fuit, quia misericordia prius fidelibus ac postea Ecclesiæ hostibus est facienda" [Lib. ii. Ep. 32]. The practice was recommended to the lapsed, inter alia, as a solace, a means of grace, and a comfort in penitence. In the English Church the weekly collection has always been recognised; since, as well as before, the Reformation.

In addition to the usual collections of alms, extraordinary ones have also been customarily made in England by means of briefs:[3] and as a specimen of the objects for which these briefs were issued, the following extracts are given. They are from a copious list in the register of Elton, Hunts:—1661, for the Protestant Church in Lithuania, 11s. 3d.; 1666, for the sad fire at London, £10; 1671, for the English captives under the Hungarians, 5s. 1d.; 1679, for St. Paul's, London, £2, 13s. 9d.; 1680, for redemption of English slaves at Algiers, £3, 5s. 6d.; 1681, towards training up ministers for the Protestant churches in Lower Poland, 8s. 6d.; 1699, for a fire in Drury Lane, London, 5s. 4d.

It should be stated that some sectarians have forbidden almsgiving. The Manichees did so, as administering to a bad principle. "Eo dementiæ pervenerunt, ut execrarentur eos qui pauperibus eleemosynam darent, quod eo actu faverent mali principio."[4] But perhaps both they and the Arians were bountiful to those who sided with them. Bale[5] names also the Publicans, and the Family of Love, as opponents of this duty. Those of the Anabaptists, who maintained a community of goods, of course rejected almsgiving [Art. xxxviii.].

ALTAR. The structure of stone or wood upon which the Holy Eucharist is consecrated. The name of altar is given to it on account of the

[1] *Opera*, Cologne, 1686, 98 E. Apol. 2.

[2] Hom. 25 and Hom. 1 on 2 Tim., quoted by Bingham, iv. 517, 518.

[3] The collection of money under briefs became very general in the seventeenth century. A more inconvenient or expensive machinery could not have been devised. Upwards of half the amount collected was usually absorbed in the cost of collecting. In the Statute, 4 Anne, many of the grosser abuses of the plan were abolished, and fresh regulations passed. These were in turn abolished by 9 Geo. IV. The right to issue briefs still exists, but the Crown has issued none since the year 1854.

[4] Baronius, iii. 277, xxix. Cf. ib. iv. 356, xl. and vi. 496, li.

[5] *Mystery of Iniquity*, 53; Geneva, 1545. He quotes Aug. de Mor., Manich., lib. ii.

sacrificial character of the Eucharist; but it is very commonly called "The Lord's Table," as being not only that from which the Holy Eucharist is offered to the Lord, but also that from which the Lord distributes His good gifts to men. So the Jews used both terms indifferently. [Mal. i. 7.]

The Eucharist being so distinctly commemorative of the sacrifice of our Lord's death, the idea of sacrifice was of course associated with it from the first [EUCHARIST. SACRIFICE], and hence also the idea of an altar with its celebration. [Heb. xiii. 10.] But the comprehensive character of the Eucharist is such as to make the idea of the Christian altar a congeries of the ideas belonging to several parts of the Temple furniture, rather than to any particular one. The altar of burnt sacrifice was associated with the sacrifice of the "Lamb as it had been slain" [Rev. v. 6]; the table of shewbread with the Bread which is broken and the Wine which is poured forth to become the Body and Blood of Christ; the altar of incense with the Church's greatest act of prayer; the ark and mercy-seat with the Eucharistic Presence of the Lord. It seems to have been the last of these upon which the mind of the early Church rested in its idea of a Christian altar; and the most ancient altar known, that of St. John Lateran at Rome, is, substantially, in the form of the ark, a hollow chest, on the lid or *mensa* of which the Eucharist was celebrated. This altar is traditionally said to have been used by St. Peter, and a figure of it will be found in Webb's *Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 508. That this was the original form is also confirmed by considering Rev. vi. 9 in association with the early Christian custom of placing the relics of martyred saints—the ashes or few bones that friends could recover from the fire or the arena—under their altars. The modern table form of the Lord's table is associated in the minds of many persons with the table at which our Lord partook of the Last Supper before instituting the Eucharist, and hence with the Eucharist itself. But there is scarcely anything in common between the form of it and that of the ancient *Triclinium*, which made three sides of a square; and moreover, the term "table" was applied rather to the entertainment and the provision than to that on which it was served. Hence, when St. Paul speaks of the Table of the Lord, and the table of devils [1 Cor. x. 21], he refers to the substance partaken of, not to that from or on which it was eaten. Although, therefore, there are not wanting very early instances of the table form of altar, it must be considered that not it, but the ark form, was that originally adopted by the primitive Church. Upon the ark of the tabernacle and the temple rested the outward sign of the Divine Presence; towards it all the rites of the Jewish service tended, and there they all culminated. Nothing more exactly typified the Christian altar and the Eucharistic Presence, the sacred climax of all Christian worship.

Wood and stone were indifferently used in the construction of altars for a long period. Stone was ordered by councils of the fourth century from an association of the altar with the sepulchre of Christ; but wood seems to have been generally used in England until the Conquest. But archæological details cannot here be entered into.

AMBON [ἀναβαίνειν]. An elevated platform, or tribune [βῆμα], placed in the midst of the nave in early churches, and to which the clergy ascended for the purpose of reading the Holy Scriptures used in Divine service, and also of preaching. In the mediæval Church it was represented by the rood-loft, a gallery across the chancel arch, which was used for the same purposes. In modern churches the ambon is represented by the lectern and the pulpit.

The use of the ambon in the early Church is a strong illustration of the principle that the reading of Holy Scripture in Divine service is intended to be for the instruction of the people as well as for an act of worship.

AMBROSIAN RITE. The archdiocese of Milan retains in use a very ancient form of liturgy, which goes by the name of St. Ambrose, but is probably of even earlier date than the age of that saint. It is alleged by Visconti [*de Ritib. Missæ*, ii. 13] that it originated with St. Barnabas, being afterwards revised by St. Mirocles, and brought into its existing form by St. Ambrose. The truth appears to be that it is a local form of the primitive liturgy of St. Peter, coming therefore from the same original source as the Roman Liturgy. When St. Gregory the Great revised the ancient Roman liturgy, his revision was, for some now unknown reason, not received by the Church of Milan, although the "*diesque nostros in tua pace dispone*" which he is said to have added to the Roman Canon is also found in the Ambrosian.

The Emperor Charlemagne formed a design of making the Roman rite compulsory in all the Churches of the West. The opposition of the Milanese clergy and laity to its introduction into that diocese eventually succeeded, and they retained their old form of divine service. As in the case of the Mozarabic rite it is said to have been preserved by a miracle. It was decided to shut up copies of the Gregorian and the Ambrosian rite in a church for three days; and when the church was opened at the end of that time, each volume opened spontaneously with a loud noise, and a voice was heard, "Let the mystery of Gregory and the mystery of Ambrose both be honoured and preserved in their integrity by the whole Church." About A.D. 1060, Pope Nicolas II. made another attempt to introduce the Roman rite into Milan, and secured the aid of St. Peter Damian. But Nicolas died before he had accomplished his end, and was succeeded by Alexander II., who was himself a Milanese, and would not allow the matter to proceed further. Since that time the Ambrosian rite has held its place comparatively undisturbed, and at the present day the clergy of the city will not permit strangers to use the Roman in their Churches. It was introduced into the Church of St. Ambrose

at Prague in 1450 by Charles IV., and the tripartite rite of St. Gall was formed from a combination of it with the sacramentaries of St. Gelasius and St. Gregory. With these exceptions it has always been confined to Milan.

A full acount of the Ambrosian Liturgy is given by Bona [*Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. cap. x.], and the liturgy itself is printed at length in the Liturgicon of Pamelius. The canon is almost identical with the Roman, the chief differences being that the fraction of the bread takes place immediately before the Lord's Prayer, and that there is no second oblation. There is, however, much variation between the two rites in the introits, collects, epistles, and gospels; different names are used for portions of the office (as *Ingressa* for *Introitus*); and there is a collect "*super sindonem*," which has quite dropped out of the Roman liturgy. It should be added that gradual approximations to the Roman form of the liturgy have been made by that of Milan, although it is still quite a distinct rite.

The Breviary of Milan also differs from that of Rome. A full account of it is given by Grancolas in the 10th chapter of his Commentary on the Breviary. [*Bona Rer. Liturg.* Mabillon, *Museum Italicum.* Gueranger, *Institutions Liturgique.* Grancolas, *Comm. Hist. in Rom. Brev.*]

AMEN. A Hebrew word mostly left untranslated in the Greek of the New Testament, and thus introduced without alteration into the liturgies of the Church. The root, in the original, signifies "to be true," the verb *aman*, "to prop," having that signification in the passive. The different meanings of the word are easily to be referred to this root. In its ritual use it has but two significations—[1.] "So be it," as at the end of the prayers; and [2.] "So it is," as at the end of the Gloria Patri, the Creeds, and the denunciations in the Commination service. A misconception of the meaning of the word, assigning the first meaning instead of the second, in the latter service has given rise to a popular but unfounded objection to the use of the it.

To the early liturgical use of the word there is frequent allusion in the Old Testament. The woman's answer in the trial of jealousy, when adjured by the priest, is "Amen, Amen" [Num. v. 22]. At the curses from Mount Ebal the direction is, "All the people shall say, Amen" [Deut. xxvii. 15-26]. Of the five great divisions of the Psalter, the first three end with "Amen and Amen." [See also 1 Kings i. 36; 1 Chron. xvi. 36; Neh. v. 13, viii. 6.] In these passages the Septuagint translation is γένοιτο, except in the last three, where we find ἀμήν. The Vulgate in the Psalms has "Fiat, fiat;" elsewhere "Amen." In old English books of devotion it was always translated "So be it," the original word coming gradually into use in the tenth century. In two instances the variety in the translation well illustrates the slight variety in meaning. Hananiah [Jer. xxviii. 3; in LXX. xxxv. 6] prophesies falsely the return of Jeconiah; Jeremiah, "wishing it to be true" [heading of chapter], says. "Amen: the Lord do so." The Latin has "Amen," the Greek ἀληθῶς. And the English version, "Shall swear by the God of truth" [Isa. lxv. 16], is a translation of the same Hebrew word, rendered in the Septuagint, τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν, and in the Vulgate "jurabit in Deo amen."

Except where St. Paul attests its congregational use [1 Cor. xiv. 16], the N. T. use of the word is not liturgical. In St. John's Gospel it is always repeated and translated "Verily, verily." St. Luke, in corresponding passages, has often ἀληθῶς or ναί. Once it is used very emphatically, of a strong affirmation, "in Him Amen" [2 Cor. i. 20], τὸ ἀμήν, the consummation of God's promises. And once of Christ, ὁ ἀμήν, "the Amen, the faithful and true witness" [Rev. iii. 14].

St. Paul urges the incongruity of a response being made to a prayer not understood [1 Cor. xiv. 16]. Three cases were noted in which the response would be invalid. "Amen pusillum" when the respondent does not understand the prayer; "Amen surreptitium" when the response is made before the prayer is concluded; "Amen sectile" when the respondent has some reservation, "aliquid aliud agit."[1] The earliest patristic mention of the use of the word in the liturgy is by Justin Martyr. The people, he says, answered Amen at the consecration prayer in the Eucharistic service.[2] Jerome compares[3] the fervency with which Amen was answered in service to an heavenly thunder. St. Ignatius sometimes concludes his epistles, as that to the Ephesians, with "Amen—Gratia." The same form is used by later bishops. The word has been placed at the end of the New Testament epistles in our version; but it is in nearly every case an unauthorized addition.

The different type in which the word is printed in the Prayer-book has a significance which should not be passed over. When in a different type to the prayer itself, it is a response; when in the same type, a conclusion. In the latter case the same person or persons recite both; in the former, different persons. It seems therefore clearly intended that the word is not a response at the Invocation of the Trinity in the Baptismal service and the Ordinal, at the first Lord's Prayer in the Communion service, at the Exhortation in the Commination service, and other similar places.

The communicants in the early Church always answered, "Amen," at the reception of the elements. The Scotch office retains the use in these words, "*Here the person receiving shall say* Amen." Though no longer enjoined in the English liturgy, the practice is very common among devout persons.

AMMONIAN SECTIONS. [Canons Eusebian, Diatessaron.]

[1] Eadem ratione in Talmudicis Massecheth Berachot, dum reprehenditur audientium oscitantia, legitur triplex Amen illegitimum. Baron. *Annales* [ed. 1738], i. 57, clxv.; quoting Angelo Canini in 1 Cor. xiv.

[2] οὗ [sc. τοῦ προεστῶτος] συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἀμήν. Just. Mart. *Apol.* ii. 97, D.

[3] Ad similitudinem cœlestis tonitruis. Hieron. pref. lib. 2, in Galat. apud Baron. l.c.

ANABAPTISM. A name given to the leading principle of a sect of heretics which arose during the early part of the Reformation period, and spread widely both in Germany and in England. [See *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.] The second baptism is adopted on the ground that the first was not valid, either from being administered during infancy, or by aspersion instead of immersion. As baptism is undoubtedly valid if administered by actual contact of the water and the person, and with the proper form of words, the ceremony used on the principles of Anabaptism is of course no baptism at all but a mere ceremony. But as the use of such a ceremony is a practical repudiation of the previous gift of the Holy Ghost it involves a very grievous sin. [BLASPHEMY.]

ANAGOGICAL interpretation (from *ἀνάγειν, to lead upwards, to exalt the mind*) is where, from thoughts of earth or time, the mind is raised to thoughts of heaven or eternity. Thus Ps. xcv. is interpreted in Heb. iv. The Sabbath is the emblem of rest in heaven. Ps. xlv. denotes not an earthly king, but Messiah.

ANALOGY OF FAITH. This is a phrase used by St. Paul in Romans xii. 6. The passage stands thus:—"Having therefore gifts, differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of the faith [*κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως*], or ministry, let us," &c.

It is clear that the word *πίστις* here is not "fides quâ creditur," nor "fides salvifica." It has no reference to the subjective faith of the individual Christian. It is rather the "regula fidei," or rule of faith, the faith which is believed in and handed down by the Church; that which St. Jude speaks of [v. 3] as *ἅπαξ παραδοθεῖσα*, "once for all delivered" unto the saints; that which St. Paul in another place [Eph. iv. 5] calls the "one faith"—*μία πίστις*. It is the one body of Christian doctrine, the one objective faith—the belief of Christendom embodied in the creeds, and "to be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."

As there is one Lord Jesus Christ, and one body the Church, and one baptism, the entrance to that Church, so there is one uniform confession of faith for the members of that one body[1]—the "form of sound words" [*ὑποτύπωσις ὑγιαινόντων λόγων*, 2 Tim. i. 13], "the good thing committed" [*ἡ καλὴ παραθήκη, ib.* 14] by apostles to their successors, and so ever handed on for the Church to transmit, to declare, but not to add to nor diminish from. "It is not now that the faith began, but from the Lord, through the disciples, hath it come to us." [St. Athan. *Ep. Encycl.* n. 1, p. 111, ed. Ben.]

"The Church has received the faith from the apostles and their disciples, and this faith she carefully guards, as though she dwelt in one house, and were not dispersed throughout the world." [St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* lib. i. cap. 2 & 3]. "For us, it is not lawful to bring in any doctrine of our own choice, as neither is it to choose that which any one hath brought in of his own choice. We have for our authority the apostles of the Lord, who . . . faithfully delivered over to the nations the religion which they had received from Christ." [Tertullian, *de Præscr.* c. vi. p. 440, Oxf. Tr.][2]

The word *ἀναλογία* is defined by Aristotle [*Eth. N.* v. iii. 8] *ἰσότης λόγων* ("equality of ratios"), hence our use of it as signifying "analogy" or "proportion."[3]

The words "analogy of faith," then, point out to us that all prophesying (*i.e.* preaching, or expounding Christian doctrine) must be in agreement with the faith of the Church from the beginning, and according to the harmony or proportion which exists between the several doctrines of that faith. To this private notions and fancies must be subordinated, nor may particular doctrines or single parts or texts of Scripture be unduly exalted to the depreciation of others. The articles of the Christian faith are in perfect harmony, and according to that harmony or proportion must all interpretation and exposition of doctrine be set forth. "We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally" (*generaliter, i.e.* universally) "set forth in Holy Scripture" [Art. xvii]. It has been the practice of heretics in every age to take up small portions and often single texts of Holy Writ, and to interpret them in such a way as to contradict its general tenor. This is to violate that law of analogy or proportion which the Bible itself lays down for us, which the Church in purest times has ever striven to follow, and which right reason also no less plainly commends.[4]

ANAPHORA. Eastern liturgies, like those of the Western Church, are divisible into three distinct portions, as follows:—

Western.	Eastern.
Præparatio.	Office of the Prothesis.
Ordinarium.	Pro-Anaphora.
Canon.	Anaphora.

The latter of these three divisions is the most important, and the most ancient portion, and may be called the liturgy proper. In the English liturgy it consists of all that follows "Lift up your hearts," the preceding portion properly belonging to the offertory and preparation.

The Anaphora consists of four principal divisions, as follows:—

[I.] The great Eucharistic prayer, including, 1. The Preface: 2. The Prayer of the Triumphal Hymn: 3. The TRIUMPHAL HYMN OR TRISAGION: 4. Commemoration of our Lord's life: 5. Commemoration of the Institution of the Eucharist.

[1] Cf. Athan. Creed. "This is the Catholic faith, which, except a man believe," &c.; so also in the office for the Visitation of the Sick, "Here the minister shall rehearse the articles of *the faith*." Then follows the Apostles' Creed.

[2] So also *de Virgin. Veland.*, c. 1, "Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis."

[3] See instances of this analogy in 1 Cor. xii. 12, &c.

[4] That the Church of England at the Reformation held to this rule may be seen abundantly from the Homilies, *e.g.* those "Against Peril of Idolatry," and on Fasting. See also Preface to Ordinal. Archbishop Cranmer and our Reformers [*Reformatio Legum*, i. 13] wished all preachers and expositors to have always before their eyes the creeds "ne quid contra symbola aliquando interpretemur." [See Wordsworth, G. T., on Romans xii. 6.]

[II.] The Consecration, including, 1. The Words of Institution: 2. The Oblation: 3. The Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

[III.] The great Intercession, including, 1. An Intercession for the living and the dead: 2. The Lord's Prayer, preceded by a prayer of preparation, and followed by the Embolismus.

[IV.] The Communion, including, 1. The Prayer of Inclination, or humble access: 2. The Elevation: 3. The Fraction: 4. The Confession: 5. The Communion: 6. The Thanksgiving and Dismissal.

In each of these four divisions that portion printed in small capitals forms the central point; and thus the Anaphora may be said to consist of a great act of Praise, the Consecration, the Intercession, and Communion: the words of Christ in instituting the Eucharist, and the Lord's Prayer, being the true centre of the whole.

ANATHEMA. The word anathema (*ἀνάθεμα*) is a Greek one, and, like the cognate form *anathēma* [*ἀνάθημα*, Luke xxi. 5, 2 Macc. ix. 16, with which it is confused in the various readings of the LXX. text, and by some even of the Greek fathers, *e.g.* by Theodoret on Is. xiii. 13, Zephaniah i. 7], is derived from *ἀνατίθημι*, to set up upon (the wall of a temple), hence to dedicate. Both words contain the idea of that which is *set apart from common uses, and made over or devoted to God;* the *latter* properly in the good sense of a votive offering, especially some costly gift to be hung up or preserved in a sacred place, the *former* in the bad one of being marked out as the object of His wrath and ban. [Cf. the use of *ἅγως*, *ἅγος*, sacer.] Anathema occurs six times in the original Greek of the New Testament: Acts xxiii. 14, E. V., under a great curse; Vulgate, devotione. Romans ix. 3, accursed: V. anathema. 1 Cor. xii. 3, accursed, anathema: xvi. 22, where the original word is retained in the E. V., "let him be Anathema Maran-atha;" so the Vulgate. Gal. i. 8, 9, "let him be accursed;" anathema. And the derivative verb *ἀναθεματίζω* is found in Mark xiv. 71, "he began *to curse;*" V. anathematizare. Acts xxiii. 12, 14, 21, "bound themselves under a curse," oath; devoverunt. The word is also used in the LXX. as the rendering of חֵרֶם, kherem or cherem, that which is *shut up* or *cut off* [cf. Haram, from the same root, the *secluded* apartments of women in the East], *devoted* irrevocably to God, and hence to destruction or curse, because it could not be redeemed. See Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, and of חָרְמָה, Khormah; E. V. Hormah, a proper name, *margin* utter destruction, Numbers xxi. 2, 3. In like manner the Syriac version of Rom. ix. 3, &c., gives kherem as the equivalent of anathema, which is thus brought into connection with the Jewish forms of excommunication. Of these there were three kinds:—1. Niddui, נִדּוּי, "banishment" or "exclusion of the offender from the synagogue and the society of his brethren for thirty, sixty, or ninety days, the condition of its removal being repentance.

2. Kherem, חֵרֶם, which answers to anathema or cursing. This was the more solemn, being accompanied with execrations from the law of Moses, and used against those whom the milder form had failed to reclaim. The sentence was, "Let N. N. be anathema and accursed. Upon him is the imprecation, upon him the oath, upon him exclusion." The person so excommunicated was forbidden all dealings with his brethren, except the buying of necessary food.

3. Shammatta, שַׁמָּתָא, the last and most grievous form, which handed over the offender as hopeless, totally and finally, to the judgment of God. The name, though explained by Rabbinical writers as meaning either שם מיתה, *there is death*, or שממא תהא, *there shall be desolation*, has been thought, apparently not without reason, to be derived from שם אתא, *i.e* "the (incommunicable) name" (often used for Jehovah or God Himself) "cometh" to execute judgment, and thus to have suggested to St. Paul the form of expression [1 Cor. xvi. 22], "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema," (for) "the Lord" Jesus "is at hand [see Wordsworth, G. T., *in loco*] to take vengeance upon him, or "is come" already in the flesh, and so he is without excuse. [Maranatha.]

Whether or not this view be correct, it is certain that the expression of St. Paul [Gal. i. 8, 9] was adopted by the Christian Church as a formula of spiritual censure. The word maran-atha is not found in any early form of excommunication, but anathema constantly recurs. It is explained by the fathers to mean *separation* or *alienation* from God and from Christ, and His body the Church, also the *person so separated.* St. Chrysostom, *de Anathemate*, says, "Anathema wholly and entirely cutteth off," and Zonaras on Canon III. of the council held in the Church of St. Sophia, "As the votive offerings made to God are separated from common and human uses, so also is he who hath become anathema cut off and divided from the assembly of the faithful who are devoted and consecrated to God, and from Him, and he is assigned to the devil as his portion, and devoteth himself to him."

It is not proposed here to enter into the subject of excommunication generally. We have seen that the synagogue exercised this power of discipline over irregular and unfaithful members. The Church, in like manner, resting upon the commission and promises of Christ [Matt. x. 14, 40, 41; Luke ix. 5, x. 10-16; Matt. xvi. 15, 19, xviii. 15-18; John xx. 22, 23], has ever claimed, though in an elevated and spiritualized form, the right of subjecting to spiritual censures and penalties those of her members whose lives or doctrines contravene her mission as a society ordained to further the salvation of souls, and to embody before the world the truth of God and holiness of life. As a link of connection between the two systems in after times, we may instance the expression used in the Council of Antioch, A.D. 264, where Paul of Samosata was proclaimed to be *ἀποσυνάγωγος*, lit. "cast out of the synagogue" [cf. John ix. 22, xii. 42, xvi. 2; Heb. x. 25; James ii. 2].

Passing by the Apostolic age, where we see St. Paul delivering to Satan not only the incestuous Corinthian [1 Cor. v. 1-5], but also Hymenæus and Alexander for blasphemy, the former apparently for the denial of the "resurrection of the body" [cf. 1 Tim. i. 20 with 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18], and, in Gal. i. 8, 9, making false doctrine the ground of a twice-repeated anathema:—we find that the Church subsequently continued to claim a like power, and to censure and excommunicate for offences against the faith and morals. The Fathers and the Councils attribute to the sentence of the Church the greatest solemnity and efficacy.

We may observe in passing that there were two kinds of excommunication—the *lesser* or ἀφορισμός, "separation," "suspension," which excluded from partaking of the Eucharist and the prayers of the faithful; and the *greater*, παντελὴς ἀφορισμός, called also "*anathematism*," "total separation," by which persons were totally expelled from the Church, and shut out from all communion whatever with her members. With reference to this, the terms used were to be "kept out," "shut out," or "cast out of the Church," "to be without the pale," &c. The greater excommunication at a later period disqualified for civil rights and offices, and in the eighth century was followed by temporal punishments. Its effects have been summed up in the lines,—

> Si pro delictis anathema quis efficiatur
> Os, orare, vale, communis, mensa negatur;

which may be rendered—

> With the person, who for his sins anathema is made,
> To eat, communicate, pray, kiss, or greet him is forbade.

For the effects of the greater and lesser excommunication in more recent times, see Suarez, *de Censuris*, vol. xxxiii., Paris, 1861;[1] or the Bishop of Brechin upon Article XXXIII., vol. ii. p. 616, 1868. The distinction which was afterwards made between the greater excommunication and the anathema does not seem to have been clearly marked in early times. The latter is sometimes defined by the epithet ἀιώνιος, and then applied more especially to those cases in which the offender was finally and irrevocably cut off from the communion of the faithful, and left to the judgment of God, [Bp. Jer. Taylor, vol. xiii. Heber's ed. p. 604], and the Council of Pavia [Canon x.], [Synodus Regia Ticina] A.D. 850, in the reign of Lothaire and Popedom of Leo IV. [Labbe, vol. ix.] At this Council, with a view to enforcing discipline more stringently, a distinction was made between excommunication, anathema, and interdict. The second of these is thus described [Canon. xii.]: "Abjiciendi sunt anathematizandi scilicet, tamquam putrida ac desperata membra ab universalis ecclesiæ corpore dissecandi, cujusmodi jam inter Christianos nulla legum, nulla morum, nulla collegii participatio est, quibus neque in ipso exitu communicatur et quorum neque post mortem, saltem inter defunctos fideles, commemoratio fit." It is said to be "irrevocabile judicium," which is not to be arrived at by the priest without every endeavour on his part to reclaim the guilty person, nor without the cognizance of the metropolitan and common judgment of the provincial bishops. According to Suarez, the major excommunicatio and the anathema are the same *substantially* with the *accidental* difference that the latter, when incurred by sentence of a judge (a judice) is more public and solemn in its ceremonies and accompanying circumstances. When incurred *a jure* it is for the commission of some very grave offence (as heresy or schism), prohibited by existing laws or canons ecclesiastical, under the express penalty of anathema.[2]

The anathema may take a twofold form, in the one case being a sentence pronounced by a competent authority, such as a council or bishop; in the other being part of the abjuration required from the person who renounces a heresy.

In early times anathemas were formally directed against heresies, especially against false teaching with regard to the Person of the God-Man as the central verity and keystone of the Christian faith, and they are appended to the decrees and definitions of councils to enforce the truth under penalty of such censure. In the present day we can but faintly appreciate the vivid realization by the primitive Church of the Lord's Person and twofold nature, and of all that was involved in the maintenance of that sacred deposit.

Kindled with the dauntless and heroic ardour for the defence of the faith which long persecution had only served to invigorate, the Church viewed with a keen and instinctive abhorrence any form of erroneous teaching which derogated from the perfect Godhead and perfect Manhood of the Incarnate Word, and refused to endure it within her pale. Accordingly she did not hesitate to apply to what she looked upon as treason against her Divine Lord, and as involving the forfeiture of the title deeds of her inheritance, that solemn formula with which St. Paul denounces the "preaching of another Gospel."[3]

One of the earliest instances is the declaration against Arius and his followers originally ap-

[1] As some of our readers may be interested in the quaint English of the old form, we subjoin it from a *Sarum Manual* of 1530, in the Bodleian Library:—"That, we call the lesse curs, is of this strength, that every man and woman that falleth ther inne, it depertet them fro all the sacramentis that ben in holy chirche, that they may none of them recyue till that thei ben asoiled.

The more curs is miche wers and is of this strength: for it departeth a man fro God, and fro holy chirche, and also fro the companie of all christen folk, neuer to be saued be the passion of Crist, ne to be holpen by the sacramentis that ben done in holy chirche, ne to have part in prayer with no cristen man, as witnesseth wel Seynt Austyn."

[2] Lyndwood [*Provinciale*, lib. iii. tit. 13 sq.], says:—Unum tamen scias quod anathema differt ab excommunicatione, quia excommunicatio fit *sine* solemnitate, anathema *cum* solemnitate, and "Ista verba, *sub pœnâ anathematis*, possunt dupliciter intelligi, sc. anathematis *latæ* (*sub.* sententia) et anathematis *ferendæ*: unde in dubio præsumitur *ferendæ*." The former is incurred ipso facto by the commission of the thing denounced; the latter requires the formal sentence to be pronounced by the judge who has jurisdiction in the case; but see Sir W. Palmer's *Church of Christ*, part iv. c. xvi. sec. ii.

[3] The story related of St. John's treatment of Cerinthus, and his disciple Polycarp's speech to Marcian, are

pended to the Creed of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, immediately after the words "and in the Holy Ghost." "But those who say, *Once He was not;* and *Before He was begotten, He was not;* and *He came into existence out of nothing;* or who say that *the Son of God is of another substance, or essence, or is created, or mutable, or changeable*, the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes." The phrase is also found in the canons of the Council of Gangra, between A.D. 325 and 380, in those of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 418 (against the Pelagians), of the Councils of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and Chalcedon, A.D. 451, both of which decree that, if any dare to compose any new creed beside that which was settled by the holy Fathers, who were assembled in the city of Nicæa, with the Holy Ghost, if they are *bishops* or *clergy* they shall be *deposed*, but if they are of the *laity* they shall be anathematized." In A.D. 430, S. Cyril of Alexandria, after assembling a council in that city, wrote a synodical epistle calling upon Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, to *anathematize* his tenets in writing, and upon oath after a prescribed form. This letter after stating its confession of faith, concludes with twelve propositions to which anathema is appended. These are known as *the twelve anathemas* of Cyril. Nestorius replied with counter anathemas, but was eventually condemned by the Council of Ephesus. [Vide Fleury's *Eccl. Hist.* bk. xxv. vol. iii. p. 37 sq., Oxford Translation, and Rev. W. Bright's History of the Church.] The second canon of the Council of Constantinople, or fifth Œcumenical Council [A.D. 553], is as follows: "If any one does not anathematize Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinarius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Origen, together with their impious writings, and all other heretics who have been condemned and anathematized by the four before-mentioned holy councils, and those also who have thought or do think like the before-mentioned heretics, and have continued or do continue in their wickedness to their death; let them be anathema."

Later times continued the practice, and subsequent councils, both general and provincial, down to that of Trent, fortified their decrees and definitions by anathemas.

It may be observed that the ultimately binding force and validity of anathemas must in great measure depend upon their accordance in each particular case with Holy Scripture, with the primitive definition of the faith as held "semper ubique et ab omnibus," and also upon their general reception by the great body of the faithful. It is clear also that the sentence and the offence or error must be proportionate.

The offences against which anathemas are denounced by the pre-Reformation Church of England may be seen in Johnson's *English Canons*, A.D. 601-1518 [*Anglo-Cath. Lib.*], in Lyndwood's *Provinciale Liber*, iii. tit. 13, note cf. lib. v. 17, sq., and in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol ii. 288-301. Forms of the greater excommunication formerly in use in England, and in which the terms anathema and anathematize occur, are given in Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. iv. vol. ii. 257, in Maskell, *M. R.* i. 226, and ii. 286, and in Bp. of Brechin, vol. ii. art. xxxiii., together with the ceremonies by which it was accompanied. The church bells were tolled, and the cross was to be used. The sentence was pronounced by the bishop sitting before the altar vested with a violet cope, stole, and plain mitre, attended by twelve priests in surplices. All held lighted candles, which were dashed upon the ground at the concluding words, "and as these candles are extinguished, so may their souls be extinguished in hell. So be it, so be it, so be it. Amen." Other forms may be found in Martene, *De Antiquis Eccl. Ritibus*, vol. ii.

In conclusion, it may be observed, that this tremendous weapon of spiritual power, during a considerable portion of the Middle Ages, inspired the greatest terror, and alternately with deeds of rapine and violence, (especially against the rights and property of the Church, which it was intended to repress,) served greatly to increase the gloom and misery of that turbulent period. If St. Leo [*Epist.* 89, c. 6] even in his time thought it necessary to caution against its too frequent use in trifling matters and occasions, we may well believe that there were ample grounds at a later period for the complaint of Peter Damiani, A.D. 1060 [*Epist.* 12, lib. i.], touching the abuses which surrounded the exercise of this awful power. Passing by the solemn denunciation recorded in Matthew Paris against those who should violate Magna Charta, we are startled to find [A.D. 1467] in the time of Edward IV., "cursing by the clergy," together with a fine of twenty shillings, held out as a penalty, not even in a grave matter of state, but in order to repress the fashion of wearing shoes with pointed toes of inordinate length. Chaucer too mentions as one of the commendations of the "pourè persone of a toun" [*Prologue, the Canterbury Tales*],—

"Ful loth were him to *cursen* for his tithes."

The irritation produced by the vexatious proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts has been assigned as one of the causes which, at least in this country, prepared the way for the Reformation. In like manner the frequency with which anathemas were denounced in the Middle Ages, and the secular character which they assumed, at length tended to produce a reaction against all ecclesiastical authority, and to throw doubt and contempt upon excommunication as an organ of spiritual discipline.

It is remarkable that the Church of England in her later dogmatic formularies has abstained from pronouncing anathemas except in one instance, Art. XVIII., "They also are to be held accursed" (Latin version, "Anathematizandi"), &c.

The ipso facto sentence of excommunication, however, is appended to certain of the canons of 1603, viz., canons 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10 [See further

but in strict accordance with the teaching of his epistles [1 John ii. 22-26; 2 John 6-10; cf. Jude 3, 4; Titus iii. 10], and illustrate the value set by the early Christians upon dogmatic truth.

EXCOMMUNICATION. Archb. Trench's *Synonymes of the N. T.* Suicer, *Thesaurus*, vol. i. ἀνάθεμα and ἀφορισμὸς. Bingham's *Eccles. Antiquities*, bk. xvi. xvii. Morinus, *de Pœnitentiâ*, lib. iv. Saurez, *de Censuris* (or Van Espen). J. D'Avezan, *de Excommunicatione in Meursi Thesauro Juris Civ. et Can.* Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 153. Robertson's *Ch. Hist.*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 541. Bp. of Brechin and Bp. Harold Browne *on Art. XVIII., XXX.* Fleury, *Institut. au Droit Eccles.* Dupin, *de Antiq. Disc.* 272. *Canons of the Church* (Rev. W. A. Hammond, 1843).]

ANCHORITE. [ASCETICS. MONASTICISM.]

ANGELIC SALUTATION. [AVE MARIA.]

ANGELS. It can hardly be unnecessary, in attempting to deliver the Catholic doctrine of Angels, to preface that doctrine with two truths: 1st, the self-evident truth that the distance between man and any other created being vanishes in comparison with the distance between the highest created being and the Creator; that the great, the immeasurable descent is from the Infinite to the finite: 2d, the truth of our creation, that the spiritual part of man is to be referred directly to the Creator, who breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life whereby man became a living soul. For as we contemplate those glorious beings, who are so far above us now, the error may insensibly creep in of considering them to be midway between God and man; and as we contemplate the scale of creation the error may creep in of arguing that as we stand in the place of God to the lower animals, having dominion given us, so the angels stand in a similar relation to us, and that worship is due to them. On these accounts the arguments for the existence of angels need stating with great care. For example: the observation—"Men must needs think too highly of themselves and too meanly of the great and glorious God if they are not minded sometimes of those more excellent beings that are between God and themselves"—might with no great difficulty be pressed into a "voluntary humility;" whereas true humility, which ever goes along with true greatness, lies in the thought that while "man is akin to the beasts by his body," he is saved from being "a base and ignoble creature" by being "akin to God by his spirit:" and again, the argument—"that as man's animal nature exists apart in the brutes, so his more noble nature must exist separately in creatures above him, *i.e.* the angels"—might be perverted, and brought to weaken the truth of our creation by representing it thus, that God took of the angelic nature and infused it into man, whereby man became a living soul. It may be doubted indeed whether Bull's argument which has been quoted is not stated too unhesitatingly. Man's finite spiritual nature implies the existence of a self-existing spiritual nature to be the source of the finite nature, but the fact that the finite spiritual nature is joined to a body, and the fact that there exists a brute nature, cannot imply (though it may make probable) the existence of *another finite* spiritual nature. It is sufficient to give the cautions with which such à priori arguments must be stated, if stated at all: and it is better to turn at once to Holy Scripture.

In what light, then, are we to regard certain statements of the Old Testament, such as those of the accusing angels in heaven, Job i. 6, 1 Kings xxii. 19-21, and of the sin of the angels, Gen. vi. 4? Are these authoritative statements of revelation, or are they (in a word) myths. Not to enter into theories of inspiration—these statements will be regarded here as authoritative revelations. And for this reason, that the former are verified not only by St. John, Rev. xii. 10, but also by our Lord, Luke x. 18: the latter is verified by St. Peter and St. Jude, 2 Pet. ii. 4, 5, Jude 6. These statements which present the greatest difficulty, being thus verified, carry with them all statements which present less difficulty.

In the beginning of the mystery,[1] then, Almighty God, by His Word [Col. i. 16], created invisible beings, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers; in whom, as in man afterwards, to express His glory.[2] At the creation of the heavens and earth these sons of God shouted for joy, Job xxxviii. 4-7. Of the angels some fell. "It seemeth that there was no other way for angels to sin, but by reflex of their understanding upon themselves; when being held with admiration of their own sublimity and honour, the memory of their subordination to God and their dependency on him was drowned in this conceit: whereby their adoration, love, and imitation of God could not choose but be also interrupted. The fall of angels therefore was pride." [Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, I. iv. 3, Keble's ed. i. p. 267.] With this agrees the intimation of 1 Tim. iii. 6, where the "condemnation of the devil" is the condemnation into which the devil fell.

We next find a distinction in scripture between "angels which kept not their first estate and are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day" [Jude 6], and other angels, to whom great freedom is allowed, who were present in heaven as accusers of the brethren, who went forth as lying spirits to deceive men. The former are identified by St. Jude and St. Peter [2 Pet. ii. 4] with the sons of God [Gen. vi. 4] who came in unto the daughters of men. For from the apostle's words it follows that the further sin of these fallen angels for which they are delivered to chains was going after strange flesh.[3]

[1] "There are three times, if times they may be called, or parts of eternity. The first, when the Godhead was only, without the being of any creature: the second, the time of the mystery, which continueth from the creation to the dissolution of the world: and the third, the time of the revelation of the sons of God; which time is the last, and is everlasting without change." [Bacon, *Conf. of Faith.*]

[2] "All the ministration of angels, damnation of devils and reprobates, and universal administration of all creatures, and dispensation of all times, having no other end, but as the ways and ambages of God, to be further glorified in His saints, who are one with their head the Mediator, who is one with God." [*Ibid.*]

[3] For this mysterious subject see Maitland's Eruvin, *The Fallen Angels*, p. 124. Maitland fully shows the absurdity of the common interpretation, which makes the

That the accusing spirits are fallen angels follows from the thought (if we may allow ourselves to reason on such deep subjects) that God made all things in their first estate good, and removed from himself the beginning of all evil and vanity into the liberty of the creature. And this conclusion agrees with the Scriptures, which speak of Satan as a spirit [Eph. ii. 2], with angels subject to him [Matt. xxv. 41, Rev. xii. 7-9]. The Scripture then represents the Almighty on His throne surrounded by angels, among them these angels of accusation [Job i. 6, 1 Kings xxii. 19]. Nor until the Incarnation was the accuser cast out of heaven [Luke x. 18, Rev. xii. 10]. This subject will be further handled in another article, SATAN. We may now confine ourselves to the angels which kept their first estate.

And first we are carefully to distinguish between the Theophanies of the Old Testament and the appearances of angels. "That the Angel of the Lord who preceded the children of Israel from Egypt in the cloud and in the fire, was [agreeably to Exod. xiii. 20, 21, and xiv. 19, 20; Num. xx. 6, &c.] the Lord Himself, possessor of the incommunicable Name יהוה; and that this Angel of the covenant, as he is termed in Mal. iii. 1, and Gen. xlviii. 15, 16, &c., is the uncreated Word, who appeared in visible form to Jacob and Moses, and who was in the fulness of time incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ, is the known undoubted faith of the Church of God, and needs not to be enlarged on here." [Mill on *Panth. Princip.* part ii. p. 92.] The Christian fathers frequently speak of the Son of God as appearing in the Old Testament.[1] [*Id.* p. 94.] It must be sufficient here to note this, leaving the subject of the Theophanies for a subsequent article.

We are thus brought to the λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα of Heb. i. 14, as the description of the holy angels. They are πνεύματα. Most certainly not such spirits as God blessed for ever is, *i.e.* they are not ὁμοούσιοι, of the same nature and essence with God; but of all created beings the most subtle, defecate, pure, active, and so the most perfect and noble substances. They are styled λειτουργικὰ, ministering to God, not to us. Although they minister for our good, they are not our ministers or servants. Owing their being and all that they have to God's bounty, they pay Him all adoration, service, worship, and obedience. [Bull, *Sermon on Angels*, i. p. 276: Burton.]

To the question whether angels are pure and simple intelligences or have a SPIRITUAL BODY [q. v.], no express answer is given in Scripture. That they have a spiritual body is probable from our Lord's statement that hereafter men with their glorified bodies will be ἰσάγγελοι. It may be then that Almighty God has reserved to Himself the prerogative of acting as pure mind, without any kind of corporeal vehicle. In which case, let it be considered whether μορφὴ δούλου in Phil. ii. 6 does not express this condition of all created beings, and mark the first and great step in our Lord's humiliation, the descent from God to take the form of the creature: then ὁμοίωμα ἀνθρώπων [= ὁμοίωμα σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας, Rom. viii. 3] is the taking our nature, not the nature of angels, ὁμοίωμα being used lest μορφὴ should imply our sinful nature; then σχῆμα ὡς ἄνθρωπος is the guise in which He appeared as a man among men.

Angels have various titles, or are divided into several classes, according to their functions. Among them are the Cherubim. [Compare Ps. civ. 4 and Ps. xviii. 10.] The cherubim appear as guards at the gate of Eden; cherubic forms cover the ark; cherubim minister to the Almighty when He goeth forth; to Ezekiel by the river Chebar they appear in the midst of the glory of the Lord; and again [ch. x.] beneath the glory. The cherubim, then, are angels in immediate attendance on the Almighty, or where there is a special manifestation of His presence. They symbolize His glory. Next the Seraphim. These appear only in the vision of Isaiah. They are spirits of fire; and that fire is the fire of love. They are engaged in ceaseless praise, in great nearness to God; yet as concerned about us below, for part of their song is "the earth is full of His glory," and one of them touches the prophet's lips with a coal of fire from the altar. Their chant is antiphonal. Other titles derived from office are not made known to us, except that the spirits employed to minister for us are more specifically angels or messengers.

Besides these distinctions of office, there is also at least one distinction of rank and authority. There are Archangels. This distinction first appears in Josh. v. 13. "We do not find that the Christian Fathers when speaking as they frequently do of the Son of God as appearing in the Old Testament, and as the special object of the provocation of the Israelites, include this appearance to Joshua among the θεοφάνειαι. But to this there are two distinguished exceptions—the one is Justin Martyr, the other is Eusebius." [Mill, *Panth. Princip.*, part ii. p. 92—note on the Captain of the Lord's Host.] Referring to that note[2] for the discussion of this parti-

sons of God to be pious men. There seems in truth to be no middle course between accepting honestly an authoritative revelation, as Maitland does, or asserting on the other hand, that the statement is a record of popular error overlaying some remains of truth, that as such, not as a statement of revelation, it found a place in the history of mankind, that the errors were left to be cleared off, and the truth brought to light by the growth of knowledge and by added revelation. Whether this view is reconcileable with the recognition of the statement by the apostles, or if it be said that the statement only lingered in the Jewish Church to be exploded with other Jewish errors, whether this further supposition is reconcileable with the consensus of the early fathers—let the reader judge.

[1] Compare however Pusey, *Lectures on Daniel*, p. 515, &c. Dr. Pusey's doctrine is that the Angel of the Lord was probably a created angel with special presence of God. We have followed Mill, on account of the force of the comparison of Exod. xxiii. 20-23, with Exod. xxxiii. 2, 3, and these both with Mal. iii. 1.

[2] The argument of most weight to show that this appearance to Joshua is to be reckoned among the Theophanies, is the command to Joshua to loose his shoes, com-

cular instance, we pass to the fuller revelations during and after the captivity, these revelations occurring, not as if the doctrine of angels were the primary object, but in the course of the apocalypse of kingdoms to Daniel, in the course of the Messianic prophecies of Zechariah, at the time when the last breath of old prophecy was to be uttered. We will take first Zechariah's prophecy, iv. 10. This prophecy was remarkably prepared for by Hanani, Asa's seer [2 Chron. xvi. 9]. Hanani refers to the destruction of the Ethiopians "before the Lord and before His host" [2 Chron. xiv. 13]; where "His host" can be no other than the angelic host, as in Ps. xxxiv. 7, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about," &c., the captain, *i.e.* of the Lord's host with his army; and regarding this host Hanani speaks, "the eyes of the Lord run to and fro through the whole earth." In Zechariah's prophecy the word of the Lord refers to the seven lamps of the golden candlestick, "they are the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth." Even from the Old Testament, then, we learn that these lamps represent the seven vigils or prime ministers of God's providence, seven archangels. In Rev. iv. 5 and v. 6, we have Zechariah's very words, seven eyes sent forth into all the earth, seven spirits of God, and these represented by the seven lamps which burned before the Throne. [See *Mede. Disc. on Zech.* iv. 10; *Works*, i. p. 53.] This gives the interpretation of Zech. iii. 9. "Upon one stone seven eyes:" perhaps it may lead us to think that in Micah v. 5, "seven shepherds and eight princes of men," the shepherds are archangels, and the princes riders of the four celestial chariots [Zech. vi.], two, as was usual, in each chariot. In Zechariah we have the mysterious vision of the contest between the angel of the Lord and Satan regarding Joshua the high-priest. The words of the angel are the same as Michael's words in the no less mysterious contest over the body of Moses. [Jude 9; comp. 2 Pet. ii. 11.] Is not the connection more than a mere coincidence? Does it not shew that the two transactions are of the same nature, referrible to one idea? The opposition to Joshua was an attempt to interrupt the succession of the witnesses [Rev. xi. 3, 4], who were represented by the two olive branches which connected angelic ministrations with the ordinary ritual and service of God's Church. The secret and divine burial of Moses may have been a symbol that Moses lived in his successor; and the attempt of Satan an attempt to make it appear that his authority ceased with his death—an attempt to interrupt the succession of lawgivers, as in the other case to interrupt the succession of the priesthood. In Daniel we have [iv. 13] "a watcher and an holy one," to be compared perhaps with the riders of the four chariots of Zechariah: for these go forth, as in the vision of Zech. i., and make report, and give account of their mission to the Angel of the Lord.

The one fact then regarding angels peculiar to Daniel is that as God set His chief angels as the deputed guardians of His people, so he set other, and apparently inferior angels over other nations. And this revelation to Daniel is in harmony with Daniel's position as a prophet. He was employed to disclose God's care and providence over heathen nations. Two of the archangels are named by him, Michael and Gabriel, who are named also in the New Testament. In Tobit, the most probable date of which is about 350 B.C., Raphael describes himself as one of the seven holy angels which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One. This is in perfect accordance with canonical Scripture. The office of the archangels then appears to be: first, to be the universal inspectors of the whole world, and the rulers and princes of the whole angelical host: secondly, to have the peculiar charge and guardianship of the Church, while the rest of the world is committed to the care of subordinate angels. That the charge of the Church belongs thus peculiarly to the seven, may appear from St. John's saluting the churches with a benediction of grace and peace from their ministry, and from the typing of them by the seven eyes and horns of the Lamb, as powers which the Father, since He exalted Him to be head of His Church, hath annexed to His jurisdiction. [Compare Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 522, and Mede, i. p. 57.] For full discussion of the objection that the later knowledge was borrowed from heathenism, see Mill, part ii. sect. iv. p. 52, and Pusey, p. 513, &c. It is sufficient here to notice that the later knowledge is only a strict and legitimate development; that it appears, as has been said, in the final working up of prophecy, not detached as if imported from without; and lastly, that if it were so that it was in any degree borrowed, there is nothing inconsistent with the inspiration of the prophets to seize remains of truth that may be found in heathen nations, or truths which the philosophy of heathen nations may have attained, and incorporate them, sublimed and corrected, in the deposit of truth committed to God's Church.

Besides the ratifications of Jewish doctrine which have been noticed in the New Testament it appears also to be probable (perhaps rather we should say, certain, for the Jews no doubt held the doctrine, and the Church of Christ has for the most part received it) that each child of God is from his childhood assigned to the care of his own guardian angel. Considering that this belief was held by the Jews it can hardly be but

pared with the like command to Moses. Mill writes: "As with the example of all the earlier, as well as the later Scriptures before us, it seems most natural and obvious to conceive that the Lord sent this message to Joshua [cf. vi. 2] by the mouth of His archangel, so there seems no derogation to the Divine honour in believing, with the fathers of old, that the ground was hallowed which was trodden by such an exalted servant of God," &c. To which ought to be added the thought that in this case, more than in ordinary cases of angelic ministration, the archangel appears strictly as the vicegerent of God, executing an office which the Son of God had undertaken, and was prevented by the sin of the people from discharging in person. That, in ch. vi. 2, it is said, "The Lord said to Joshua," does not shew that the captain of the host was the Lord. The same mode of speech occurs in Zech. iii. 1, 2.

that Heb. i. 14, Matt. xviii. 10, Acts xii. 15 both countenance and prove the doctrine.

We may now turn to notice briefly the examples of the ministration of Angels:—

I. The elder Sinaitic dispensation was subjected to created angels. Acts vii. 53, "at the injunction of angels" [see Alford's note], Gal. iii. 19. In St. Stephen's speech the angels are mentioned to glorify the law, being opposed to mere human mediators. Here the motive is different. The interposition of created beings is contrasted with the direct agency of God Himself. [So also in Heb. ii. 2, Prof. Lightfoot in loc.], Heb. i. and ii. For the verification of this see Exod. xxxiii. 2, 3; Deut. xxxiii. 2; Josh. v. 13; Psa. lxviii. 7, 8, and 17. But to the angels God hath not put in subjection, *τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν περὶ ἧς λαλοῦμεν*, the Christian dispensation. Here the angels appear, 1st, as ministering to the Mediator the Angel of the Covenant, and 2ndly, under Him, as ministers of grace to us, as they will be ministers of the final judgment.

II. It will be observed also that before the call of Abraham we have only the cherubim forbidding the approach to Eden, Enoch's prophecy of the holy ones attending the Lord when He comes to judgment, and the accusations and temptations of Satan. The ministrations of angels on behalf of God's people appear with the designation of the chosen seed. Lot is to be considered as belonging to Abraham. With the patriarchs, again, before the establishment of the covenant of works, the intercourse of the angels was more familiar, more affable. To this character of intercourse there is a return when the Gospel admits believers to the society of the "innumerable company of angels."

III. The opening the eyes of Elisha's servant [2 Kings vi. 17] was an instruction to those who doubted the Psalmist's word, "The angel of the Lord tarrieth round about them that fear Him:" and an instruction to us, if we ever doubt the "more sure word" of Christian prophecy. To us, in this as in still higher matters, seeing is denied, that we may obtain the higher blessing of those who believe, and therefore act, without seeing. The more we can realize the presence of God's angels, as in Christian assemblies so in private, the more closely shall we keep to the ordinance and rule of God's government, and therefore the more nearly shall we live to Him who has appointed such ministrations. In Christian assemblies angels are present, and regard is to be had to their presence [1 Cor. xi. 10], they present the prayers of the faithful before the throne of God [Rev. viii. 3, 4], they are watchers on God's part of the fulfilment of the duties of the ministry [1 Tim. v. 21], and of the discharge of the vows of the worshipper [Eccles. v. 6].

As in the assemblies of the Church, so in the private life of each heir of salvation, they watch over Christ's little ones [Matt. xviii. 10], they rejoice over each sinner that repenteth [Luke xv. 10], they present to God alms and prayers, and return with blessings of fuller light [Acts x. 4], they continue their ministrations to Christ by ministering in behalf of His members (for to them, as well as to us, belongs the word, "Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of these little ones, ye have done it unto Me), they unceasingly carry on that warfare whose first great victory was won when Satan was cast out of heaven, they convey the souls of the faithful to paradise [Luke xvi. 22], and at the end of all things they will be ministers of the last dread judgment.

ANNATES. These, which were also called First Fruits, were payments made by bishops to the Pope at the time of their consecration; and were a practical recognition of his supremacy, being of the nature of a tribute. The first step of the Reformation in the Church of England was the repudiation of this tribute by the clergy. [Blunt's *Reformat. Ch. of Eng.* i. 250.]

The origin of Annates appears to be traceable to the presents which were made to the Pope by all bishops at the time of their consecration; and it is alleged that this custom was so early as to be abolished by Gregory the Great. If the custom existed at such an early period, it probably did not extend beyond those bishops who were consecrated by the Pope's own hands. Nor was the amount paid very definite; but it was understood to be not less than a year's income, and sometimes even much more was required. The sum paid by the bishop was, however, partly made up to him by the first fruits which he received from his clergy on their preferment. The payment of these was not regularly established until A.D. 1253, when by granting the revenue derived from them to Henry III. for three years, Pope Innocent gained the co-operation of the Crown in fixing them upon the clergy. In 1288 Nicolas IV. made a similar grant of them for six years to Edward I. for the expenses of the Crusade.

Between A.D. 1486 and A.D. 1531, a sum equivalent to £45,000 a year had been paid to the Popes by the English bishops in the form of Annates. In the latter year the Convocation of Canterbury petitioned the Crown for relief, and a conditional Act [23 Hen. VIII. cap. 20] was passed, by which a compromise was offered to the Pope. No notice being taken of this offer, the Act was confirmed by Letters Patent (according to the terms of its enactments) on July 9, 1533.

First-fruits in a less onerous form have since been paid to the Crown by every priest and bishop on acceding to a benefice, if above a certain annual value. But the tax was applied to the benefit of the clergy by Queen Anne's Bounty Act, and is now chiefly used for building parsonage houses.

ANNOTINE EASTER. A day observed by primitive Christians in commemoration of their baptism. The festival was kept only by those who had been baptized in the previous year, and was nominally the anniversary of the day on which they had been baptized. There seems to have been some variation in the day itself. The fourth Sunday after Easter, the Thursday after the Sunday which was the actual Dominical anniversary of the previous Easter, the third Saturday after Easter, and Low Sunday, are the four

days named by ancient writers. But Low Sunday, or the octave of Easter, appears to have been the usual day. [Micrologus, lvi.; Martene, IV. xxvi. 6.]

ANNUAL COMMEMORATION. It was an early practice of the primitive Church to commemorate the martyrs on the anniversary of their deaths: and when the days of persecution had come to an end, the habit was extended, or continued to be practised, in respect to others of the departed, besides martyrs, such as relatives, friends, and benefactors. Hence were derived the Obits and Year-minds of the Church of England, which are still kept up by many people in their private devotions, and which are publicly recognised in the Obit Sunday service of St. George's, Windsor, and the "Commendation of Benefactors" at the colleges of our Universities. For the offices used on these occasions see the *Annotated Book of Common Prayer, Appendix to the Burial Office.* The University "Commemoration" at Oxford is a secular corruption of this religious custom.

ANNUNCIATION. [1.] *The fact.* In St. Luke's Gospel it is narrated that at a certain time there indicated the angel Gabriel was sent from God to the Virgin Mary, and that on coming into her presence he saluted her with the words, "Hail, thou that are highly favoured, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women." This angelic salutation was followed by the announcement, "Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God. And behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call His Name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David: And He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of His kingdom there shall be no end." And when the Blessed Virgin inquired how this should be, Gabriel answered her, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" [Luke i. 26-35]. The overshadowing of the Holy Ghost appears to have ensued at once, and from the time of the Annunciation is to be dated the beginning of the Incarnation of the Word of God.

[2.] *The festival.* At what date this great mystery began first to be commemorated is uncertain. There is a collect for the day in the Sacramentary of Gelasius [A.D. 492], and also in that of St. Gregory [A.D. 590], and a homily exists which was preached upon the day by Proclus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, some time in the earlier half of the fifth century. The Council of Toledo [A.D. 656] passed a canon changing the date of its observance to December 18th, so that it should never occur during Lent: but this latter day became eventually the feast of "The Expectation of the Blessed Virgin," and the Annunciation was still commemorated on March 25th. Whether or not that is the actual day on which the event occurred is to be determined by the chronology of the Christian era, as associated with the Nativity of our Lord. [Incarnation. Christmas. Ave Maria.]

ANOINTING. How the ceremonial use of oil originated is utterly unknown. Its first appearance in history is in the book of Genesis, where Jacob is twice recorded to have set up a pillar and poured oil upon it [Gen. xxviii. 18, xxxv. 14, cf. xxxi. 13]. There is no evidence whatever to warrant us in associating this early ceremonial use of oil with any habit of anointing the person for the sake of health or luxury, and anything that could be said to the effect would be mere conjecture. Of its ceremonial use in the consecration of persons and things among the Jews there are abundant instances. [I.] Persons. Priests were so anointed by special command of God [Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 7, xl. 15]. Kings were also anointed, equally by express Divine command [1 Sam. x. 1 and xv. 1, xvi. 1, 13; 2 Kings ix. 1, 3]. It appears also from the way in which the anointing of Elisha is mentioned, as if it was a Divine precept in respect to the ordinations of prophets [1 Kings xix. 16]. [II.] Things. God also commanded Moses to anoint the tabernacle, the ark, the table of shew-bread, the altars, and all the vessels, saying in addition "And thou shalt sanctify them that they may be most holy" [Exod. xxx. 26-29, xl. 9-11]. The unction was to be made with a special kind of oil, or ointment, made of ingredients named by God in certain fixed proportions [Exod. xxx. 23-25], and no person was to be permitted to make any like it, or to use it for any other purpose, under pain of excommunication [Exod. xxx. 33]. A special class of men, called "apothecaries," were afterwards appointed for the purpose of compounding it, and the "ointment of the apothecary" is the "precious ointment" of the sanctuary.

Whether or not the ceremonial anointing of persons and things found its way among the Gentile nations from the Jews, it is certain that it was so common that it would be no exaggeration to call it an universal custom: and this fact seems to show that it had its roots deeply planted in some religious instinct or primeval revelation. Associating this with the solemnity of the Divine ordinances respecting it, the evi dence tends towards a high probability that, like many other customs, anointing looked towards the Messiah, or Anointed One, as the Redeemer for whom the world was waiting: a conviction which is strengthened by the fact that our Lord first announced His office by adopting the words of Isaiah, "The Lord hath anointed Me," [Isa. lxi. 1; Luke iv. 18]. In some mysterious way oil and precious ointment became symbolical of the mission of the Holy Ghost, in the power of which the Messiah, the Christ, the Anointed One, went forth to His redeeming work. And thus the anointings of prophet, priest, and king, were supremely typical of a delegation of Divine authority and Divine assistance.

The practice of ceremonial anointing was adopted into the Christian Church from the very

first. The Apostles used it, doubtless by our Lord's command, in restoring the sick to health [Mark vi. 7, 12, 13], and St. James speaks of it as if of a well-known custom [James v. 14, 15]. It also became part of the ceremonies of Baptism, Confirmation, Ordination, and Coronation. [Christ. Extreme Unction. Baptism. Confirmation, &c.]

ANOMŒANS [ἀ and ὅμοιος]. A sect of semi-Arians, condemned by them in their Council of Seleucia [A.D. 359.] They denied the *likeness* of God the Son to God the Father, as well as His consubstantiality, and hence their name. [Aëtians, Eunomians.]

ANTELUCAN. A term of reproach given to the early Eucharists of the primitive Christians. These were celebrated before daybreak for the sake of safety, in times of persecution: but the heathen imagined that such secrecy was adopted on account of immmoral or criminal rites.

ANTHEM. [Antiphon.]

ANTHROPOMORPHISM [*i.e.* in the likeness or form of man]. A name given to the opinion that the Deity has a human form, and that passages of Scripture which speak of God's "eye" or "ear," His "smelling a sweet savour," and His creating man in "His own image or likeness" [Gen. i. 27, vi. 8, viii. 21; Neh. i. 6], are to be understood in their literal sense. This gross error is inconsistent with the teaching of Scripture, that God is a spirit, infinite and omnipresent, and that it is impossible by man's art or device to delineate the form of Him whom no man hath seen or can see [Isa. xl. 18; Acts xvii. 29]. Melito, a writer of the second century, has been supposed to hold Anthropomorphic errors; but only fragments of his works are extant, and his alleged errors may fairly be questioned.[1] Tertullian also has been supposed to have held similar opinions. He says that God has a body, though not the same as ours,[2] and passions, though not as man's;[3] meaning perhaps by "body" the Divine essence, or in other words that God is not a mere phantasm, but has a personal and substantial existence. His orthodoxy on this point is maintained by Natalis Alexander[4] and others.[5]

About the middle of the fourth century [A.D. 340], Audæus, a monk of Syria, was expelled from the Church, chiefly at least for censuring the immoral lives of the clergy, and then fell into the errors of Anthropomorphism. The sect originating from him, called Audæans, were probably extinct at the close of the fifth century.[6] The ecclesiastical historians, Socrates,[7] Sozomen,[8] and Theodoret,[9] give an account of the general prevalence at the close of the fourth century of Anthropomorphism amongst the monks of Egypt. Thus Sozomen says: "Most of the monks of that region believed that God had eyes, ears," &c. Probably such opinions had been derived from the Audæan sect, or from a want of education and instruction they had fallen into similar errors.

The latest work of St. Cyril of Alexandria is written against the Anthropomorphism of some of the monks of Mount Calamon in Egypt. Nor were such opinions extinct many centuries afterwards. In the tenth century Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, had a controversy [A.D. 939] on Anthropomorphism; "for in the neighbourhood of Vicenza there were many persons not only amongst the laity, but the clergy, who supposed that God possesses a human form, and sits upon a golden throne in the manner of kings, and that his ministers or angels are winged men clothed in white robes."[10]

Anthropomorphism, though a gross error, does not exclude or necessarily lead to separation from the communion of the Church. St. Augustine[11] speaks of some who held such views (carnales et parvulos *nostros*), which he considers more tolerable than the heresy of Manichæism. Anthropomorphism is not professed by any modern sect.

ANTICHRIST. Ὁ Ἀντίχριστος is four times referred to by St. John [1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7], but the name itself is not used by any other New Testament writer. It is plainly a designation formed from the name which indicates the office of our Lord, and by which He was known in prophecy: "The Antichrist" being etymologically related and set opposite to "the Christ." An analogous designation Ἀντιθεος

[1] See the fragments of Melito [Migne's ed.] He was accused of Anthropomorphism chiefly on the authority of Origen and on account of the *title* of a work which is no longer extant, περὶ ἐνσωμάτου Θεοῦ, which is supposed to mean "On God in human form," but may be translated "On God, *i.e.* Christ, incarnate." St. Jerome in his tract "De illustribus viris" [sec. 24] gives an account of St. Melito's works, and refers *without censure* to this treatise, and could not therefore have given to the title an uncatholic meaning.

[2] Quis enim negabit Deum corpus esse, etsi Deus spiritus est? Spiritus enim corpus sui generis in sua effigie. Sed et invisibilia illa quæcunque sunt, habent apud Deum et suum corpus et suam formam, per quæ soli Deo visibilia sunt, quanto magis quod ex Ipsius substantia missum est [*scil.* Filius ejus] sine substantia non erit! Quæcunque ergo substantia Sermonis fuit, illam dico personam, et illi nomen Filii vindico; et dum Filium agnosco, secundum a Patre defendo. [*Advers Praxeam*, c. vii.]

[3] Nam et dexteram et oculos et pedes Dei legimus, nec ideo tamen humanis comparabuntur, quia de appellatione sociantur. Quanta erit diversitas divini corporis et humani sub eisdem nominibus membrorum, tanta erit et animi divini et humani differentia sub eisdem licet vocabulis sensuum, quos tam corruptorios efficit in homine corruptibilitas substantiæ humanæ, quam incorruptorios in Deo efficit incorruptibilitas substantiæ divinæ. . . . Omnia necesse est adhibeat [Deus] propter omnia: tot sensus quot et causas: et iram propter scelestos et bilem propter ingratos, et emulationem propter superbos, et quicquid non expedit malis. Sed et misericordiam propter errantes et patientiam propter non resipiscentes et præstantiam propter merentes, et quicquid bonis opus est. Quæ omnia patitur more suo. . . . [*Advers. Marcionem*, lib. 2, c. xvi.]

[4] In *Hist. Eccles.* sæc. 11, dissert. ix.

[5] In Tertull., *Apologet.* auct. Nourry, c. vii. 3.

[6] An account of Audæus is given in Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. x. sec. 44, and by Natalis Alexander, *Eccles. Histor.*, tom. iv. de secta Audæorum.

[7] Lib. vi. 7. [8] Lib. viii. 6. [9] Lib. iv. 10.

[10] Mosheim, tenth century, *History of Heresies*, cap. v. §4.

[11] *Contra. Epistol. Manichæi.* c. xxiii. See also *De Hæresibus*, 1.

is found in classical writers, and also in St. Chrysostom's *Commentary* on the second chapter of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians. The word is undoubtedly intended to signify an opponent of Christ, as St. Augustine says, "Antichristus, id est contrarius Christo" [*Ep. Johan.* ii. tract. iii. 4], and as is also said by St. Hilary [*Ep. contra Auxent.*] and others: but *ἀντί* in composition bears the sense of usurpation not less than that of opposition, and this seems to have been included, at least, in the original idea of the Antichrist, if it was not the primary sense in which the designation was understood. As the early Church was familiar with the idea of the great enemy of God transforming himself into an angel of light [2 Cor. xi. 14], so was it with the idea of "the Antichrist" being a counterfeit Christ as well as an opponent of Christ.

The manner in which St. John writes respecting the Antichrist shews that the subject on which he was writing was one that formed a common topic of early Christian teaching, "as *ye have heard* that Antichrist shall come," and again, "this is that spirit of Antichrist, of which *ye have heard* that it shall come." There are no other parts of the New Testament in which anything is said that can be directly associated with these words, and it must therefore be supposed that he refers to oral teaching. But from the earliest times two passages in the prophet Daniel, and one in an Epistle of St. Paul, have been considered to refer to the Antichrist. The Old Testament prophet, speaking of his vision of the day of judgment, describes it as preceded by the appearance of a little horn, in which "were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things" [Dan. vii. 8, viii. 8-14], and afterwards of "a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences," whose "power shall be mighty, but not by his own power," &c. [Dan. viii. 23]. St. Paul, also writing of the day of judgment, says, "that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God" [2 Thess. ii. 3]. And the apostle adds that he had already spoken of this man of sin: "Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things," an expression corresponding with the "as ye have heard" of St. John.[1] It may also be observed that these passages from Daniel and St. Paul are in close keeping with Rev. xiii. 4-18, the mystical allusions of which have been constantly interpreted of Antichrist.

These passages of Holy Scripture might be supplemented by many more, especially from the Psalms, in which there are mystical allusions to some great personal antagonist of Christ, but as mystical allusions are always open to dispute it will be better to rest upon the above, as setting forth the generally received view of Antichrist as it stands in the Old and New Testaments.

There was no doubt in the early Church that by the Antichrist of these passages was intended a real person. In more recent times they have been supposed to refer to systems or principles, as the Roman Empire, Infidelity, the Church of Rome, Worldliness. But this mode of interpretation is much less consistent with the language used in both the Old and New Testaments than that which, with the ancient Church, regards it as setting forth a personal Antichrist. Attributes of personality, life, and individual action are assigned to the Antichrist of Scripture. He is to sit in the temple of God, to exalt himself, to work miracles, to be "that wicked one," to be destroyed, and so forth. The use of the article, Ὁ Ἀντίχριστος, is also of no small significance in the same direction. And lastly, more than all, the nature of the opposition which is to be shown by Antichrist towards Christ is manifestly characteristic of a person. Although, therefore, any system which directly opposes itself to Christianity may very naturally be called Antichristianity, yet as the one is the system of a personal Founder and Centre, so also is the other; as Christianity grows from and converges towards Christ, so Antichristianity grows from and converges towards Antichrist.

The idea of the Antichrist is indeed that of a person setting up a kingdom in opposition to, and for the purpose of supplanting, the Kingdom of God. Thus, in the prophecy of Daniel, he is represented as (to use the word of Chrysostom) the Antitheos. But after the Incarnation of the Son of God, the kingdom of God became revealed as the system of which Christ is the Head. And thus the Antichrist must be defined to be a person setting up a religious system antagonistic to that of our Lord Jesus Christ.

From this we may see how various persons have come to be stigmatized as Antichrists, though none of them exhibit in anything like completeness the characteristics set down as those of *the* Antichrist. So Antiochus Epiphanes was generally called, of those who lived before the coming of our Lord; and so Mahomet, of those who have lived since. Each offered direct and systematic opposition to God's kingdom, and Mahomet practically offered himself to men as the supplanter of Christ. These are the two most conspicuous of what may be called typical Antichrists; but as St. John wrote, "even now are there many Antichrists," so we must regard as belonging to the same class such persons as Simon Magus, Dositheus, Bar-Cochab, Menander, and others, who not only denied Christ, but also set up visible "false Christs" in opposition to Him who had been received out of the sight of His disciples. "As the Saviour," said St Jerome, "had Solomon and the other saints as types of His coming, so we may rightly believe that Antichrist had as a type of himself that most evil king Antiochus, who persecuted the saints and profaned the temple" [Jerom. *on Dan.* xi. 21]; a principle which may plainly be extended to

[1] The same familiarity with such teaching is indicated by the use of the relative, "*that* man of sin."

such persons as those above named without any violation of the sobriety of sound interpretation.

Among the great variety of opinions entertained respecting Antichrist by ancient writers, there is one opinion in which they are unanimous, viz. that he will appear in the age immediately preceding the Second Advent of Christ, and that he will be a person specially under the influence of Satan. Thus Origen quotes Celsus as having said that Christ had declared Satan would come as He Himself had done, work miracles, and usurp the glory of God [Orig. *cont. Cels.* vi. 42]; and in the Apostolic Constitutions Antichrist is called "the deceiver of the world, the enemy of the truth, the champion of that which is false," [*Const. App.* vii. 32], this person being directly afterwards named the Devil. St. Cyril of Jerusalem expresses the same belief: "When the true Christ is about to appear a second time, the Adversary, taking advantage of the expectation of the simple, will actuate a certain man who is a magician, and very expert in the art of deceiving" [*Catech.* xv. 4]; and so also does Theophylact: "Now this Antichrist is a man who carries Satan about with him" [Theophyl. *in* 1 *John* iv. 3]. And in the second of the Clementine Homilies it is said that "towards the end Antichrist will appear (preceded by a forerunning prophet), and after him ὁ ὄντως Χριστὸς, the true Christ" [II. xvii.]. The opinion was also very general among the Fathers that Antichrist would not appear so long as the Roman Empire endured, but that when it had been broken up into ten kingdoms, he would come, and reunite them into an universal empire under his own sovereignty. This idea, that τὸ κατέχον of 2 Thess. ii. 6 was the Roman Empire is first found in Tertullian [*de Resurrect. Carn.* xxiv.]; and the same writer says in his Apology [xxxii.] that Christians prayed daily for the prosperity of the emperors and the empire, and for the interests of Rome, because they knew that the continuance of these would hinder the approach of Antichrist. Lactantius [*Divin. Instit.* vii. 25] speaks in a similar strain.[1] Lastly, it was a common opinion that he would be a Jew, of the tribe of Dan, of which tribe no mention is made in the book of the Revelation.

It seems to be indicated in the little which is said about Antichrist in Holy Scripture that this last great enemy of Christ and His kingdom will directly and definitely simulate the Person and Power of Christ. To this the very language of the Apostles witnesses, for they speak of the "coming," or advent, of Antichrist, of his "appearing," and his "revelation:" the "mystery of iniquity," in 2 Thess. ii. 7, opposes itself to the "mystery of godliness" in 1 Tim. iii. 16: Antichrist's presence in the world is to be signalized by great "signs and wonders," *i.e.* miracles wrought by him: and the one characteristic by which his appearance is set forth in the Apocalypse is that he is like a lamb, though speaking as a dragon [Rev. xiii. 11]. This idea took a strong hold upon some divines of the early Church. Thus Hippolytus wrote in his treatise on Christ and Antichrist: "The deceiver seeks to liken himself in all things to the Son of God. Christ is a Lion, so Antichrist is a lion; Christ is a King, so Antichrist is also a king. The Saviour was manifested as a Lamb; so he too will appear as a lamb, though within he is a wolf. The Saviour came into the world in the circumcision, so also will he. The Saviour sent apostles among all nations, and he in like manner will send false apostles. The Saviour gathered together the sheep that were scattered abroad, and he will likewise bring together a scattered people. The Lord gave a seal to those who believed in Him, and he will give one in like manner. The Saviour appeared in the form of man, and he too will come in human form. The Saviour raised up and shewed His holy flesh like a temple, and he will raise a temple of stone in Jerusalem." By some eminent Fathers it was, indeed, believed (and the belief is a very probable one) that Antichrist would be an incarnation of the Evil One, who seems to have assumed the form of a serpent when trying to win our first parents from some dim foresight of the Incarnation which was to win mankind for God. Thus Theodoret writes: "For the devil will imitate the Incarnation of our God and Saviour, and as the Lord was manifested by the instrumentality of man's nature, and wrought our salvation, so shall the devil also take a meet instrument of his own wickedness, and by means thereof shew forth his own operation, deceiving such men as are indolent and off their guard with false signs and wonders, and a parade of simulative miracles" [Theodoret, *in Dan.* vii. 26]. In the tract on Antichrist attributed to St. Augustine there is also language of a somewhat similar kind: "But let us now see what is the beginning of Antichrist. He will be born in the usual way, like other men, and not, as some say, of a virgin alone. . . . But at the very moment when he begins to be conceived, the devil will enter at the same time into his mother's womb, and of the power of the devil will his substance be compacted, quickened, and nourished: and the power of the devil will ever be with him. . . . Thus shall the devil descend on the mother of Antichrist, and fill her entirely, surround her entirely, hold her entirely, and possess her entirely within and without; that by the cooperation of the devil she may conceive through a man, and that the thing which shall be born may be altogether sinful, altogether damned."

Some confirmation of this opinion that Antichrist will be Satan incarnate is given by the fact that the course of opposition to Christianity has been that of a continuous development from coarse and broad forms of antagonism, such as heathen persecutions and absolute impostures, to those of a more subtle kind. It would thus seem that the great enemy was slowly acquiring a more perfect knowledge of the Christian system; and as the incarnation of God is the very foundation

[1] There was also a singular opinion that Antichrist would be Nero resuscitated. See Lactant. *de Mortib. Persec.* ii.; Jerom. *in Dan.* xi.; Aug. *de Civit. Dei*, xix 3, xx.

of that system, so the knowledge of that truth at last acquired by Satan may be the great climax of knowledge respecting Christ and His work, out of which he will develop an imitation "coming with all deceivableness" among men. If this be a true opinion, then the great crowning feature of the last assault on Christianity will be the setting up the person, kingdom, and worship of Satan incarnate in the human form of Antichrist, as a substitute for the Person, kingdom, and worship, of our Lord Jesus Christ. As the "mystery of Godliness" is the manifestation of God in the flesh, so a dreadful simulation of it will be the "mystery of iniquity." The "abomination of desolation" may then be truly said to "stand in the holy place" when "the son of perdition, that wicked One, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped," does, in his final pride, "sit in the temple of God" by proclaiming himself as the object of Divine worship, and "declaring himself that he is God." The seduction of mankind to this new system of faith and worship will, of course, be the great "falling away," or apostasy, predicted by our Lord and St. Paul.

The subject of this article is dealt with by every commentator on the books of Daniel and the Revelation. There is also much useful information in Gresweil *on the Parables*, i. 370-396. But the most exhaustive work is *Malvenda de Antichristo*, a folio in eleven books, published at Rome in 1604.

ANTIDORON. A Greek liturgical word for the remains of the unconsecrated bread which had been blessed in the Office of the Prothesis. Its name is derived from the original purpose of its institution, that of distribution to the non-communicants "instead of the gift" of the Eucharistic bread itself. Its origin is referred by Balsamon to the Council of Antioch, by the Latins to Pope Pius I. [Neale's *Introd. Hist. of Eastern Ch.* 525.] There is no doubt a close association between the modern "pain beni" or "l'offrande" of the French, the "blessed bread" of the old English Church, the Eulogiæ of the ancient Latins, the Antidoron of the Greeks, and the primitive love feasts. [AGAPÆ.]

ANTILEGOMENA. The ancient ecclesiastical term for disputed books claiming to be part of the Holy Scriptures. [CANON.]

ANTINOMIANISM means, literally, opposed to law, or as the word is generally understood, to the moral law of God. We first read in ecclesiastical history of the Antinomianism of various Gnostic sects, not only held as a pure theory, but in its development of gross licentiousness. The principal Gnostic teachers maintained that there was a radical difference amongst men: some, created evil, were incapable of salvation; and others who were of celestial or divine origin would finally be saved, however licentious their lives.[1] There are allusions to Gnosticism in the New Testament —its strange and monstrous creed and gross immoralities—by St. Paul [1 Tim. vi. 20, 21; Col. ii. 18, 19; 1 Tim. iv. 1-5] and St. John [1 Epist. ii. 18-22, iii. 7-9]. Cerinthus, a Gnostic teacher, was contemporary with the latter Apostle [CERINTHIANS], and St. John speaks of the Nicolaitanes [Rev. ii. 6, 15], a profligate sect,[2] which probably originated from one of the seven deacons, Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch [Acts vi. 5].

But we should wholly mistake the theory of Antinomianism did we suppose that it merely flowed from man's corrupt nature, or was an excuse for the gratification of his evil desires. Antinomianism, or such opinions as generally or necessarily lead to it, alleges in its support the teaching of Holy Scripture, and we cannot doubt from the allusions to "faith" by Gnostic teachers, that they attempted in some degree to justify their licentiousness from the supposed meaning of St. Paul's teaching.

At the period of the Reformation, Antinomianism, generally free from the immoralities of Gnosticism, reappeared on an alleged scriptural foundation under the name of justification by faith only, or Solifidianism. The teaching of St. Paul on justification by faith "without the deeds of the law" was so interpreted by Luther and others as to exclude justification by works, or to contradict the teaching of St. James, that we are justified by works and not by faith only [JUSTIFICATION]. Bishop Bull[3] has shewn that St. James probably wrote his epistle for the purpose of correcting the erroneous impression which prevailed of the meaning of St. Paul's teaching.[4]

That Luther held the heresy of Solifidianism is unquestionable, as will elsewhere be proved [JUSTIFICATION]. One of his disciples, John Agricola, openly taught Antinomianism at Wittenberg [A.D. 1538], and though his teaching was disclaimed, and (we are told) refuted by Luther,[5] it was un-

[1] St. Irenæus (lib. i. c. 24) gives an account of the gross immorality of the followers of Simon Magus, from whom all heresies were derived (ex quo universæ hæreses substiterunt), and of Carpocrates and the Cainites.

[2] S. Iren. *de hær.* lib. i. c. 26, § 3.

[3] *On Justification*, dissert. ii. c. iv.

[4] Dr Burton says: "James (*i.e.* St. James the Apostle, Bishop of Jerusalem) must have witnessed the effect of this false philosophy (Gnostic errors) in the neighbouring country of Samaria, where Simon Magus, as I have stated, met with great success. That impostor perverted the doctrines of the Gospel, and probably quoted St. Paul as saying that good works were of no importance. I have conjectured that Simon was at Rome about the time of St. Paul addressing his epistle to the Christians of that city. He may himself have seen that epistle, and may have spread a false account of it upon his return shortly after to Samaria. The Bishop of Jerusalem would feel himself called upon to repress an evil which came so near; and we may thus arrive at a probable cause, as well as an approximation to a date of the catholic Epistle of James. It was perhaps written between the year 53, when St. Paul wrote to the Romans, and the year 62, when James himself was put to death." [*Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, ix. 1844.]

[5] Sleidan [*History of the Reformation*, book xii.] gives the following account, from which it appears that Luther only refuted, or attempted to refute, some of the reasons on which Agricola founded his Antinomianism. Luther did not, and was unable to shew that, admitting *his own* theory, obedience to the moral law was not by fair inference virtually set aside as necessary for salvation: "This year 1538, the sect of the Antinomians began. Their opinion is, that repentence ought not to be urged from a consideration of the breach of the Decalogue, and they dispute against those who maintained that men are not

questionably a legitimate result of his own system or theory. The erroneous belief of the Anabaptists, which during the Peasant War[1] was accompanied with gross profligacy, we may say was logically derived from Lutheranism, since, if faith only justifies, infants, who cannot believe, are not the fit subjects of baptism.

Again, the Calvinistic doctrine of IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS may be justly charged with Antinomianism, since a believer clothed in the robe of Christ's righteousness is represented as being in a state of absolute perfection, and thus his individual merits or demerits cannot alter his state in the sight of God. The Antinomianism which has been the result of Calvinistic teaching in modern times (during last century) is strikingly set forth by Fletcher in his *Checks to Antinomianism* [2d Check, 3d Letter].

The teaching of Holy Scripture on the subject will be seen in the passages quoted below.[2] The Church, following its guidance, has ever represented as of primary and indispensable importance the duty of obedience to God's commandments, which is the only satisfactory proof of love to Him; and has condemned such theories as are above noticed, not merely as presumptuously intruding into those "secret things" which belong to God only [see Deut. xxix. 29], but as likely to set aside our bounden duties and obligations as Christians: assuring us that "in keeping God's commandments we please Him both in will and deed."[3]

ANTIOCH, SCHOOL OF. The "Royal city" [1 Macc. iii. 37] of Antioch, partly insulated on the outflow of the Orontes, and with its harbour of Seleucia, was built by Seleucus Nicator [B.C. 300], and colonized by Jews, who were placed on the same municipal and political level with the Greek population [Jos. *Ant.* III. i. c., Ap. ii. 4]. It was one main gate of the East, through which India and Persia poured their wealth into Europe. The Romans, who "where they conquered dwelt" [Seneca *ad Helv.* § 6], freely resorted to Antioch, so that the social habits of the Antiochean reflected the civilization, and, as Chrysostom says, the vices also of the forum. "In Tiberim defluxit Orontes" was true as regards the origin of Oriental superstitions in Rome, but the tidal action was reciprocal, and the Orontes received back a broad wave of population from the Tiber, with much also of its alluvium. The population in fact was, as Mr. Conybeare has stated, "a worthless rabble." Antioch, as the head of a despised group of provincial towns, the Roman capital of Syria, was itself a servile imitator of the great metropolis; but it was Rome Hellenized, and Italo-Greek fashions prevailed, modified by the barbaric luxury of Eastern life. Antiochus Epiphanes, a great affecter of everything Roman, built a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the Silpian height, and introduced the Roman costume, himself wearing the toga in the streets of Antioch; and altogether he gave to the city a more European cast than otherwise it would have had. As at Alexandria so at Antioch: the Macedonians established schools of Greek learning, but with this difference, that while the Platonic philosophy was chiefly represented at Alexandria, the Peripatetic was the popular form at Antioch, the system of Aristotle being of more easy Oriental assimilation. Neo-Platonism had its Oriental analogies, received through Philo and other Hellenistic sources; but in whatever degree the Oriental mind has shewn any spontaneous proclivity towards Greek learning, Aristotle has been the master followed. Thus Avicenna and Averroes initiated the Moors of Spain in the dialectics of Aristotle; who became known to the schools of the Middle Ages at fourth hand through Latin translations of Arabic versions from original Syriac renderings of the Greek text. [Munk, *Mélanges de Ph. Juive et Arabe*, p. 314.]

The schools of Antioch also resounded with discussions derived from the Lyceum; and here, as at Rome, the Sophist jangled and quibbled, when the oratory of an early period had been forgotten. The schools of Antioch were wholly in the hands of the Sophists. Antioch was the place where the people of Christ first obtained the name of Christians; but it was also the place where the spirit of scepticism developed the first germs of the heresy that has done more than anything else to scatter and harass the flock of Christ—the Arian heresy. Gnosticism, the product of Egypt, was scarcely within the Church. The arch-heretic Simon Magus had introduced it at Antioch [Justin M., *Apol.* i. 26]; and his disciple Saturninus obtained a considerable following there as a teacher of ascetic Gnosticism. The epistles also of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, shew that he had been brought into close contact with one form or other of that many-headed pest. Origen, when his father suffered martyrdom under Septimius Severus, and when his family property was confiscated, was admitted by a lady of family into her house; and his faith was put to a severe trial by reason of her adopted son, named Paulus, being a Gnostic teacher of Antioch. Gnosticism, however, came *ab extra*, while Arianism was purely endemic, and may be traced back in its rise to the sophistical disputa-

to have the Gospel preached to them till their minds are alarmed and worked into compunction by the doctrine of the law. But they assert, on the contrary, that let a man's life be never so scandalous and debauched, yet if he does but believe the promises of the Gospel he shall be justified. Johannes Islebius Agricola was their leading man, but this heresy was soon confuted at large by Luther, where he sheweth that the law was not given that we might be justified by it, but to discover the nature and malignity of sin, and to terrify the conscience; and therefore it is to be pressed in the first place, afterwards the Gospel is to be explained, which represents the Son of God as a mediator and propitiation for the whole world." He then says that Agricola, being better instructed afterwards, came over to Luther's opinion, and made a public confession of his error. [*Bohun's translation*, p. 244, 1689.]

[1] There were two risings of the Anabaptists, under Munzer and Storck [1521-25] and under John of Leyden [1534-5].

[2] Deut. v. 29, vi. 24, 25, x. 12, 13, xxx. 9, 10; Psa. lxxxi. 11-16, cxii. 1-4; Isaiah i. 16-20, xxxii. 17, lviii. 6-11; Eccles. xii. 13; Micah vi. 8; Matt. vii. 16-27, xxv. 31-45; John xiv. 15, 21, 23, 24, xv. 2, 8, 10; Rom. ii. 6-10; Gal. vi. 7, 8; Ephes. ii. 10; 1 John ii. 3-6, 17, 29, iii. 4, 6-10, v. 3, 18; 1 Peter i. 14, 15; 2 Peter i. 3-11; Rev. xxii. 12, 14, 15.

[3] Collect for First Sunday after Trinity.

tions of the Antiochean schools; though Arius, from his Alexandrian extraction, was called by Jerome "demonium meridianum" [*adv. Ruf.* ii. 149]. Nothing could be more pernicious than the practice of making deep religious truth the subject of scholastic discussion; nothing more likely to give a sceptical bias to inconstant minds. Arianism in its first rise was at once referred back to Paul of Samosata, the heretical and judaizing Bishop of Antioch, who had elicited the first sparks of mischief that were destined to envelop the whole religious world in flames. [Alex. *Ep. ad Constant. Theod. H. E.*, i. 4.] He exactly exemplifies the tendency of such schools as the Antiochean. The hopes of the Sophist lay in points of attack rather than of defence, in weakening and demolishing an enemy's position rather than in building up a sound rampart of doctrine for self-defence. Thus Paul endeavoured to undermine the Catholic faith by a sophistical use of the term "substance;" and his attack so far met with success as to cast discredit for a time on the term ὁμοούσιος, which afterwards became the test of orthodoxy. The word in heretical language meant "one individuality;" in Catholic acceptance "one nature." Paul at first gave way before the weight of Catholic tradition brought to bear upon him in the first council of Antioch, A.D. 265; but he continued to propagate his error, and a brother Sophist, Melchion, was the means of detecting and procuring its condemnation. It was not without reason, therefore, that Epiphanius styled Aristotle the Bishop of the Arians. The practical morality of Peripatetic doctrine, as expounded by Lucian the Martyr, commended it to men whose adhesion to the Arian cause would otherwise have caused our surprise. The schools still kept the discussion alive; until Arius followed with singular precision in the steps of Paul. Being well versed in dialectics, οὐκ ἄμοιρος τῆς διαλεκτικῆς [Socr. i. 5], he attacked in syllogistic form Bishop Alexander's doctrine of the Eternal Filiation of the Word as Sabellian, and from love of disputation flew to the opposite extreme; "endeavouring to exhibit the Divine Nature by Aristotelian syllogisms and mathematical data" [Epiphanius, *Hær.*], he naturally got very wide of the truth. Syllogisms, however, are as pointless arrows for the many, whether as regards the propagation of truth or of error. "Non in dialecticâ complacuit Deo salvum facere populum suum" [Ambros. *de Fid.* i. 3]; neither would Arian error have been so formidable if its teachers had confined themselves to a dialectical method. But as Paul set forth his views in hymns for popular use, so Arius conveyed his blasphemies home to the people in verse. The subject need not be followed out here to a greater extent; it is sufficient to have indicated the first impulse that Arianism received from the schools of Antioch.

Yet if the dialectical school of Antioch was a hotbed of mischief, there was also a sound school of biblical exegesis, following a straightforward line of grammatical interpretation [Conybeare, *Bampt. Lect.* iv.], rather than the allegorizing mysticism that gained such head at Alexandria. Its method is best seen in the exegesis of Chrysostom. Antioch in this respect stood second only to the Rome of the three first centuries. Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, [A.D. 168], in his work *ad Autolycum* indicates the learned Platonic Christian; he also wrote a Commentary on the Gospels [Jerom. *de Vir. ill.*]; and the valuable religious training that was organized at Antioch may be seen in the labours of such men as Serapion; as Lucian the Martyr, led by generosity of feeling as a pupil rather than by theological conviction to cast in his lot with Paul of Samosata, and who made a careful revision of the LXX. text, copies of which were known by his name as Λουκιάνεια, "Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat" [Hieron. *adv. Ruf.* ii.]; as the learned presbyter Dorotheus, made by Diocletian prefect of an establishment for manufacturing purple dye, his reward for Hebrew scholarship; as Meletius, with whom Chrysostom studied for a year with lifelong benefit, and afterwards as Bishop delivered his celebrated homilies, "De statuis," in the church of Antioch; as Flavian, Diodorus of Tarsus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and others. It is to be regretted that our knowledge of the orthodox teaching communicated at Antioch is so slender, though perhaps something may yet be had from the Nitrian Syriac MSS. of the British Museum collection.

A good understanding was maintained between the schools of Antioch and of Alexandria, until the heterodox tendencies of the latter in the Nestorian and Monophysite periods caused a permanent estrangement. Gieseler has judiciously enlarged the area of the Antiochean schools, so as to embrace the whole of Syria, under the title of the Syrian historico-exegetical school, and adds to the above names Eusebius of Emesa, Apollinaris of Laodicea, and Ephraem of Edessa. [Herzog. Newman's *Arians, Ch. Antioch.* Neander, ii. p. 659, 1847. Gieseler, *K. Gesch.*, sec. 63.]

ANTIPHON. This name has been given, time out of mind, to the short sentence (mostly taken from Holy Scripture), which is sung before and after a psalm or canticle, as a "key-note" to its application. The etymological sense of the word in this case is not that of an alternate chant, but of a verse "ex opposito respondens" to the psalm or canticle. An ancient Antiphonarium for the year is attributed to St. Gregory the Great, and is printed by Pamelius in the first volume of his Liturgicon. The facsimile of a MS. copy that belonged to the Monastery of St. Gall, with the original musical notation, has also been printed recently at Paris. [Grancolas, *Comm. in Brev. Rom.*]

The English word ANTHEM is derived from the Greek Ἀντίφωνα, the plural of Antiphon, through the Anglo-Saxon *Antefn.* [See *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, p. lxii.]

ANTIPOPES. Pretenders to the bishopric of Rome. It is almost impossible to make a perfect list of them, because we cannot now, in many cases, decide which of the two claimants was canonically elected.

Joseph Gautier gives us a chronological index

of them, with brief notices of each case;[1] and as his view may be taken to be that held by writers of the Roman Church as to the true succession, his list is fully tabulated below, so as to present the series in a compendious form. Michael Geddes, chancellor of Sarum, has written a history of the schisms thus caused, which he numbers at twenty-four.[2] He does not always pretend to decide between the rivals, and he omits a few named by Gautier. The latter gives the number of thirty-eight, but two of his cases embrace each a pair of invalid elections, and the whole number of antipopes may therefore be reckoned at forty. Bergier,[3] without giving any names, says there have been twenty-eight. There are two classes of antipopes, distinguished below as (*a*) those elected during the lifetime of a pope canonically in possession, and (*b*) those whose own election was in itself invalid.

List by Gautier.	Geddes' Schisms.	Date.	Antipope.		Pope.
1	1	c. 251	Novatianus (*a*).		Cornelius.
2	2	c. 356	Felix II. (*a*).	Although schismatic, esteemed a [martyr.	Liberius.
3	3	366	Ursinus (*a*).		Damasus.
4	4	418	Eulalius (*b*).		Boniface I.
5	5	498	Laurentius (*a*).		Symmachus.
6	6	530	Dioscorus; Bp. of Nocera (*a*).		Boniface II.
7	7	537	Vigilius (*a*).	Sylverius died 538, and Vigilius [was then canonically elected.	Sylverius.
8		686	John (*b*).		Conon.
		686	Peter (*b*).		Conon.
9		687	Pascal (*b*).		Sergius I.
		687	Theodore (*b*).		Sergius I.
10	8	757	Theophylact (*b*).		Paul I.
11		767	Constantine (*b*).	Held the See one year before [Stephen's election.	Stephen III.
12	9	824	Zinzinus (*b*).		Eugenius II.
13	10	855	Anastasius III.; Card. (*a*).		Benedict III.
14	11	897	Sergius III. (*b*).		John IX.
15	12	963	Leo VIII. (*a*).	Died in possession.	John XII.
16	13	974	Boniface VII. (*b*).	Included also in list of Popes.	Benedict VII.
17	14	c. 996	John XVI.; Bp. of Placentia (*a*).		Gregory V.
18		c. 1013	Gregory (*a*).		Benedict VIII.
19	15	1044	Sylvester III.; John, Bp. of Sabinum (*a*).		Benedict IX.
20	16	1058	Benedict X.; John, Bp. of Velitræ (*b*).		Nicolas II.
21	17	1061	Honorius II.; Cadolaus, Bp. of Parma (*a*).		Alexander II.
22	18	1080	Clement III.; Guibert, Bp. of Ravenna (*a*).	In succession to 21.	Gregory VII.
23	18	1100	Albert (*a*).	In succession to 22.	Pascal II.
24	18	1100	Theodoric (*a*).	In succession to 23.	Pascal II.
25	18	1102	Sylvester III.; Maginulfus (*a*).		Pascal II.
26	20	1118	Gregory VIII.; Bourdinus, Abp. of Braga (*a*).		Gelasius II.
27	19	1130	Anacletus II.; Peter Leoni, Card. (*a*).		Innocent II.
28	19	1138	Victor IV.; Gregory, Card. (*a*).	In succession to 27.	Innocent II.
29	21	1159	Victor IV. (or V.); Octavianus (*a*).		Alexander III.
30	21	1164	Pascal; Guido, Card. (*a*).	In succession to 29.	Alexander III.
31	21	1170	Callixtus III.; Abbot of Struna (*a*).	In succession to 30.	Alexander III.
32		1180	Innocent III.; Lando (*a*).	In succession to 31.	Alexander III.
33	22	c. 1328	Nicolas V.; Peter Corbarius (*a*).		John XXII.
34	23	1378	Clement VII.; Robert, Card. (*a*).		Urban VI.
35	23	1394	Benedict XIII.; Peter de Luna, Card. (*a*).	In succession to 34.	Boniface IX.
36	23	1425	Clement VIII.; Ægidius, Can. of Barcelona (*a*)	In suc. to 35. Made Bp. of Majorca.	Martin V.
37		1426	Benedict XIV. (*a*).	In opposition to 36.	Martin V.
38	24	1438	Felix; Amadeus, Duke of Savoy (*a*).	Made Bp. of Sabinum.	Eugenius IV.

This table shews how enduring were some of the schisms occasioned by disputed elections. Very often the dispute was the occasion of much bloodshed. The uncertainty is well seen by the fact of Boniface VII. being placed by Gautier in both lists. [Some are noticed by Gibbon. See, more particularly, for the 3rd, iii. 255 (ed. Smith, 1854); for the 7th, v. 144; for the 22nd, vii. 128; and for the 34th (where is an account of the great schism in the West), viii. 251. Numerous references are given to his authorities.]

ANTITRINITARIANISM. [Unitarianism. Arianism.]

ANTITYPE. The word Antitype means either the converse of Type, as substance is the correlative of shadow; and the reader will find various examples of the antitypal fulfilment of prophetic type under this word itself; or it means simply the copy or similitude of anything: "die von einem Gemälde genommene copie" [Schl.], in which sense it occurs twice in the New Testament [Heb. ix. 24[4] and 1 Pet. iii. 21]. In the same way the sacred utensils of the tabernacle were the antitypal copies of the things shewn to Moses: "See thou make all things according to the pattern shewed to thee in the mount" [Heb. viii. 5], (*κατὰ τὸν τύπον*). Now this pattern is scarcely applicable to the outward form of the various parts and vessels of the tabernacle, neither can we imagine that their counterparts should have an existence in heaven, there the type, here the antitype in temporal similitude, any more than we can suppose that the likeness of God in which man was created was the outward likeness of form, and not the spiritual similitude of purity and holiness

[1] Printed in Migne's *Theologiæ Cursus*. Paris, 1841.

[2] *Miscell. Tracts*, vol. iii. tract 4. Lond. 1706.

[3] *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, i. 135. Paris, 1863.

[4] Where Chrysostom says of the word—*τύπον ἔχει μόνον οὐ τὴν ἰσχύν.*

and unison with the Divine will. The scheme of man's salvation having been decreed from all eternity, we may believe that the divine *ἰδέαι* of this scheme were revealed to the Lawgiver of Israel, and a direct connection established by his inspired mediation between the holy things of the tabernacle and the verities of which they were gross earthly shadows. The sacrifices of the law also were standing memorials of the sacrifice to be made once for all, prophecies, eloquent though mute, of the Blessed Lamb of God that "taketh away the sin of the world." Antitypes they were in one sense of the word, as being earthly images of the scheme foreordained from the beginning of the world; but types of Christ, the substance of that scheme, Himself the only Antitype of all that they foreshadowed. And in the end we may expect that every part and portion of our earthly worship will be found to be the reflex image of heavenly verities, broken it may be and distorted, as the face of heaven is reflected in broken beams of light from the face of the lake; still there we may believe them to be, the truth and its forecast, part and counterpart, type and antitype, the beauty of holiness on earth perfected in the glories of the heavenly Jerusalem, of which God is the Sun and the Lamb is the Light thereof for ever.

One peculiar use of the word Antitype may be noticed as occurring in Greek ecclesiastical writings, and having reference to the Holy Eucharist in the earliest times. Irenæus, in a fragment, after speaking of the Eucharistic offering of bread and wine as a thank-offering for the fruits of the earth, says "the Holy Spirit is then invoked, that He will vouchsafe that the bread may be the body and the cup the blood of Christ, that they who receive these *antitypes* may obtain remission of sins and everlasting life" [ii. 504, Cambr. Ed.]. Not widely distant in time, the writer of the *Apostolical Constitutions* uses the word in the same way, in speaking of the first institution of the Lord's Supper [v. 14], "He having administered the *antitypal* mysteries of His precious body and blood went forth;" and again, "Offer also the antitypal acceptable Eucharist of the royal body of Christ" [vi. 30]; and elsewhere, "We give thanks, O Father, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ that was shed for us, and for the precious body, whose *antitypes* we offer." The Liturgy also that bears the name of Basil M.: "We, offering the *antitypes* of the holy body and blood of Christ, beseech Thee that Thy Holy Spirit may descend upon us and upon these gifts." The word therefore is "mediæ significationis," and is used of the sacred elements both before and after consecration. The interpretation is probably correct which makes it synonymous with *ἰσόντυπα, i. e.* "Eadem cum Corpore et Sanguine Christi etsi tecte et relate" [Leo Allat. *de Cons. Eccl. Occ. et Or.* III. xv. 29]. John Damascene declares, "If some have termed the bread and wine *antitypes* of the body and blood of Christ, they mean the elements in their unconsecrated state, not after consecration" [*Fid. Orthod.* iv. 14]; which is the more noteworthy since all later Greek commentators have followed his lead. But this does not invalidate the genuineness of the Irenæan fragment, which speaks of the elements as yet unconsecrated.

'ΑΦΟΡΙΣΜΟΊΣ. A term used in the Primitive Church for the lesser form of excommunication, and also for the SUSPENSION of the clergy. As regarded the laity, such a form of separation or suspension excluded them from the Holy Eucharist, but still permitted them to be present in church during those portions of the service when catechumens were allowed to be present. In the case of the clergy, suspension did not involve excommunication. The *παντελὴς ἀφορισμὸς* was the greater excommunication or ANATHEMA.

APHTHARTODOCETÆ. A sect of heretics which arose in the middle of the sixth century at Alexandria. Their distinctive tenet was that the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was incorruptible, immortal, and impassible, through its union with the Divine Nature. It was one of those subtle forms of misbelief which, seeming to honour our Lord with high attributes, did, in reality, strike at the very root of Christianity.

'ΑΠΟΛΕΛΥΜΈΝΟΣ. Ordination without title, as distinguished from the *ordinatio localis*, which fixes the diocese or parish within whose bounds the ordinary ministrations of a bishop or priest are to be restricted. The 6th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon [A.D. 451] contains the word, and condemns the practice. This canon even decrees "that such an ordination is to be held void, and cannot have any effect anywhere, to the reproach of him who ordains." [JURISDICTION. MISSION.]

APOLLINARIANISM. The founder of this heresy was Apollinaris or Apollinarius, son of an Alexandrian rhetorician of the same name. In his earlier life Apollinarius was a friend of St. Athanasius, and about A.D. 362 he was consecrated to the see of Laodicea. Apollinarianism was founded on the Platonic trichotomy of *σῶμα, ψυχὴ*, and *νοῦς*. It denied to the human nature of Christ the possession of the *νοῦς* or rational soul, and supposed that the Divine Word, or Λόγος, supplied its place, subduing and counteracting the evil tendencies of the *ψυχὴ*, or animal soul. During the lifetime of St. Athanasius this heresy was kept within bounds, but on his death Apollinarius proclaimed it more boldly, and his followers adopted in addition the tenets of the Sabellians and the Patripassians, and also maintained a notion that the body of Christ was brought down from heaven, where it had a long pre-existence. The heresy was condemned by Councils at Rome [A.D. 374], Antioch [A.D. 378], and by the General Council of Constantinople [A.D. 381], yet Apollinarius remained Bishop of Laodicea till his death in A.D. 392. [See *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

APOLOGY. When the knowledge of Christianity had passed the limits to which it was at first confined, there arose from time to time a need for such an explanation and defence of its tenets as could command the attention of those with whom it had now come into contact. Calumnies

respecting the faith, the morality, and the loyalty of the Christians were circulated among the heathen, and enemies were not wanting to carry these reports to the ears of those on whose will the lives of the Christians depended. Hence arose the early Christian Apologies. The first of these, that of QUADRATUS, was presented at Athens to Hadrian [A.D. 126]. Quadratus appeals to the many persons who had been healed by the Saviour, and to those of them especially who had lived even in the writer's own day, as witnesses for the truth of Christianity. At the same time the Apology of ARISTIDES was presented to Hadrian. Eusebius says that in his time this work was in the possession of very many Christians. [Euseb. iv. 3.] The first Apology of the philosopher-Christian, JUSTIN MARTYR, was addressed [A.D. 138 or 139] to Antoninus Pius, to the senate, and to the whole Roman people. The preface to this Apology states it to be "on behalf of those who of all nations are now unjustly hated and aspersed." The answer Justin obtained was an epistle from Antoninus Pius to the Assembly of Asia, in which it was desired that the Christians should not be molested unless they made attempts against the government, and that if any person were arraigned on the sole ground of Christianity, the accuser should be held guilty, the accused set free. Justin's second Apology [A.D. 161-166] was addressed to Marcus Aurelius.[1] In addition to a defence of the faith it contained a severe attack upon the Cynic philosopher Crescens, whom he charges with impugning the doctrines of Christianity without understanding them, and with writing merely to gain popular applause, even at the expense of honesty and truth. The Cynic revenged himself by instigating the death of Justin, who suffered martyrdom by order of Marcus Aurelius [A.D. 161-168]. Justin was also the author of a dialogue with Trypho the Jew—a work which Eusebius highly eulogizes as evincing the philosophical zeal with which Justin had applied himself to the discovery of Christian truth. [Euseb. iv. 18.] To Marcus Aurelius Apologies were also presented by MELITO, Bishop of Sardis, and APOLLINARIS, Bishop of Hierapolis. The former declares that the treatment which the Christians, who were loyal subjects of the Emperor, had received was such as ought not to be shewn even towards barbarous enemies. The period of the Antonines was more fruitful than any other in Apologetic writings. In the same period was written the Apology of MILTIADES, "a work against the philosophers of the age in favour of the philosophy which he embraced;" of THEOPHILUS, the sixth bishop of Antioch, addressed in three books to Autolycus [A.D. 160-170], and containing the elements of the faith; and the λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας of TATIAN, a disciple of Justin, but after his master's death an apostate from the Church. The celebrated dialogue called the Octavius, written by MARCUS MINUCIUS FELIX, a Roman lawyer, belongs, according to some authorities, to this period, and is therefore the earliest Latin Apology which has come down to us. On the testimony of Jerome, however, others have assigned a later date [A.D. 220-230] to the Octavius. It is written in the style of Cicero, and contains a clear account of the great questions at issue between Christianity and heathenism. The date of the Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω Φιλοσόφων of HERMIAS cannot be fixed with accuracy; some writers have even placed it so late as the fifth century. It abounds in ridicule of the philosophers of the day, and caricatures the subjects which engrossed their attention. The Apology of TERTULLIAN was written in Latin [A.D. 194], and afterwards translated into Greek. While defending the Church, and deprecating the severity shewn towards Christians, Tertullian attacked the ancient gods, and wrote with bitter scorn and contempt of the actions attributed to them by their worshippers. Origen composed at the age of sixty [A.D. 246] a reply in eight books to the work of Celsus against Christianity. About A.D. 303, ARNOBIUS, a teacher of rhetoric at Sicca, in Africa, wrote (while yet a catechumen) a defence of Christianity, in seven books, as a proof of the reality of his conversion. The objects of the Apologists are: [1.] To shew the reasonableness of their faith, and the emptiness of the objections brought against it. [2.] To prove the folly of the popular beliefs, and the unworthiness of the heathen deities, a task which the heathen philosophers had themselves rendered easy. The view of Euhemerus that the deities were dead men is in fact quoted and appealed to by Minucius Felix [*Oct.* i. 21]. [3.] To refute the false accusations of Atheism, immorality, and sedition which were perseveringly made against the Christians. The arguments of the Apologists are drawn from the prophecies of the Old Testament, the miracles of the Saviour, the rapid growth of Christianity, the constancy of the Christians in their cruel sufferings, their strict and self-denying lives, their peaceable obedience to the laws, and from the absurdities of the popular superstition, which they hold up to unsparing ridicule.

APOSTASY. This term, originally signifying desertion from and revolt against the commander to whom a soldier owed loyalty and obedience, has come to mean, in respect to Christianity, desertion from the faith of Christ, and revolt against it. The influences which have chiefly led persons into apostasy have been persecution, worldly interest, and speculative unbelief. [1.] It was the peculiar temptation to which Christians were subjected under the persecuting emperors and their subordinates, renunciation of Christ being the one condition on which a person accused of being a Christian could escape martyrdom. The gentlest test of such a renunciation was that of offering a few grains of incense to a heathen deity; the most coarse form of it that of a verbal blasphemy against the Lord. [2.] In all times there have been apostates who have forsaken Christianity for some other religion on account of their interest. Such cases not unfrequently occur in modern days when Christians have become Mahometans for the sake of a good

[1] So according to Mosheim and Semisch; according to Valerius and Alexander it was written, like the first, under Antoninus Pius.

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position in the service of a Mahometan sovereign. [3.] Many heresies are constructive apostasy, but the term is more properly applicable to such wilful renunciation of all belief in Christ as that of the Emperor Julian—always surnamed the Apostate—or of infidels like Voltaire and others during the French Revolution.

Respecting the Ἀποστασία of the last days [2 Thess. ii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 1] see ANTICHRIST.

APOSTLE. The primary idea of an Ἀπόστολος is that of a person having a mission to do certain things as the representative of the authority by which he is sent. Hence he goes forth as "one sent," not in his own name. In this sense the term is once used respecting the Lord Himself, Who is called "The Apostle and High Priest of our profession . . . faithful to Him that appointed [τῷ ποιήσαντι] Him" [Heb. iii. 1], the expression being thus used with reference to the mediatorial and ministerial mission of Christ.

The name was first given to twelve of our Lord's followers, whom He so designated when He sent them forth with power to work miracles, and authority to proclaim the coming of His spiritual kingdom; and so to prepare the way for His own visitation of particular towns or districts of Palestine. But it was doubtless given by Him in an inclusive sense by anticipation, and thus we must look for the entire meaning of the title in the specialities by which the office was subsequently distinguished when in full operation, rather than in those characteristics which marked its earlier phase. It will thus be found that each Apostle had authority and power to exercise all the functions of the ordinary Christian ministry [BISHOP; PRIEST], that he received the "gift of tongues," and the "gift of miracles," and that he was referred to as the supreme visible head of the Church in regard to that particular district of it in which he was working. Thus each Apostle became to Christians, within the limits of his own sphere of work (however these limits may have been defined), what Moses, in spiritual matters, was to the Jews. He was the ultimate visible point of association between them and the invisible Head of the Church, the deputy of the Great Apostle, the one Supreme Bishop of souls.

The office of Apostle was a temporary one, and instituted with special reference to the vast work of establishing the Church of Christ. The direct knowledge which all who were called to it had of our Lord, the evidence which had been given to them of His resurrection, the special training and teaching which they received from Him, the fulness of the gift of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, and the comprehensive character of their ministerial capacity, were the special qualifications which fitted them for this unprecedented labour. By means of these gifts they were able to set the Church on a permanent and substantially unalterable footing; so that the ultimate appeal in all matters of faith and practice is still to them, to their testimony, and to their rule of discipline.

Out of the office of Apostle was developed every inferior office of the Christian ministry, as that of Apostle itself was developed out of the ministerial office of Christ. When the management of the Church at Jerusalem became too much for them they ordained Deacons; when they dispersed to their work elsewhere, they ordained Elders in all the churches which they founded; and, at a still later period, when their personal labours were coming to an end, they ordained substitutes and successors under the name of Bishops. Thus the ministerial offices of the Church, which were concentrated in Christ—the great "Apostle and High Priest" [Heb. iii. 1]—in combination with His special mediatorial office, were so concentrated in the Apostles in combination with their special Apostolic office; and when separated off from the latter in the persons of their first successors, became at once and unalterably established as a fixed form of the Christian ministry.

The original number of Apostles ordained by our Lord was twelve. There seems to have been some unrevealed reason for the choice of this particular number, and it appears that it was in some way associated with the number of the twelve tribes [Matt. xix. 28]. Thus associated, there are many types of the Apostolate to be found in the Old Testament: such, *e.g.*, as the twelve "princes of Israel" [Numb. i. 44, xvii. 2]; the twelve explorers of the promised land [Numb. xiii. 3]; the twelve men who passed over Jordan before the Ark of the Covenant, and placed twelve stones taken from the midst of Jordan as a memorial [Josh. iv. 8]; and the twelve judges by whom the government of Moses and Joshua was carried on to the time of the monarchy. In the New Testament similar typical references are observed in the twelve baskets full of fragments [Matt. xiv. 20]; the twelve fruits borne by the Tree of Life [Rev. xxii. 2]; the twelve gates of the New Jerusalem [Rev. xxi. 12, 21], and the twelve foundations of its wall [Rev. xxi. 14, 19].

A list of the twelve Apostles is given in four places of the New Testament, by three of the Evangelists, one of whom was himself an Apostle, and there are points of identity and variation between these four lists which will make it useful to give them in a tabular form, as follows:—

	MATTHEW X. 2.	MARK III. 16.	LUKE VI. 14.	ACTS I. 13, 26.
1.	Peter.	Peter.	Peter.	Peter.
2.	Andrew.	James.	Andrew.	James.
3.	James.	John.	James.	John.
4.	John.	Andrew.	John.	Andrew.
5.	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.	Philip.
6.	Bartholomew.	Bartholomew.	Bartholomew.	Thomas.
7.	Thomas.	Matthew.	Matthew.	Bartholomew.
8.	Matthew.	Thomas.	Thomas.	Matthew.
9.	James, son of Alpheus.	James, son of Alpheus.	James, son of Alpheus.	James, son of Alpheus.
10.	Lebbeus Thaddeus.	Thaddeus.	Simon Zelotes.	Simon Zelotes.
11.	Simon the Canaanite.	Simon the Canaanite.	Judas, brother of James.	Judas, brother of James.
12.	Judas Iscariot.	Judas Iscariot.	Judas Iscariot.	[Matthias.]

In these lists it will be observed that St. Peter is always named first, St. Philip fifth, St. James the Less ninth, and Judas Iscariot last. As regards the other Apostles, no two of the lists exactly agree in the order of naming them, not even the two which were both written by St. Luke. It is, however, noticeable that St. Andrew, St. James the Great, and St. John are never named after St. Philip; St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and St. Matthew are never named before St. Philip, or after St. James the Less; while St. Jude and St. Simon Zelotes always occupy the two places before Judas Iscariot.

It seems improbable that this uniformity should be purely accidental; but it is difficult to assign any good reason for it. That St. Peter should always be named first and Judas Iscariot last, is nevertheless a fact of much significance, the one having evidently been placed last on account of his sin, the other first as being in honour, if not in authority, the chief of the Apostles.

The number of twelve Apostles appears to have been maintained till the civilized world had received the message which the Apostolate had to carry to it. St. Matthias made up the number after the death of Judas Iscariot, St. Paul probably took the place of St. James the Great, who was slain by Herod, and it may be that St. Barnabas was actually an Apostle, elevated into the place of one of the original twelve after his death. But there is no good historical reason for alleging that others than those who belonged to the current twelve were properly called Apostles. In Rev. xxi. 14, when the organization of the Church had been existing for nearly two generations, "the twelve Apostles of the Lamb" are still spoken of as if the mystic number had never been exceeded. But that others called themselves apostles is evident: for St. Paul speaks of "false apostles . . . transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ," as "Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light" [2 Cor. xi. 13]; and St. John also distinctly mentions some who in the Church of Ephesus "say they are apostles and are not," and whom the Church itself had "tried" and "found liars." Although, therefore, there is some trace of the title "apostle" being used loosely by a few early writers, there is no evidence that it can be properly given to any but those who were actually of the number before the office expired with the death of St. John.

There is no complete record existing of the several fields of labour undertaken by the Apostles; but there are indications that it was their custom to keep to those parts of the world to which they had been originally appointed, and not to interfere with "another man's line" [2 Cor. x. 13-16]. There are also traditions of their work in parts of the world not associated with it in the Acts of the Apostles, or any of the Epistles. Taking the evidence of the New Testament, and that of these traditions, the substantial result is indicated in the following table:—

PROBABLE FIELDS OF APOSTOLIC LABOURS.

Apostles.	*Churches.*
All of them	Palestine and Syria.
St. Peter, St. Jude	Mesopotamia [Turkey in Asia].
St. Bartholomew, St. Jude	Persia.
St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas	India.
St. Andrew	Thrace [Turkey in Europe]. Scythia [Russia].
St. Simon Zelotes [assisted by St. Mark]	North Africa [Egypt and Algeria].
St. Matthew	Ethiopia [Central Africa].
St. John, St. Paul	Asia Minor [Turkey in Asia].
St. Paul	Macedonia [Turkey in Europe]. Arabia. Greece. Italy. Spain. Gaul. Britain.

There is no reliable tradition respecting the labours of the remaining Apostles, and there are few of the twelve of whom we really know much more than the names. It was the general belief of the early ages of Christianity that all of them passed from this world by martyrdom except St. John.

APOSTLE. The book of the Epistles used in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is known by this name in the Eastern Church. It is not unlikely that the name was applied generally to the Apostolic Epistles by the early Church, as the narrative of our Lord's words and work, though contained in four separate books written by four separate authors, was called the Gospel.

APOSTLES' CREED. [CREEDS.]

APOSTOLIC CANONS. [CANONS.]

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS. [CONSTITUTIONS.]

APOSTOLIC FATHERS. [FATHERS.]

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION is the transmission, through the episcopate, of the power and authority committed by our Lord to His Apostles for the guidance and government of the Church. The doctrine of the Apostolical Succession is necessarily implied in the teaching of Holy Scripture. Thus our Lord says to His Apostles: "As my Father hath sent Me even so send I you" [John xx. 21]. The Church being a society chosen out of the world, and having its own peculiar laws, duties, and privileges, a governing authority must always be indispensable, not only at its commencement, but equally so during its continuance. Its permanence could not otherwise be secured. Our Lord, moreover, thus gave His commission to the Apostles: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; and lo I am with *you* alway, even unto the end of the world [Matt. xxviii. 18-20]—a promise which could not have been fulfilled unless He were also with their successors or representatives: with *you*, that is, with those who represent you or succeed in your place. The Apostles being mortal, and a literal fulfilment of the promise impossible, we cannot understand our Lord's promise in any other sense.

But the need of Apostolical Succession may be proved from another consideration. No one can have a right to preach the Gospel, or administer the sacraments to which are annexed the promises of grace and pardon of sin, without a Divine commission. The Church is called God's kingdom upon earth, and its constituted order is always spoken of as regulated by Himself. Thus St. Paul clearly intimates the need of a Divine call to the ministerial office: "How can they preach," he says, "except they be sent" [Rom. x. 15]. But we only know two ways by which a Divine commission *can be given*, either through apostolic or episcopal succession, or by miracle, *i.e.* God designating by a supernatural sign those whom He appoints to the ministerial office. As He has not been pleased to adopt the latter mode, which could hardly have been expected in the ordinary government of His Church, we must necessarily admit the doctrine of an episcopal succession as the *only* means for the perpetuation of the ministerial office. The need of a Divine commission is virtually acknowledged even by those who, uncalled, take upon themselves the office of the priesthood. They dare not, in opposition to the clear teaching of Scripture, and even from the obvious necessity of the case, say that their authority or commission to minister in Christ's stead, as the Apostle says, originates from themselves; they assert that they *are* called of God, but that the Divine call is a secret one, manifest only to their own heart and conscience. But this *alleged* mode of conveying the ministerial commission would obviously leave the Church exposed to the craft or evil designs of wicked or self-deceived men. It may also be remarked, judging from analogy in earthly matters, that if God send a messenger or ambassador to communicate His will to the world [2 Cor. v. 20] his credentials will be clear and manifest, not only to himself, but *especially* to those to whom he is sent, since otherwise *they* would have no safeguard against the pretensions of false teachers.

The Apostolic Succession was not only appointed, however, for the conveyance of the ministerial office through bishops, the successors of the Apostles, but also for the transmission from the Apostles of Catholic doctrine and tradition. This conveyance of truth through the episcopate is clearly intimated in Holy Scripture. Thus St. Paul says to Timothy [2 Tim. i. 13, 14], "Hold fast the form [ὑποτύπωσιν, sketch or outline] of sound words which thou hast heard from me: that good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us:" "the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also"[1] [2 Tim. ii. 2]. This "good deposit" committed to Timothy, or the essential doctrines of the faith, the Apostle says, a few verses afterwards, had been perverted or denied by Hymenæus and Philetus, who said that the resurrection was past already. It is called by St. John "the doctrine of Christ" [2 John 9, 10], and by St. Jude "the faith once delivered to the saints" [ver. 3]. It was probably a short summary of faith such as we have in the Apostles' Creed.

On referring to the teaching of the Fathers we shall further see the importance of the transmission of truth from an apostolic original. The argument of Tertullian in his *Præscription against Heretics* is mainly founded on the fact that what is first must be true as being apostolic, and what is of later origin must be false as being afterwards invented, and that apostolic doctrine is conveyed through the episcopate, a fact which is proved and guaranteed by the unanimity of belief in different churches. Thus Tertullian argues, that what the Apostles preached "must be proved in no other way than by those same churches which the Apostles themselves founded: themselves, I say, by preaching to them as well viva voce (as men say) as afterwards by epistles. If these things be so, it becometh forthwith manifest, that all doctrine which agreeth with these apostolic churches, the wombs and originals of the faith, must be accounted true, as without doubt containing that which the churches have received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God; and that all other doctrine must at once be judged to be false which savoureth of things contrary to the truth of the churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ, and of God" [§ 21]. And afterwards, in answer to the objection of heretics, that different churches might have believed or understood differently the apostolic teaching, he says: "Is it probable that so many churches and so great should have gone astray into the same faith? Never is there one result among many chances; the error in the doctrine of the churches must needs have varied. But where one and the same thing is found among many, this is not an error, but the deposit. Let not any one, therefore, dare to say that those were in error who delivered it" [§ 28]. And afterwards [§ 32] he speaks of the episcopate being appointed for the transmission of apostolic seed or doctrine, challenging heretics "to unfold the roll of their bishops, so coming down in succession from the beginning, that their first bishop had for his ordainer or predecessor some one of the Apostles or apostolic men, provided he were one that continued steadfast with the Apostles." And afterwards he says that churches founded in later times are counted not the less apostolical than those which the Apostles founded, by reason of their agreeing in the same faith, and their consanguinity of doctrine.

[1] Explicat hoc loco quod paulo superius et priori Epistola vocavit *depositum;* id est, doctrinam Christianam a se traditam et concreditam Timotheo, atque ab eo aliis porro commendandam. Doctrinam inquit quam *per multos testes*, vel, ut alii vertunt, *inter multos testes*, id est, in presentia multorum, qui testes esse possunt, me docente audivisti, tu fac, docendo tradas et commendes aliis hominibus pari fide depositum hoc tractaturis. Voluit Apostolus coram multis Timotheum instituere; ut tum ad multos doctrinæ fructus perveniret, tum vero ne, si Timotheum aliqui calumniari vellent quod non traderet rectam doctrinam, testes ei non deessent ad probandum se non aliud docere quam quod a Paulo acceperat. . . Estii *Comment. in S. Pauli Epist. in loc.*

Thus in the primitive Church an appeal was made to apostolic faith and tradition transmitted through the episcopate as a sufficient refutation of novel or heretical teaching,[1] and the unanimity of this belief in different churches was alleged in proof of its divine origin;[2] while by shewing the time when and the person by whom a new doctrine was introduced, its novelty and want of apostolic sanction was clearly evidenced.[3]

Through Apostolical Succession in all ages has been preserved the "one faith," the "faith once delivered unto the saints." Whatever differences may now exist amongst the separated portions of the Catholic Church, the "charisma veritatis," as in the three Creeds and in essential doctrines of the faith, is preserved unchanged and incorrupt throughout the one Body of Christ.

The doctrine of the Apostolical Succession has been held by the best and most learned writers of the Church of England, as Andrewes, Bramhall, Hammond, Hall, Taylor, and Wilson, and is the only foundation on which Episcopacy can rest as a divine institution. On rejecting it, the only alternative can be that Episcopacy has merely ecclesiastical sanction or authority; and thus (if the exigencies of the Church should seem to require it) is a form of government that may be changed or wholly set aside. The duty of obedience to a bishop, in that case, would not rest upon the apostolicity of his office, nor could he have any authority but such as is founded on the *voluntary* submission of those over whom he was placed. Hence we cannot be surprised that they who reject the rightful authority of the episcopate as founded on its Divine institution, and yet admit, as they must, that the bishop, for the due discharge of his office, ought to have some authority, notoriously lean to Erastianism, regarding the Church as an appendage to the State, and the bishop as a State officer, who is furnished by the secular Government with all needful authority and power.

The supposed uncertainty involved in this doctrine forms the principal objection against it by modern writers; the bishops ordaining others may not, *it is supposed*, have been themselves consecrated, and thus a succession of orders from the Apostles would not have been transmitted. A

[1] "Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam in omni ecclesia adest perspicere omnibus qui vera velint videre; et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis et successores eorum usque ad nos qui nihil tale docuerunt neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur" [S. Irenæi *ad hæres.* lib. iii. § 3]. "Quapropter eis qui sunt in Ecclesia presbyteris obedire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab apostolis sicut ostendimus; qui eum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt" [*Ibid.* lib. iv. c. xxvi. § 2].

[2] Eusebii *Eccles. Historia*, lib. v. c. vi., where, in referring to the Church of Rome, the historian says that Eleutherius is now the twelfth from the Apostles in the episcopate, "in the same order and the same doctrine [διδαχή] in which the tradition of the Apostles in the Church and the preaching of the truth has come down to us.'

[3] Thus the heresy of Artemon on the divinity of our Lord, as Eusebius shews [*Eccles. Histor.* v. c. 28], was opposed to the unanimous belief of the Roman Church from the Apostolic age.

Apostolical Succession

mere *supposition*, resting on no evidence, might fairly be dismissed without notice, but a few words will shew that it was wholly improbable and, humanly speaking, impossible. In the words of a learned writer at the beginning of last century: "Scarce any synod met but in their acts, their method of proceeding, or their canons, they act as men that took the greatest care that none should be admitted bishops, or to the holy orders but by bishops only; and that if any invaded the holy offices by any clancular or indirect means they should be deposed. A great part of these canons were made for regulating ordinations, especially those of bishops, by providing that none should be ordained, except in extraordinary cases, except by three bishops of the same province, with the express consent of the majority of the rest; that strange bishops should not be admitted to join with those of the province on such occasions, but those only who were neighbours and well known, and the validity of whose orders was not disputed. And they who have looked into Church history further, know how jealous both clergy and people were of the regularity of their bishops' ordination; and how even schismatics and heretics were ready upon occasion to raise objections against those who came into their sees without the usual and established forms; and that there were frequent provincial synods whose chief business it was to inquire into any omissions of that sort: so that one may safely pronounce it morally impossible for any one to possess himself and continue for any tract of time in a bishopric but he who came in by the canonical method." And again: "Christ Jesus has taken more abundant care to ascertain the succession of pastors in His Church than ever was taken in relation to the *Aaronical* priesthood. This last descended by inheritance or traduction from father to son, and the right that any priest or Levite had to his office, and the validity of their ministrations depended upon the legitimacy of their birth; and how could the sons of Aaron certainly know that they were his posterity, or how could they be able to demonstrate it to others? Certainly upon no principles but what are more dubious than those upon which we believe our bishops to be the successors of the Apostles in an uninterrupted line. For in this case the succession is transmitted from seniors to juniors, by the most public and solemn action, or rather process of actions, that is ever performed in a Christian Church; an action done in the face of the sun, and attested by great numbers of the most authentic witnesses, as consecrations always were. And I suppose it cannot bear any dispute, but that it is now more easily to be proved that the Archbishop of Canterbury was canonically ordained, than that any one person now living is the son of him who is called his father; and that the same might be said of any archbishop or bishop that ever sat on that or any other Episcopal see during the time of his being bishop; nor is it easy to see by what method Providence could have made the succession of pastors more

clear and indubitable than by this which has actually been used."[1]

Having thus shewn that the very highest degree of certainty which the case admits of is involved in this doctrine, let us now see the *inevitable* consequences of rejecting it. "This point is beyond controversy; and I would request my brethren of the clergy to look well to it: *there is no middle course to take;* we must either maintain an Apostolic succession in its full and exclusive meaning, or sanction Robert Brown's plan of ordination by persons who have never been ordained themselves. If we deny the validity of such ordination, and hold that persons who have been ordained themselves can alone ordain others, *the Apostolic succession follows of necessity.* It is thus we trace back the authority of the English priesthood to the Apostles, and to Jesus Christ, who first ordained ministers of His Word. *There is not a foot of ground to stand on between the Apostolical succession and the Independent system.* And it is for this reason the Independent triumphed when the Church of England fell; for his remaining opponents had nothing either in reason or Scripture which they could oppose to the progress of his opinions."[2]

AQUARII. [Eucharist.]

ARCANI DISCIPLINA. [Disciplina.]

ARCHBISHOP. Bishop Beveridge says the names of Metropolitan, Archbishop, Exarch, and Patriarch, came into use in the Church, some at the Council of Nicæa or shortly before, and others at a time scarcely anterior to that of Chalcedon. [*Cod. Can, de Metrop.* c. v. vol. ii. p. 173.] Isidore of Seville, in his Etymologies [ch. xii.], says Archbishop is a Greek appellation designating the chief of bishops, that is, a primate; for he is the vicar of apostles, and presides over both metropolitans and bishops. The distinction between an archbishop and metropolitan has died out, and no difference except that which is nominal exists between them: but it has been questioned whether, correctly speaking, an archbishop, such as those of Rossano and Luciano, who have no suffragans, may be called metropolitan. The latter derives his name from the mother Church, not from a number of cities. St. Athanasius, who lived in the fourth century, first used the title of Archbishop, and under it mentioned Alexander his predecessor in the see of Alexandria. At the Council of Chalcedon, [A.D. 451], the Greeks bestowed the title upon Pope Leo V., having already applied it to the bishops of the chief cities of the East. In the West it does not appear to have been adopted before the age of Charlemagne. The order of Bishops by the canon law is divided into four—1. Patriarchs; 2. Archbishops; 3. Metropolitans; and 4. Bishops: in spiritual power and pontifical dignity they are equals; but in respect of the exercise of the ministry the archbishop is the superior of the bishop, from the extent, honour, and privileges attached to his office. So we must understand Thorndike when he says "an archbishop is a chief among bishops, not a person to govern divers churches and seats of bishoprics." [*Prim. Episc.* ch. iv. § 11.] In the form of his consecration (and before the Reformation in England, by his use of the distinctive pall) the archbishop differs from bishops, but within his archdiocese has no authority superior to their own. The Apostolical Canons require bishops to recognise their metropolitan as their superior, to obey him, to undertake no business of importance without his advice, just as he was bound in a similar manner to deliberate beforehand with the suffragans of his province before he took any step of moment. The Council of Nicæa only regulated the rights of dignities already in existence. The archbishop confirms the election of bishops; consecrates them or appoints some other prelate for that purpose; he enforces the canons and synodal constitutions within his province, and convenes provincial councils, in which he sits as president and principal judge. He had the care of the whole province, and took measures so that his suffragans held a diocesan synod every year and appointed rural deans. He had the right of visitation within his province, and appeals could be made to him for the purpose of reversing the judgments of his suffragans. In the vacancy of a see he administered the diocese when a chapter failed to appoint administrators within eight days. The archbishop has the right of carrying his cross throughout his province, unless in the presence of a papal legate or cardinal. The archbishop wore a purple mantle over his rochet, and gave the benediction with his hand raised and with the sign of the cross, but could exercise neither jurisdiction nor office without the consent of the diocesan, except in the consecration of churches, by the Council at Cealcythe, c. 11, in 816.

In the East the Patriarch of Constantinople had 1031 metropolitans and 37 archbishops under him; probably the latter had no suffragans. Primates, formerly called Catholic, and patriarchs are eminent above ordinary archbishops and metropolitans, and constituted by the Church with the assent of the State, such as the Primate of Germany (Nuremburg), of Spain (Toledo), of France (Lyons), of Belgium (Mechlin), of England (Canterbury and York), of Poland (Gnesen), of Denmark (Lunden), of Ireland (Armagh and Dublin), of Hungary (Gran), of Bohemia (Prague), of Scotland (St. Andrew's). A primate presides over the ecclesiastical capital in a country, and, properly, is the superior of many archbishops; but the distinction has been drawn between the primate of a province and those primates with a divided primacy, such as those of Bourges and Sens, who claimed to be Primates of France: in England the nice distinction has been drawn between York as Primate of England, and Canterbury as Primate of All England; the latter title is implied at an early date [Bede, *H. E.* lib. iv. c. 2], in the seventh century [Wilkins' *Conc.* i. 35, 41], and York was constituted metropolitan

[1] Johnson's *Clergyman's Vade Mecum, containing the Canonical Codes of the Primitive Church.* Præf. lxxviii.-xcii. [1709].

[2] Barter's *Tracts in Defence of the Christian Sabbath, the Church, her Priesthood and her Sacraments*, p. 152. Ed. 1851.

by Pope Gregory [Bede, *H. E.* lib. i. c. xxix]. [Patriarch, Visitation.] In the eighth century there was a partition of the province of Canterbury, Lichfield being constituted an archbishopric under Hygebert for about eleven years [see Johnson's *Canons*, vol. i. p. 287, Oxf. ed. note *], and until A.D. 1148, St. David's claimed to be an independent archbishopric. [Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, i. pp. 317, 348, 352, 355.] The Scotch had no metropolitans [Counc. at Cealcythe, A.D. 816, c. 5] until 1472 [Spotswood, p. 58, ed. 1677], the Bishop of St. Andrews hitherto having ranked as chief pontiff of Scotland [*Ang. Sac.* ii. p. 235]. Appeals were allowed from the bishop to the archbishop by the Articles of Clarendon [A.D. 1164], § viii. [Du Maillane, *du droit Canonique*, i. 193; Beyerlinck, *Theatrum*, iii. 97; Frances, *de Cathedralibus*, cap. i. xxxiii.]

ARCHDEACON. The primitive meaning of this title was "head" or "chief of the deacons," and St. Lawrence is said to have been chief of the seven deacons of Rome in the middle of the third century. The chief of the deacons ministered to the bishop during the celebration of the holy Eucharist, as ordinary deacons ministered to their respective priests; and hence probably arose the intimate association between the bishop and the archdeacon, which led to the latter being called "*oculus Episcopi.*" In early ages the archdeacon was always a deacon (as in the case of St. Athanasius), and the custom of his remaining in the lowest of the three holy orders continued to be observed in some instances as late as the twelfth century. But, as the bishop's deputy in many ecclesiastical transactions, the archdeacon became the superior officer of the archpriest [Rural Dean], and was ordained to the higher order in consequence, though still retaining the name of deacon. In modern times they act in many things as deputies of the bishop, have an ordinary jurisdiction over the clergy and the churches within their archdeaconries, and are ex officio examiners of candidates for holy orders. They also sit ex officio in Convocation.

ARCHIMANDRITE [ἀρχὸς and μάνδρα]. The superior of a Greek monastery, as it were the chief of the fold. In this sense it was sometimes given to all ecclesiastical superiors, both amongst Latins and Oriental Christians; and is synonymous with abbot, as M. de Montalembert mentions that a French priest thus addressed Aldhelm, the Abbot of Malmesbury.[1] In its true acceptance the title was given to the abbot-general, the president of a number of abbots [Ἡγούμενοι]. It was an oriental title, and occurs in the Novels of Justinian and the decrees of the Councils of Ephesus and Constantinople. In Italy it appeared in 1094, when Roger I., King of Sicily, founded an archimandrite as superior to all the Basilian abbots in his kingdom, and they yearly, on the feast of St. Saviour, August 6, made their profession of obedience; at length a secular prelate was appointed by the King of Spain as archimandrite in commendam of St. Saviour's monastery at Messina; by a brief, dated 1635, he is now a bishop of the exempt diocese. His office was in the patronage of the crown; he wears rochet and cope in the papal chapel, and ranks after bishops: he is not bound to residence. In France and Germany the name was used generically for all bishops, and even by an archbishop. The Greek archimandrite is appointed by the patriarch, and can ordain readers.

ARIANISM, so called as being derived from the teaching of Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria [A.D. 319]. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, gives the following account of the beginning of the heresy: "Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, setting forth in the presence of his clergy the mystery of the Holy Trinity, was accused by Arius, one of his clergy, of Sabellianism, or denying the distinction of the Persons of the Godhead; but, in attempting to refute the bishop, he advanced an opposite error. If, said Arius, the Father begat the Son, He that was begotten had a beginning of existence; and thus it is evident there was a time when the Son did not exist (οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱός). It thus necessarily follows that He had His being from things which are not[2] (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἔχειν ὑπόστασιν). Arius' opinions are thus summed up in his letter to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia:—"But we say, and think, and have taught, and do teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor a part in any way of the unbegotten; nor (derives His substance) from any subjacent matter (ἐξ ὑποκειμένου τινός), but that by will and counsel, (*i.e.* of the Father), He has existed before time and ages, perfect God, only-begotten and unchangeable; and that He existed not before He was begotten, or created, or purposed (ὁρισθῇ), or established (θεμελιωθῇ). For He was not unbegotten. We are persecuted because we say that the Son had a beginning, and God was without beginning. On this account we are persecuted, and likewise because we say He is from things which are not (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐστίν). For this we say, since He is neither a part of God, nor of any subjacent matter" (ὑποκειμένου τινός).[3] Arius and his followers were excommunicated by Alexander, who, in his letter to the bishops of the Catholic Church, gives an account of the opinions and theories of Arius, which, as he says, were novel and hitherto unknown, which themselves boasted of as a proof of their own superior knowledge and discernment in the interpretation of Scripture. Their system, on their own shewing, was not that which, taught by Christ and His Apostles, had been handed down by successive bishops from the earliest age. It was novel they admitted, and had originated from themselves, which was sufficient to shew its human origin.[4] Bishop Alexander not only confirms and illustrates the account already given of the opinions of Arius and his followers, but further shews

[1] Cellani, *Epist. ad Aldh.* *Aldhelmi Opera*, 1844, p. 331.

[2] i. c. 5.

[3] Theodoret, *Eccles. Hist.* book i. c. 4.

[4] Thus they boast themselves as wise inventors of dogmas (δογμάτων εὑρεταί), and that to them has been revealed what was hitherto unknown to any person under heaven (ἀυτοῖς ἀποκεκαλύφθαι μόνοις ἅπερ οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἑτέρῳ πέφυκεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἔννοιαν). Theodoret, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. i. c. 4.

the consequences which followed, and which they themselves deduced from their theory of our Lord's sonship. They said that our Lord was by nature of a changeable (τρεπτῆς) nature, and capable (ἐπιδεκτικόν) of both virtue and vice, and that He was elected to be the Son of God, not that He had by nature any qualifications (οὐκ ἔχοντά τι) superior to those of other sons of God, but that God foresaw that, though mutable by nature, He would be vigilant and zealous in avoiding evil. They add that if Paul and Peter had made similar efforts (τοῦτο βιάσαιτο) their filiation would in no respect have differed from His.[1]

The divinity of the Son of God had been denied by others before Arius. The Gnostics in the first two centuries rejected it, though not absolutely, or, we may rather say, held it on a novel and uncatholic theory. [Docetæ.] Ebion [*s. v.*], Theodotus, and Artemon or Artemas [A.D. 200], his disciple, denied the doctrine of Christ's divinity, asserting He was a mere man. Of the first little is known, and his personality is even denied; of the other two an account is given by Eusebius, who says that Theodotus was excommunicated by Pope Victor [A.D. 200], and calls him the author and father of the God-denying apostacy.[2] Paul of Samosata, about the middle of the third century [A.D. 263] revived the heresy of Artemon, and was excommunicated by the Council of Antioch.[3]

The teaching of Arius, though resembling in a certain sense that of these heretics, by no means exactly coincided with it. He did not think that Christ was a mere man, but that He was "perfect God" (by adoption), though not of the substance of the Father, and, as the Scripture teaches, that He created all things. Besides, Gnostic opinions respecting our Lord, or the teaching of Theodotus and others, that He was a mere man, were theories peculiar to a few individuals and their followers which did not widely prevail in the early Church. Arianism, on the contrary, was not only widely and rapidly disseminated, but at one time was predominant throughout Eastern Christendom, and was the scourge of the Church for more than four centuries. It can also urge in its defence more plausible and *apparently* scriptural proof than any previous heresy on the same subject, especially than that of our Lord's mere humanity.

But let us fairly look at its alleged Scriptural proof, and we shall see, under whatever modifications proposed, that it is not only destitute of the sanction of the Word of God, but wholly irreconcileable with its teaching. There are, it must be admitted, apparently discordant statements respecting our Lord: but when we discover the true theory or hypothesis, all apparent contradictions will necessarily disappear, as the Word of God must in all parts be in harmony with itself, nor can separate truths be discordant with each other, or with the truth in its fulness as revealed by God.

But the Arian hypothesis will not explain such difficulties, nor enable us to reconcile the seemingly discordant statements of Scripture. Taking it, as the Arians boasted, as an ingenious theory which themselves had devised, we can show its untenableness—that it will break down even from its own weakness and inconsistency.

The Scripture uses certain figures and illustrations suited to our present earthly state, and founded on our earthly experience and knowledge: such illustrations must necessarily be imperfect and inadequate, and cannot be understood in their full sense and bearing. Earthly things, as we know, are not homogeneous with heavenly, and *can only* partially and imperfectly represent them. Hence such illustrations at the best *must be* very inadequate and defective.

Thus our Lord was called the Son of God [Matt. xxvi. 63, 64], the only-begotten of the Father [John i. 14, 18], God's own Son [Rom. viii. 32; Gal. iv. 4]. Undoubtedly, if the metaphor of Sonship be understood in its full sense, and in accordance with an earthly relationship, we must admit, with Arius, that the existence of the Father was prior to that of the Son. But on this point, as we find from other statements of Scripture, the illustration before us fails. By admitting it, we shall contradict Scripture both negatively and positively. Thus we are *not* told in Scripture that the Father existed before the Son; on the contrary, God is called the Everlasting Father, which shews that the Son must be also everlasting, none being a father until he have a child.[4] Besides, as we shall presently see, the Son is declared to be God, and eternal existence is the necessary attribute of Godhead.

But let us look further at this figure of Sonship, and we shall not only find that it conveys a true idea of the relationship of the Father and the Son, but that it is also founded on the main and prominent idea which we ourselves should attach to such relationship. An earthly son is of the same nature, or co-essential with, his father: this fact is inseparable from the relationship, and is *primarily* implied by it, and would indeed first occur to us on naming or alluding to it. Again, obedience is very prominently implied in the relationship of son, the duty of submission to a father's will or command [Heb. v. 8].

Now with these obvious truths or inferences before us, let us consider two passages, one prominently brought forward by Catholics, and the other by Arians—"I and my Father are one" [John x. 30]; "My Father is greater than I" [John xiv. 28]. Arianism is obviously inconsistent with the first of these passages. For in what consists this oneness of the Father and the Son? Not in will or purpose only, as might be said of one of the prophets; since, if thus understood, the Jews would not have attempted to stone our Lord as a blasphemer—but it can only be a oneness of nature, such as must belong to the Father and the Son—oneness which necessarily issues on the part of the Son in a perfect unity with His Father in the works and counsels of Godhead [See Matt. xi. 27; John v. 17. x. 15, xiv. 9-11, xvi. 15, xvii. 10]; a perfect union

[1] Theodoret, *Eccles. Hist.* lib. i. c. 4.
[2] Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* bk. v. c. 28. [3] *Ibid.* vii. c. 30.
[4] An argument, as Petavius shews, often brought forward by the Fathers. See *De Trinitate*, lib. iv. c. 4.

which *could not have existed* had one been a creature and the other a Creator; which illustrates and is solely founded on a belief of the one Deity of the Father and of the Son.

Arianism may also be shewn to be really inconsistent with the true meaning of the second passage. It is only in accordance with the Catholic theory that the two passages can be reconciled; they are parts of one great truth, equally necessary for a true conception of the Doctrine of the Incarnation—that our Lord, perfect God, is the Everlasting Son of the Father, and was sent as His ambassador to a sinful world. But let us more particularly consider the second passage, in which no less than in the other is implied the relationship of Son. As a Son Christ was subordinate to the Father, and also as being sent by Him, His messenger and ambassador to the world. Thus the two passages are not even *apparently* contradictory. The Son and the Father are equal as united in the same Godhead, and yet in another point of view, as implied in their very relationship, and in our Lord's mediatorial office, it is equally true that the Father is greater than the Son, or, in St. Paul's words, "the Head of Christ is God."

But Arius and his followers maintained that the passage before us ought to be so understood as if Christ had asserted, "My Father is greater than I," just as God is greater than man. But, allowing this interpretation (which *per se* the passage will admit of), our Lord is thus supposed to have said that God is greater than man: in other words, He enunciated a mere truism, or self-evident proposition, which can hardly be supposed; and, in fact, His words would really have been far more objectionable. Let us suppose, for instance, that Moses or one of the prophets had said, "The Almighty is greater than I," such language, worse than an unmeaning truism, would be intolerable and blasphemous. The words before us could only have been used in comparing persons, who, as the very comparison implies, might be compared together, though one, it is admitted, in some respects is greater than the other. But how can God and man be really compared together at all? The idea of comparison in such a case is mere blasphemy. And though Arius did not assert that Christ was a mere man, he maintained that He was only a creature, however exalted; and thus these remarks in reference to his theory will equally hold good. But our Lord, it may be added, was not stating a self-evident truism, He was making a declaration required by His previous teaching. He had said that He was the Son of God, was one with the Father, that He dwelt in the Father and the Father in Him, thus declaring His participation of the Divine Nature. On the other hand it was needful to declare, for the confirmation and sanction of His mission, that He was a messenger sent to deliver *God's* will, that, as a Son, He could do nothing of Himself, but as the Father gave Him commandment—"My Father is greater than I." In the following passages, of which Petavius [*De Trinitate*, lib. ii. c. 1-4] gives an explanation from the Fathers, &c., will be seen the alleged Scriptural proof of Arianism: Prov. viii. 22; Matt. iii. 17, xix. 17, xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32; John i. 30, v. 19, 26, xiv. 28, xvii. 3; Acts ii. 36; Col. i. 15; Heb. iii. 2; 1 Tim. vi. 17.

Again, the theory of Arius is equally untenable in other respects. He maintained that Christ was God, though not of the Divine Nature; hence he was justly charged with teaching a plurality of Gods, thus contradicting a fundamental truth of Divine revelation, and advocating a sort of heathen Polytheism.[1]

The untenableness of his theory is owing in some degree to the attempt to reconcile it with the language of Holy Scripture; its *un*-Scripturalness is thus clearly and unmistakeably manifest. Thus, as was just said, by admitting that our Lord was God, he taught a plurality of Gods: he asserted also with Holy Scripture that Christ is the Creator of all things, and yet, according to his own theory, Christ was a creature, and made by another.[2] Hence, as we might suppose, the peculiar characteristic of Arianism is its changeableness, an utter want of consistency and stability: his followers were soon divided into mutually conflicting sects and parties, continually issuing new and inconsistent creeds.[3] St. Athanasius speaks of their being variable and fickle in their sentiments as chameleons in their colours, "not having one opinion, but changing to and fro, and now recommending statements, and now dishonouring them, and in turn recommending what just now they were blaming."[4] Thus the rationalizing system of Arius, tried by Scriptural proof,

[1] S. August. *contra Maxim.* lib. ii. sec. 31.

[2] "It appears," says Dr. Waterland [*Sermons on the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ*, pp. 100, 101 (1720)], "to have been a rule and maxim of the Church in Irenæus' time [*adv. Hæres.* lib. iv. c. 41], and probably all along, that no *creature* whatever could have any hand in *creating*, but that creating was an indisputable mark of a *Divine immutable* nature. These principles seem to have obtained constantly in the Church before the Nicene Council. No sooner did the *Arian* controversy arise, but the Catholicks, upon their old principles, charged the *Arians* with great inconsistency, in making a *creature* of the Son of God, and yet admitting Him to be *Creator*. They scrupled not to tell them that this was copying after *Valentinus* and reviving the principles of the *Gnostics:* that it was confounding the ideas of *Creator* and *creature*, and was all over contradictory and repugnant. No argument bore harder on the Arians than this, as appears by the perplexity and confusion they were in upon it; not being able to come to any certain and fixed resolution on it, Scripture and Catholic tradition appeared clear, full, and strong for the Son's being properly and strictly Framer and Maker of the world, and there were but few in comparison who durst go such lengths as openly to deny it; on the other hand, to make a creature *Creator* was in a manner unheard of except among *hereticks*, and was besides harsh and shocking even to common sense." Waterland refers in a note to St. Ambrose, *de Fid.* lib. i. c. 5: "Quis Auctorem inter opera sua deputet ut videatur id esse quod fecit?"

[3] The Arians in about twenty years held fourteen synods, issuing new and discordant definitions of faith. [Petavius, *Dogm. Theol. de Trinitate*, lib. i. c. 9. See also Tillemont's *Ecc Hist.* (Deacon's transl.), vol. i. p. 353, 1737.]

[4] *Treatises of St. Athanasius*, pp. 2-7 (Oxf. transl.).

(which he admits) is untenable and self-destructive; it could not be the truth, or the Divine revelation, which is necessarily one and unchangeable, and so proved by internal consistency and permanence. The unscripturalness of Arianism, and its want of primitive sanction, was also clearly shewn at the Council of Nice [A.D. 325]. The bishops, assembled at the council[1] from all parts of the world, after listening with impatience to what they deemed the blasphemous language of its author in his defence, not only declared his system unscriptural, but contrary to the belief and tradition which was from the beginning in the Church. They adopted the word ὁμοούσιος,[2] of the same Divine Nature, as expressing the true doctrine of our Lord's Godhead; that, in the words of the creed which the council put forth, our Lord is "God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten, not made, consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father." Seventeen bishops present at the Council opposed, at first, the definition of homoousion, not as being in agreement with Arius, but thinking that the word might be misunderstood or interpreted in a Sabellian sense: yet, in the end, all complied with the definition of the Council, and signed the anathema against Arius, with the exception of Theonas and Secundus, who were excommunicated with the heretic, and afterwards banished into Illyricum. A few years later the Empress Constantia, who was under the guidance of an Arian priest, persuaded the Emperor Constantine to recall Arius from banishment [A.D. 330], who, presenting a profession of faith, persuaded the Emperor of his orthodoxy. Arius then, after being refused admission into the church at Alexandria by St. Athanasius, the successor of the bishop who had excommunicated him, was shortly afterwards received into communion at Jerusalem by Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, and by others agreeing generally with his heretical opinions, who were then present at the dedication of a church. But this acknowledgment of his orthodoxy by suspected friends or followers could be of little real service to his cause. It was obviously important that he should be received into communion by a bishop of unsuspected orthodoxy, and also at the imperial city Constantinople. On his arrival there, he was treated as excommunicate by Alexander the bishop. The Emperor also, to whom he appealed, probably suspecting his professions, demanded whether he really held the Nicene faith. Arius replied in the affirmative, confirming his assertion with an oath. Constantine then added, almost prophetically, that if his profession was false, God would avenge the perjury. The Emperor then commanded the Bishop of Constantinople to receive Arius into Catholic communion; but the evening before, like the traitor who betrayed our Lord, he suddenly perished by a miserable death.[3] The progress of his opinions, unhappily, was not hereby checked. On the death of Constantine, his son Constantius [A.D. 337-361], falling under the guidance of an Arian priest, recalled the Arians from exile; St. Athanasius and other Catholic bishops were persecuted and banished; and Arianism, with many modifications, changing in various degrees its distinctive character, prevailed throughout the East. An account of these and of the chief Arian and Semiarian synods will be given elsewhere [SEMIARIANISM].

We may now, before proceeding with the history, give a short account of the parties who may be said to represent the opinions of their founder—called pure Arians.[4] Aëtius, a goldsmith, a man of disreputable character, revived the true Arian theory [A.D. 358]. He taught that the Son was not ὁμοούσιος, of the same substance with the Father, but ἑτερούσιος, of a different substance: that our Lord was not like the Father, but unlike Him in all things; and hence his followers were called Anomœans (ἀνόμοιοι). They were also termed Exucontii (from ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων), a phrase of Arius, who said that Christ was made of non-existing things. Eunomius [A.D. 358] was the disciple, and one of the chief supporters of Aëtius in the revival of Arianism; and their followers were called Aëtians, Anomœans or Eunomians. Eunomius, afterwards made Bishop of Cyzicus, was deposed for his gross heresy. He was often banished, and is said, on their joining his sect, to have rebaptized Catholics

[1] The number of bishops present was probably 318, though Tillemont says the first authors who mentioned the number have differed therein very much, but have always made them near three hundred. They were accompanied by a great number of priests, deacons, and others. [*History of Council of Nice*, sec. ii. (Deacon's transl.)].

[2] The word homoousion (ὁμοούσιος) had been used, as St. Athanasius shews, from an early period in the Church, as expressing the Catholic doctrine of our Lord's consubstantiality with the Father. We also find a similar phrase in the Latin Church used by Tertullian, who speaks of the Divine Persons as being "unius substantiæ" [*Advers. Prax.*]. The word had been condemned at the Council of Antioch, as used by Paul in a Sabellian sense; it *might* indeed be so used, though the Catholic interpretation seems to have been genuine and primitive, and was first altered to countenance Paul's novel and heretical teaching. St. Athanasius says that it was intended at the Council of Nice merely to state that our Lord was "God of God," the "only Begotten," or, to use other similar phrases of Scripture, but that Eusebius of Nicomedia, a friend and secret supporter of Arius, persuaded his party to assent to this definition, as admitting an Arian explanation, all creatures being, in a *certain sense*, "from God." Other similar phrases of Scripture might also be plausibly interpreted in accordance with the Arian theory. The assembled bishops, determined to exclude the possibility of evading their meaning, thought it necessary to add homoousion (of the same substance) as the most explicit definition possible of our Lord's consubstantiality with the Father. [See Petavii *Dogmat. Theol. De Trinitate*, lib. iv. c. 5.]

[3] Socrates, *Eccles. History*, lib. i. c. 38.

[4] Three views or theories have been given of Arianism: [1] That of its founder, which is described in the text, that Christ was of a different substance to the Father; [2] the Homoiousian (ὁμοιούσιος) that Christ was of a substance like that of the Father; [3] the Homoion (ὁμοιος), the theory of Acacius, suggested by Eusebius of Cæsarea, that Christ was like the Father, which might obviously have an orthodox meaning (ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα), or be used in an uncatholic sense; it was also suggested to avoid the Catholic ὁμοούσιος. The last two theories, however, only *verbally* differ—Christ can only be either of the substance of the Father or of another substance, whether like or unlike.

and Semiarians; altering the form of baptism, and baptizing with one immersion only: thus, says Sozomen, corrupting the apostolical tradition handed down to that day.[1]

We may also shortly follow up the history of Arianism in the East, where it originated and chiefly prevailed. Constantius was succeeded by Julian [A.D. 361-363], who recalled Arians and other heretics who had been banished, thinking that the downfall of Christianity would be hastened by its own internal dissensions. The short reign of Jovian followed [A.D. 363-364], who recalled from banishment Athanasius and other Catholic bishops. Jovian was succeeded by Valens in the East [A.D. 364-378]. Arianism was now triumphant, and the orthodox persecuted, banished, and sometimes put to death.[2] The Goths and other barbarous nations during his reign were converted to Arian Christianity under circumstances related by ecclesiastical historians.[3] Valens was succeeded by Theodosius [A.D. 378-395], who banished Arianism from the empire. Various edicts were passed against its professors, who took refuge amongst barbarous nations converted to Arianism. The Vandals (Arian) having obtained possession of Africa, through the perfidy of Count Boniface [A.D. 427], persecuted the Catholics, who were more grievously harassed by Hunneric [A.D. 481-484], at which time occurred the wonderful miracle of the Confessors, who spake as clearly after their tongues were cut out as before. The Visigoths, or Western Goths, who conquered France and Spain, had been converted to Arianism [A.D. 348]. About two centuries afterwards, by the Council of Toledo [A.D. 589], the Catholic faith was established amongst them.[4]

Other barbarous tribes (Arian) were not converted to the Catholic faith till the close of the seventh century. The Lombards (Arian) conquered Italy [A.D. 570], and a hundred years afterwards [A.D. 673] were converted to the Catholic faith: and thus Arianism was extinct.[5]

During the sixteenth century, or at the period of the Reformation, Arianism was revived. Servetus held Antitrinitarian opinions, though of what precise kind is hardly known. Œcolampadius, in a letter to Bucer [A.D. 1531], speaks of his denying that Christ was co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father.[6] He was burnt by Calvin at Geneva [A.D. 1553]. Gentilis, who was condemned at Berne in Switzerland for heresy, and beheaded [A.D. 1566], held Arian opinions.[7] But it was chiefly in Poland that Antitrinitarianism obtained the widest prevalence. A modern (so-called) Unitarian writer says: "Up to this period all the synods held in Poland were composed indiscriminately of the members and ministers of all the Reformed Churches of every communion, Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Antitrinitarian. The consequences of the discordant opinions held by the parties forming these assemblies were, as might be expected, continual disputations, which were frequently conducted with great warmth and violence." After many fruitless attempts to make peace and reconcile differences, the Unitarians finally separated from other Protestant sects, having their own churches and collegiate establishments entirely to themselves. The writer from whom we quote thus states the differences in their religious opinions: "They all concurred in maintaining the supremacy of the Father: but with respect to Jesus Christ some thought Him to be a god of inferior nature derived from the supreme Deity: others held the doctrine of Arius, conceiving Him to have been the first created Spirit, who became incarnate with the view of effecting the salvation of mankind: while a third party believed Him to be a human being. These last were again divided into two classes, the one believing the miraculous conception of Jesus, the other considering Him to have been the son of Joseph as well as of Mary. Another point on which they differed amongst themselves was the worship of Jesus Christ; some of those who believed in His simple humanity maintaining that He was entitled to Divine honours on account of the high rank and authority with which He had been invested after His resurrection as the King and Lord of the Church; whilst others held that Divine worship was to be paid to the Father alone." We next read, as might be expected from such wide differences of opinion, of bitter disputes amongst "Unitarians" respecting the worship and invocation of our Lord, which Socinus maintained, and Francis Davíd, and others denied. Held in abhorrence by Catholic and Reformed, they gave occasion, by their zeal in maintaining their heresy, to the triumph of their adversaries and their own expulsion from Poland. Some students belonging to their college at Racow beat down a crucifix with stones [A.D. 1638]: a decree was in consequence passed (by the Diet at Warsaw) enjoining that "the Unitarian Church at Racow should be closed, the College be broken up, the printing-house be demolished, and the ministers and professors be branded as infamous, proscribed, and banished the state. These misfortunes were shortly afterwards aggravated by an invasion of the Cossacks, who marked out the Unitarians as especial objects of their outrage and vengeance. In the year 1655 the peasants of Poland also, being instigated by the Catholics, rose up in arms against them in several districts, and pursued them everywhere with sanguinary ferocity, pillaging

[1] Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 26.

[2] *Ibid.* lib. vi. c. 10.

[3] Socrates, lib. iv. 33; Sozomen, lib. vi. c. 37; Theodoret, lib. iv. c. 37.

[4] Concilium Toletanum III., in quo Ariana hæresis in Hispania condemnatur.

[5] This word must not be strictly interpreted: we read of Arians in Italy in the tenth century, but they were only the relics of a heresy which no longer openly appeared as a sect. Such Arians must outwardly have professed the Nicene faith and joined in the worship of the Church.

[6] Abutitur omnibus in suum sensum, tantum ne confiteatur Filium cœternum Patri et consubstantialem. See Rees' Historical Introduction to his *Translation of the Racovian Catechism*, p. xi. [1818].

[7] He maintained "that the Father alone was God, and that He had created before all worlds a mighty Spirit who afterwards became incarnate in the human body of Jesus." *Ibid.* p. xxvi.

their property, burning their houses, and putting all to death who fell into their hands." "Under the pretence that the Unitarians had violated the former edict, a more rigorous decree was passed against them [A.D. 1660]; they were all banished from the kingdom. "Four hundred proceeded to Transylvania and Hungary; many bent their steps towards Prussia, Silesia, and Moravia, others emigrated to Holland and the Low Countries, and some passed over to England."[1]

Thus ended the public profession of Unitarianism in Poland, about one hundred and twenty years after its first introduction. Some who held Arian opinions, on their revival in the sixteenth century took refuge in England, as Ochinus, who was strongly suspected of such views. One person, George Paris, a Dutchman, in the reign of Edward VI., was burnt for Arianism. Archdeacon Philpot wrote a work against the same heresy; but we have no reason to think that Arianism widely or extensively prevailed. It was revived in England at the beginning of last century by Whiston and Dr. S. Clarke, but they did not form any sect or party and are only to be considered as learned theorists, who attempted with abstruse modifications to revive Arianism. Dr. Clarke's opinions were brought under the notice of Convocation [A.D. 1713].[2]

Arianism does not at present exist as a sect or denomination: its want of coherence and permanence cannot only be proved, as was remarked, from its own inherent weakness, but is also evident from experience. There are only two systems or theories logically defensible—a belief in our Lord's true Divinity, or in His mere Humanity as the Son of Joseph and Mary. Many of the Arians who lived at the period of the Reformation, as we find from the Racovian Catechism, believed that Christ, in a certain sense, may be called God, that He was born of the blessed Virgin (having an immaculate conception), that He is an object of worship to be invoked by Christians, and that they are unworthy of that name who refuse to invoke and worship Him.[3] But such opinions have long since been abandoned by modern Unitarians, who acknowledge only the mere Humanity of our Lord. We may learn from this that the permanency of Arianism is impossible; it inevitably wastes away, as we have seen in ancient and modern times, and perishes from its own weakness and divisions. But very strangely in modern times it has developed into a system widely differing from itself—a system which Arius himself would probably have anathematized. There is a common saying which is here verified, that everything is sure at last to find its true level. The Nicene Creed, unchanged, has continued for fifteen hundred years the faith of Christendom, whilst Arianism, after giving up one after another of its distinctive opinions and theories, develops into a system wholly differing from itself, but still be it remarked, into a system which is really consistent and tenable, though opposed in the most marked degree to the obvious sense and teaching of Holy Scripture. [Tillemont's *History of the Arians* (Deacon's transl.). Petavii *Dogmata Theologica De Trinitate*, lib. v. and vi. *De Incarnatione Verbi.* Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Creed* (Burton's ed.). Waterland's *Works*, 6 vols. (Oxford ed.). Berriman's *Account of Controversies on the Holy Trinity*, 1727 (Lady Moyer's *Lectures*).]

ARMINIANISM. A system of theology which originated in Holland in the sixteenth century, and so named from its author Arminius, the leading particulars of whose life it will be necessary to give. James Harmensen (Latinized into Arminius) was born at Oudewater in 1560. After a course of study at the University of Leyden, he went to Geneva, where, under the instructions of Beza, he embraced the doctrine of Predestination in its most rigid form [SUPRALAPSARIANISM]. On returning to Amsterdam in 1588, he was appointed a pastor or minister of the Reformed congregation. Called upon by Martin Lydius, a professor of Frankfort, to defend the doctrine of Predestination, as held by Beza, from the objections made against it by the ministers of Delft, he was led to a more careful examination of the subject, which issued in his rejecting the doctrine he had previously held, or predestination in its extreme form. Lectures which he afterwards delivered on the eighth and ninth chapters of the Romans gave offence to his Calvinistic brethren, and were the means of maturing and setting forth his altered opinions.[4] In 1604 he was made Professor in the University of Leyden, and gained many converts to his opinions. His greatest opponent, who was of the Predestinarian school of Beza, was Francis Gomarus, his colleague in the University. Controversy, with its usual bitter fruits, prevailed between Arminius and his followers and their Calvinistic opponents until his death, which was probably thus hastened in 1609. Arminius held Catholic doctrine on the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, believing in the unity of the Three Divine Persons in one Godhead, and the eternal generation of the Son of God.[5] As regards his

[1] Rees' *Transl. of Racovian Catechism*, pp. xxvi.-xl.

[2] Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, p. 425 [1853].

[3] Rees' *Translation of the Racovian Catechism*, pp. 189, 197, 198 [1818]

[4] "As for Arminius, he had been fifteen years a preacher (or a pastor as they rather phrased it) to the great church of Amsterdam, during which time, taking a great distaste at the book published by Mr. Perkins, intituled *Armilla Aurea*, he set himself upon the canvassing of it, and published his performance in it by the name of *Examen Predestinationis Perkinsoniæ*, as before was said. [Mr. W. Perkins (1592), an eminent divine of Cambridge, published his book called the *Armilla Aurea*, &c. containing such a doctrine of predestination as Beza had before delivered, but cast into a more distinct and methodical form, p. 521.] Encouraged with his good success in this adventure, he undertakes a conference on the same argument with the learned Junius, the sum whereof being spread abroad in the several papers, was afterwards published by the name of *Amica Collatio*. Junius being dead in the year 1603, the Curators or Overseers of the University made choice of this *Van Harmini* (Arminius) to succeed him in his place."—Heylin, *Quinquarticular History*, p. 526 [1681].

[5] See *Declaration of his Sentiments before the States of Holland*, October 30, 1608, No. viii. (*Works of*

views on Predestination and the doctrines connected with it, he seems at first to have taken a middle course between the Supralapsarian teaching of Calvin and Beza, and Sublapsarianism, or predestination held in a modified form—in other words, was what would now be called a moderate Calvinist. He afterwards went further, rejecting or calling in question portions of the *distinctive* teaching of Calvinism, but probably to the end of his life did not go beyond moderate or semi-Calvinism. Thus in the *Declaration of his Sentiments* we have just quoted, only delivered a few months before his death, he says, on the possibility of a final fall from grace: "Though I here openly and ingenuously affirm that I never taught that a true believer (vere credens) can either totally or finally fall away from the faith and perish (a fide deficiat sicque pereat) yet I will not conceal that there are passages of Scripture which seem to me to wear this aspect, and those answers to them which I have been permitted to see are not of such a kind as to approve themselves on all points to my understanding (mihi per omnia probaverint). On the other hand, certain passages are produced for the contrary doctrine (of unconditional perseverance) which are worthy of much consideration."[1]

Again, with regard to Predestination: "My sentiments upon it are the following. It is an eternal and gracious decree of God in Christ, by which He determines to justify and adopt believers (fideles) and to endow them with life eternal, but to condemn unbelievers and impenitent persons, as I have explained in the theses on the same subject, which were publicly disputed, and in which no one found anything to be reprehended as false or unsound (tanquam falsum)." In the theses referred to, Arminius says, that "the cause of the decree of Predestination is God's good pleasure, by which being moved with and in Himself He made that decree. This good pleasure not only excludes every cause which it could take from man, or which it could be imagined to take from him; but it likewise removes whatever was in or from man that could justly move God not to make that gracious decree [Rom. xi. 34, 35]." "We circumscribe the persons (who are the object of predestination) within the limits of the word believers (fidelium), and give the name of believers (fideles) not to those who would be such by their own merits and strength, but to those who by the gratuitous and peculiar kindness of God, would believe in Christ." Again, he says, the decree of predestination "comforts afflicted consciences who are struggling with temptation, when it renders them assured (certiores) of the gracious goodwill of God in Christ, which was from all eternity decreed to them (ab æterno ipsis decreta), performed in time, and which will endure for ever." The decree of predestination necessarily infers reprobation, which Arminius thus explains, that God "resolved from eternity to condemn to eternal death unbelievers—who, by their own fault and the just judgment of God, would not believe—for the declaration of His wrath and power."[2]

On the subject of justification he agrees with Calvin, holding the doctrine of imputed righteousness;[3] and speaking of grace and free will, he says, "That teacher obtains my highest approbation who ascribes as much as possible to [divine] grace; provided he so pleads the cause of grace as not to inflict an injury on the justice of God, and not to take away the free will to that which is evil"[4] (liberum arbitrium ad malum tollat). We shall now briefly state the opinions of Arminius on the Sacraments. He says: "The virtue and efficacy of the sacraments of the New Testament do not go beyond the act of signifying and testifying (obsignationis). There can neither [actually] be, nor be imagined, any exhibition of the thing signified through them, except such as is completed by these intermediate acts themselves (quo istis actibus intermediis non peragatur). And therefore the sacraments of the New Testament do not differ from those used in the Old Testament, because the former exhibit grace, but the latter typify or prefigure it." Hence Arminius says of baptism, that "the covenant people (fœderati) of God are sprinkled with water to signify and to testify (obsignandum) the spiritual ablution which is effected by the blood and spirit of Christ;"[5] and of the Lord's Supper, "by the legitimate external distribution, taking, and enjoyment of bread and wine the Lord's death is announced, and the inward receiving and enjoyment of the body and blood of Christ are signified; and that most intimate and close union and fellowship [sive κοινωνια] by which we are joined to Christ our Head is sealed and confirmed on account of the institution of Christ and the analogical relation of the sign and the thing signified. But by this believers (fideles) profess their gratitude and obligation to God, communion among themselves, and a marked difference from all other persons."[6]

We shall now go on with the history of the Arminians or Remonstrants, as they were called[7] after the death of their leader. Their opinions as opposed to Calvinism were set forth in five articles addressed to the States of Holland in 1610. The five articles were known by the name of the Five Points. The substance of them was as follows: [1.] That God decreed to bestow salvation on those whom He foresaw would believe on Jesus Christ, and persevere in faith and obedience. [2.] By Christ's death expiation was made for the sins of all men, though none but believers will finally reap the benefit. [3.] As

Arminius, translated by Nichols, vol. i. p. 627; also vol. ii. p. 690 [1825].

[1] *Works*, vol. i. p. 603 (Nichols).

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 26.

[3] *Ibid.* i. p. 636. See also ii. 405.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 700.

[5] The translator has omitted an important clause, "grafting into the body of Christ." The original is, "Aquæ tinguntur ad ablutionem spiritualem quæ per sanguinem et Spiritum Christi fit, inque corpus Christi insitionem significandam et obsignandam."

[6] *Works*, vol. ii. p. 440, 442.

[7] So called, as Mosheim says, from the petition they presented to the States of Holland and West Friesland in 1610, which was called a Remonstrance.

man is by nature born in sin, and unable to think and to do what is good, it is necessary for salvation that he must be born again and renewed by the Holy Spirit. [4.] That Divine grace which begins, continues, and perfects all that is truly good in man is not invincible or necessarily effectual, but may be resisted by man's perverse will. [5.] Whether those who are united to Christ by faith and furnished with sufficient strength to resist the temptations of evil, can lose their faith and fall finally from a state of grace does not yet appear, but must be ascertained from a careful study of the Holy Scripture. The concluding part of this article was afterwards altered into an *explicit* assertion that a man might fall finally from a state of grace and salvation.

The opinions of the Remonstrants making great progress, and the controversy between themselves and their opponents being aggravated by political dissension, the Synod of Dort was assembled (entirely under Calvinistic influence) [Nov. 1618[1] —May 1619] for the termination of religious disputes. The Five Articles presented as the symbol of Arminianism were condemned, and Arminian preachers were persecuted and exiled. But religious liberty was proclaimed in Holland in 1625.

It is impossible to trace the history of Arminianism as of any other sect or denomination of Christians characterized by holding certain opinions, and having a form of Church government, and who also substantially retain, with whatever modifications, the teaching of their founder. Arminianism, viewed in reference to its author, had no consistency or permanence as a form of religious belief, and has never been adequately represented in any religious body or denomination. It may be described as a reaction against Calvinistic errors, and a restoration as regards the doctrine of Predestination of Scriptural and primitive teaching. It leavened in various degrees other religious bodies widely differing from each other, and from the Reformed community in Holland, where it originated. Archbishop Laud and the Caroline divines have been called Arminians, but the charge was *really* untrue, as their system of theology differed essentially from that of Arminius, not only on Church government, but especially on the doctrines of sacramental grace. They were Arminians, or agreed with the Remonstrants, on the Five Articles, but no further.

It is difficult to state exactly the opinions of Arminius even in respect to the Five Articles; his theology was probably in an inchoate or transitional state, and owing to his premature death not fully developed. Thus he held universal redemption, though according to his own statement in a sense which a Calvinist might hold it: he describes free will as being in the unregenerate "imprisoned, destroyed, and lost," and that man in this state "hates and has an aversion to that which is truly good and pleasing to God, but loves and pursues what is evil."[3] His views on Predestination which have been given afford no proof that he believed it was founded on God's foresight of a Christian's perseverance in holiness, though in his last *Declaration*, he explicitly maintains this view.[4] He was also to the end of life *doubtful* of the possibility of a final fall from grace. His views on divine grace were most emphatically opposed to Pelagianism and kindred heresies, though from an early period such heresies have been found amongst his followers, and have since generally characterized them. It can only be positively asserted, that the opinions of Arminius tended towards the Five Articles, and found in them their legitimate development, and indeed were probably nearer to them than appears from his published works. His early followers could best judge of his real opinions, whilst we have chiefly for our guidance cautious statements made before powerful opponents, and which adhere as much as possible to Calvinistic terminology and its doctrinal system. However this may be, it is right to state that Arminius often complained of the opinions of his *so called* followers, which were naturally attributed to himself, some of which, as heresies on original sin and the divinity of our Lord, he strongly opposed and condemned.

On the death of Arminius, his system, however modified, was, through the writings of Episcopius, Grotius, Curcellæus, Limborch and Le Clerc, Hallam says, in despite of obloquy and persecution, spread over much of the Protestant region of Europe.[5] A tendency to Socinianism soon appeared in the Arminian body, and Bossuet accused Episcopius and Grotius of that heresy. It may be more correctly stated that Arminianism soon developed into Latitudinarianism, or a rationalistic theology which solely depended for guidance into Divine truth on man's reason and judgment, neglecting or casting aside when opposed to them the teaching of God's Word and Church. Hence, as might have been expected, Arminianism was soon characterized by a rejection of the mysterious doctrines of Christianity, as on the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, and by Pelagian and semi-Pelagian heresies. Hallam gives an account of Arminianism in England about the epoch of the Restoration. They were called, he says, "Latitude-men or Latitudinarians, trained in the principles of Episcopius and Chillingworth, strongly averse to every compromise with Popery, and thus distinguished from the High Church party; learned rather in profane philosophy than in the Fathers, more full of Plato and Plotinus than Jerome and Chrysostom, great maintainers of natural religion, and of the eternal laws of morality, not very solicitous about systems of orthodoxy, and limiting very considerably beyond the notions of former ages the fundamental tenets of Christianity."[6] And he afterwards

[1] An account by an eyewitness of the injustice with which the Remonstrants were treated at the Council of Dort is given in one of the letters published by Limborch [cccxvi]: *Epistolicâ Narratio eorum quæ in Synodo Dordracena gesta sunt. Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ* [1684].

[2] *Apology against Thirty-One Theological Articles*, xii.

[3] *Public Disputations*, xi. § 7, § 9.

[4] *Works*, vol. i. p. 389 (Nichols).

[5] *Literary History of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 431 [1855].

[6] We may thus see the absurdity of classing Laud with

mentions that, according to the statement of Nelson in his life of Bishop Bull, the *Theological Institutes* of Episcopius were at that time [A.D. 1685] generally in the hands of our students of divinity in both Universities as the best system of divinity that had appeared.[1]

During the last century, Anglican Arminianism was equally characterized by its Latitudinarian or heretical theology. Hoadly, a bishop for nearly fifty years, was a Socinian. Whitby, the great defender of Arminianism, left at his death for publication a work in defence of Arianism.[2] Tillotson, who died at the close of the previous century [A.D. 1694], wished that we were well rid of the Athanasian Creed,[3] and as Dr. S. Clarke shews there were many bishops and others of his own day who held a similar opinion. In the last half of the century Blackburne's *Confessional* was published, in which he endeavoured to prove that the imposition of articles of faith was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Reformation. A petition was sent to the House of Commons in 1771, signed by two hundred clergy and a few laymen, whose opinions were Latitudinarian, and in many cases Arian or Socinian, praying that subscription to the Articles might no longer be required, either on admission to the universities or from the clergy. Waterland, the great defender of Catholic doctrine on the Holy Trinity, shews the impossibility of reconciling, as some proposed, Arian or Socinian doctrine with the teaching of the Articles and Prayer Book.[4]

Arminianism—the sect and doctrinal system lineally descended at least from the early Remonstrants—still exists in Holland, though it appears to be fast approaching extinction. The number of Remonstrants is now only about 5000, and is still decreasing. In 1809 they had 34 congregations, with 40 preachers, in Holland, but in 1829 only 20 congregations, with 21 preachers. The largest society of Arminians is in Rotterdam, and numbers only 600 members. [Arminii *Opera Theologica*, Bertii Ed. Limborch, *Epistol. Ecclesiasticæ et Theologicæ*. *Works of Arminius*, translated by Nichols. *Calvinism and Arminianism Compared;* by Nichols. Heylin's *Quinquarticular History.*]

ARTICLES. This word has acquired an ecclesiastical sense, especially in England, which is not very different from the ancient sense of Canon [*q. v.*], being used to include statements respecting the practice as well as statements respecting the doctrine of religion. Thus we speak of "the Articles of the Christian Faith," meaning the Creeds; and we also speak of "the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion," in which there are many statements regarding the discipline as well as the doctrines of the Church. The following are the principal applications of the word :—

1. Articles of the Christian Faith. These are the several statements of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, which are so called in a distinctive sense because they have been generally accepted by the Church as containing the substantial truths revealed by God and necessary for a Christian's belief. This usage is not modern, being found in the Catechism and the Visitation Office of the Book of Common Prayer, and also in the mediæval "Instructions for Parish priests" by John Myrk, who writes,—

> "The artykeles of the fey
> Teche thy paresch thus, and sey."

This primary application of the word "Article" in an ecclesiastical sense was extended at the time of the Reformation to such documents as those named in the following paragraphs.

2. The Ten Articles. These "articles to stablish Christian quietness" were composed by Convocation and promulgated by the Crown in the year 1536. The first five relate to the Creeds, Baptism, Penance, the Sacrament of the Altar, and Justification; the latter five are on Images, the honour due to Saints, praying to Saints, Rites and Ceremonies, and Purgatory. They were all substantially embodied in the "Institution of a Christian Man," which was set forth in 1537 as a full statement of the principles of the Church of England.

3. The Six Articles. These formed part of the "Act of Six Articles" [31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14] passed by Parliament in the year 1539. There is reason to think they were composed by Henry VIII. himself, and they had no authority from the Church. The Six Articles were on Transubstantiation, Communion in both kinds, Clerical Celibacy, Vows, Private Masses, and Confession. The Act containing them was repealed by 1 Edw. VI. cap. 12.

4. The Thirty-nine Articles originally appeared in 1552 as "the Forty-two Articles," and having been repealed in the reign of Queen Mary, were re-formed in 1562 as they stand at present. They were composed by Convocation, and promulgated by the Crown; and Acts of Parliament, originating with 13 Eliz. cap. 12, require that they shall be subscribed by the clergy before ordination, before institution, and read in Church after induction. The Thirty-nine Articles are so well known, and there are such excellent commentaries upon them and their history, that it is not necessary to treat of them in detail here. [Dogma. Augsburg Confession. J. H. Blunt's *History of the Reformation*, A.D. 1514-1547. Hardwick's *History of the Articles.* Lloyd's *Formularies of Faith.*]

ARTICULUS MORTIS. It has always been a rule of the Church to exercise a large charity

the Arminian party. The opinions of Arminius, of his followers the early Remonstrants, and of the Latitudinarian divines of our Church during the last and the latter part of the previous century (assuredly the legitimate successors in doctrine of the early Remonstrants), were opposed in the most marked degree to the theology of the Church of Rome.

[1] *Literary History of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 35.

[2] Ὕστεραι φροντίδες, or the last thoughts of Dr. Whitby [1727].

[3] Dr. S. Clarke says of Tillotson's oft-quoted saying, "*The account given of Athanasius' Creed* (saith the excellent Archbishop Tillotson in a letter written from Lambeth, October 23, 1694, to a Right Reverend Prelate) *seems to me in nowise satisfactory. I wish we were well rid of it.*" [*Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 416, 1732].

[4] *Works*, vol. ii. p. 261 [1856].

towards persons in articulo mortis, especially in case of sudden accidents or violence by which the dying person is prevented from having time for any acts of penitence, restitution, or holy reformation. This charity also extends itself to persons in imminent danger of death, although no mortal blow has yet been struck. The approach of shipwreck, battle, or any similar peril has therefore been considered to put those who have no reasonable expectation of escaping death in the same position as persons actually dying; absolution and the Holy Sacrament being then bestowed with much less restriction than under other circumstances.

ASCENSION. [1.] The fact of our Lord's ascension is stated in the Gospel of St. Mark [xvi. 19], in that of St. Luke [xxiv. 51], and in the Acts of the Apostles [i. 9]: and a further confirmation is given to these three statements by the dying words of St. Stephen, "Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God" [Acts vii. 55, 56]. The three narratives also contain abundant evidence that our Lord ascended in His true human nature, the body and soul which had come together again at the Resurrection. It is a pious opinion of most theologians that our Lord was surrounded by the heavenly host as He went up into Heaven, and that He led in His train the Saints who had arisen at the time of His Resurrection, of whom "many" had previously gone "into the Holy City, and appeared unto many" [Matt. xxvii. 52, 53].

[2.] The festival of the Ascension dates from the primitive age of the Church, and St. Augustine attributes its institution to the Apostles. [*Ep.* liv., *al.* cxviii., *ad Januar.*] Several of the Fathers of the same age have left sermons preached on the day, and Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, speaks of it as one of the days which the Lord Himself has made by the acts with which He has consecrated them.

ASCETICS. [Hermits. Cœnobites. Monasticism.]

ASCETICISM, or practice, means the habitual practice of the exercises of the higher life for the purpose of advancing in virtue. Originally applied to the gymnastic exercises by which the bodily powers are developed, the word has naturally passed on to the discipline of the soul. The consciousness of such discipline being necessary has not been wanting to men in every form of religion. As, however, the ideas of virtue must vary with the forms of religious opinion or of faith peculiar to each system, it follows that Asceticism will assume various developments for good or for evil proportionate to the end which is sought, and allied to the dogma from which it proceeds. In forms of natural religion, the endeavour to bring the body into subjection to the enlightened will resulted indeed in much elevation of life; but even the noblest philosophers of antiquity could not escape from the remains of evil which vitiated not only the body, so that its baser passions were ever rising up in new and sometimes exaggerated forms, but also the faculties of the soul itself, so that the evil was often unrecognised, or excused and accepted. Experience shewed that evil was not limited to that infirmity of human nature which the heathen poet expressed in the words

> "Video meliora proboque,
> Deteriora sequor."

The evil lay deeper. The light within became but darkness. God gave them over, by a chastisement which was the natural consequence of continued sin, to a reprobate, undistinguishing mind. Losing sight of God, they lost sight of holiness, and even whilst striving to triumph over nature, they were obliged to accept the terrible consequences of the Fall. They could not raise nature to that true law from which it had fallen without the aid of a power greater than themselves.

The evil became exaggerated when a pure system of Deism gave way to a corrupt theosophy, or a degrading idolatry. Oriental speculations upon the origin of matter led men to seek to eliminate the soul as much as possible from the body. Bodily existence was regarded as a necessary evil, and the escape of the soul into nothingness, its absorption into the universal spirit, where its individuality should cease, became the only possible hope of freedom and purity. The maceration of the body was in this system not so much for the training of a self-sacrificing spiritual gymnast, but rather for the destruction of a hostile element of nature which was incompatible with the soul's true life. The body was treated as a necessary accident of this present state, essentially evil, but external to the real self, which would rise to freedom as soon as the necessary penalty of imprisonment in matter had been completed. We find the heathen fakir to the present day combining the most terrible self-torture with the most revolting indecencies, because he looks upon his body not as a part of his true nature, the instrument of a Divine service, but as a prison-house of evil, from which he must hasten his escape by increasing his fleshly miseries, an external enemy for whose foulness he is not responsible, and which he has to subdue by constant antagonism.

The Israelite, possessing as he did the oracles of God, was able to carry on the work of Asceticism in a far different spirit. He knew God as the Creator of all things, visible and invisible, and, however corrupt the material nature might be, he knew that this corruption was not inherent in matter. He recognised it as being the result of the Fall. The body was to be disciplined and brought into subjection to the soul, but it would not have been given by God if it were not intended to be the instrument of the soul for purposes of good. By voluntary vows he might put away from himself certain indulgences as a means of devoting himself with greater reverence and purity to Divine contemplation, and separating off his intercourse with God from the grosser pleasures of earthly enjoyments. In the law of Moses rules were given for stated fasts, and for

Asceticism

abstaining from connubial pleasures when preparing for acts of special sanctity. One class of persons was marked out from the first as devoted pre-eminently to bodily discipline. The Nazarite was the exhibitor of a life separated unto God. This law of separation might no doubt be more or less complete. In such a character as Samson it would seem as if little were invoked beyond the two more prominent restrictions. However, the more spiritual mind recognised a higher call of God. The Nazarite's countenance, "whiter than milk," spoke of the heavenly atmosphere of his self-disciplined life.

In the later period also God raised up another race of Ascetics in the schools of the prophets. Their rough clothing was a type of their rough living. By prolonged habits of fasting the spiritual faculty was cultivated. It was evident that God blessed the life of Asceticism, and vouchsafed great gifts of illumination and supernatural power to those who thus diligently sought Him. Amongst the Ascetics of the Old Testament after Elijah, we find the most prominent character in a sphere of life altogether different. Daniel carried the ascetic life to its highest pitch during the many years of his career, from his boyhood in the royal seminary and the Chaldee university, to the later years when he occupied a lofty position amongst the great men of the empire as the privy counsellor of Nebuchadnezzar. We find him using his ascetic practices as a special means of attaining Divine light. Nor could it, indeed, be otherwise, since the evangelical beatitude is but the revelation of an eternal law of God in His dealing with mankind,—"Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God."

Those, therefore, who sought to see God, strove specially to purify themselves. This rose to its highest fulfilment in that ascetic who was "more than a prophet." His eyes were to be opened that he might see, and his lips to proclaim the Incarnate Son of God. His life was accordingly one of special ascetic self-preparation, and his preaching was also preparatory to the Great Advent, "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." His disciples were trained in the observance of frequent and regular practices of prayer and fasting.

Nor did the Son of Man neglect the duty of asceticism. In His own Person He exhibited it more triumphantly that any before Him. Although He mingled with the feasts of sinners, yet He kept Himself apart from His brethren. His life of virginity, poverty, and obedience, His prayer, His fasting, His unwearied charity, became the foundation of the religious life and spiritual exercises of the Christian Church. The revelation of the grace of Christ transfigured the discipline of the Church with the glory of the communication of God, and voluntary sufferings endured from a sense of devotion to Jesus crucified, strengthened the faithful in their conflict with Satan for the endurance of the Cross, and shone bright with the hope of an everlasting glory. The law of Christian life in the days before the first love had grown cold, was felt to be one of continual prayer, of watching, of fasting, whereby the worshipper offered his body a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God through Jesus Christ. The type of life which is exhibited in the Apostolical Epistles as belonging to all is indeed of an ascetic character which in the present day it is difficult to realize. Mortification (both outward and inward), habits of separation from the world, watching unto prayer, fasting, revenges upon ourselves after lapses into sin, a large-heartedness making all superfluities of wealth suffice for the supply of others' needs, while we remain content with the moderate gratification of our own desires, is a mode of life with which modern habits are sadly at variance. But Holy Scripture represents to us that some are to strive to live by stricter rules than are imposed on all. The counsels of perfection which our Lord sanctified by His own observance, and enforced upon a few, were plainly living on in the mind of the Apostolic Church. Anna the prophetess, and widow of fourscore and four years, who departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day, was to be succeeded by many, who in the Christian Church should be enrolled as widows (under which name the consecrated virgins were included,) abiding in loneliness of heart, trusting in God, and continuing in supplications and prayers night and day. The elder ones, if necessitous, were supported by the alms of the Church. Some, as probably the four daughters of Philip the Evangelist, remained in their homes, although dedicated as virgins, and prophesying.

The practice of Asceticism, as a professed law of life, thus passed on from the earlier dispensation to the Christian Church, and, passing on, it could not but be ennobled by the change. It passed on through the medium of our Lord's own ministry and example. This necessarily attached to it a sacramental value, which it had not had before. The Christian revelation also shining upon it could not fail to develope new features within it. The higher law of morals must take its form from the dogma which accompanies it; and, as in heathen countries these higher efforts crystallized in the abominations of fakirism, so did Christian asceticism rise into spirituality by association with the great doctrines now fully declared of man's responsibility, his fallen estate, the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the resurrection of the flesh. That which had been the despairing effort of the few in their sharp struggle with unconquered evil became the necessary aim of the many, who having sought in baptism to be admitted as members of the crucified Saviour, felt themselves pledged to mortify their members which are upon the earth; as persons dead to the world, whose life was hid with Christ in God to be revealed hereafter when they should reign with Christ in His glory. True, they were still in the world, and had to take part in its businesses. The requirements of the world held them back from giving themselves altogether to the special exercises of devotion. The infirmity of nature was such that none, whilst living in the

world, could realize habitually the perfection of the mixed estate, in which the highest perfection, that of our Lord Himself, was found. He in His spotlessness could be in the world and yet untainted by it. His soul ever remained in the undimmed contemplation of God, whatever might be the accidents of His external position. To His members this mixed estate was impossible without forfeiture of perfection. To most, it was almost necessarily attended by serious decline. Consequently, we find the Church of God gradually dividing itself with more and more of definiteness into two classes, those whose calling was in the world and those who were called to the regular practice of asceticism in one or more of its features.

Such a division within the Christian body had always been contemplated by our Lord Himself, for He speaks at times not to all, but to those who are able to receive His words. In fact, without some such partition of duty the Church must have ignored the natural laws of Divine Providence, and the world must have died out as the faith spread over it. The Unity of the Body of Christ, however, was such that the whole body might grow towards perfection whilst the several members glorified God in their several vocations. It was felt to be no matter of mere human option whether men lived by ascetic rule or no. It was as God called any man: every man being called to the highest perfection within his reach. But God may give us indications that this or that form of service are not intended for us, and then we must seek the highest perfection in some other manner. We do not lose anything, for, whatever our calling be, all perfections are plainly not within the reach of every one. We become most perfect by following perfection in that state which God marks out for us.

Unhappily the large body of Christians were soon content to assume that the world was their true sphere, and living in it they lived for it. The consequence was that even in the Apostolic age the first fervour of love declined. The New Testament epistles bear witness to us that the standard even of secular Christianity was rapidly lost. For some time the continuance of persecution did indeed check the spirit of worldliness. There must have been some consciousness of a supernatural call in those who could brave the dangers of professing Christianity. There must have been in such persons a readiness to aim at the Divine life. But intuitions of truth are not always lasting, nor resolutions always strong, nor hated passions always easily subdued. Many who had grown up in the faith from childhood, as well as many fresh converts, would gradually fall away into sloth. So the division became more and more marked between Christians living in the world and those who professed asceticism. Asceticism could scarcely be practised at all without separation from the bulk of Christians, who ignored even that part of its practice which was incumbent upon all.

The immediate occasion, however, of local separation, was the violence of persecution. When many were giving way on all sides under its pressure, Paul the hermit fled from the danger of lapse to live as a solitary, and thus becoming perfected in practices of communion with God, he remained to carry on his life of devotion in solitude when the persecution was passed. The instincts of Christendom recognised the blessedness of a life thus separated, and fled into the desert from the pleasures of the world as the greatest of all their foes. Others in other places retired to live austere lives in seclusion. These gradually formed themselves into communities, each having a recognised head. The principles of the ascetic life thus came to be developed in the three great evangelical counsels,—chastity, poverty, and obedience, which form the basis of the "religious" life. [Counsels of Perfection]. Each subsequent age saw fresh forms of religious life arising to meet its own requirements; but all the monastic orders rested upon this threefold foundation. The enemy was threefold; threefold was the root of the sin of his nature with which the ascetic had to struggle; threefold therefore were his attacks. The lusts of the flesh were met by the stern discipline of chastity, the lust of the eye by poverty, and the vow of obedience undertook to fence away the subtle spirit of pride. Of course there were many living in the world who practised these ascetic counsels with more or less of perfection; but that which had been comparatively easy when the Church was a persecuted community existing in a hostile world, became a great difficulty when the world had become nominally Christian. True, indeed, the religious houses themselves were continually falling away into laxer practices. As they were specially erected to be bulwarks of Christendom against the assaults of Satan, it was not to be expected that he would fail to direct his most vigorous attacks against them. The monastic houses in far too many cases became subject to great abuses, but the war did not cease. Reformed communities arose recalling men to the original principles of the order when it was necessary, and the asceticism regularly developed in the religious houses was a lamp of holy light handed on from generation to generation, and from place to place, amidst the dark storms of barbarism in which, but for them, the mediæval Church would have entirely perished.

We are not, however, to suppose that the benefits of Asceticism have been merely of a kind immediately religious. As the soul of man was formed to be religious, to have religion for its highest energy, it could not fail but that the higher developement of the religious element of our nature would involve an elevation of the whole being. Many indeed are apt to regard the ascetic as gloomy, narrow-minded, and ignorant, because they close their eyes to the light which constitutes his joy, and interpret his words in a carnal sense, at variance with his own true meaning. History, however, has fully vindicated the law of nature and the truth of God. "Them that honour Me I will honour" [1 Sam. ii. 30]. The promise was fulfilled. They who fled from

the world found the world coming after them, to seek their guidance, their counsels, their arbitration. The world did homage to those who had spurned it; the recluse became powerful in the world of politics; they who sought to live unknown were remembered with world-wide gratitude when they themselves were dead. But if the promise was thus fulfilled, it was because it was the promise of Him who made man what he is. The laws of God's natural kingdom are fitted to enshrine and carry out the promises of His grace. Asceticism, being the systematic cultivation of man's religious nature, was, as we have seen it ought to be, the real means of elevating all his faculties. It was no mere homage to sentiment which brought stout warriors to accept the decision of the monk. Too often the monk, being untrue to his own profession, was the object of their well-merited satire and scorn. It was when he was true to his ascetic rule that he rose before them in a manifestly supernatural character. Individual ascetics, and whole communities of Religious, extorted the submission of the world at large. Monasteries stood out in prominence as homes of all wisdom, natural and Divine. The religious houses were centres of civilizing influence to a barbarous society, and of cultivation to a land primeval in its wildness. The energies which were disciplined for the struggle with self were strengthened for the subjugation of the world. Not only material difficulties gave way before them; the regions of thought became as fruitful of beauty and wealth by the bold speculations of their reasoning, as the stone became beneath their chisel, or the marsh which learnt to blossom by their careful tillage. In our age, indeed, many stores of nature have been opened which were closed to them, but their powerful grasp of thought had reasoned out as possibilities results which come very often to the most unthinking of ourselves as scientific facts, and which we consider the pride of our own age. Asceticism was no dull spirit which took for gospel whatever it was told. As it was an endeavour to carry out the spiritual morality of the Gospel in its fulness, so it searched unfearingly into all Gospel truth, and scrutinized with a lively interest the mysteries of science.

It is much to be deplored that at the time of the Reformation the religious houses were so ruthlessly abolished. Many indeed had earned their fall by having turned to luxury (in violation of their vows) the wealth which they had inherited from the ascetic toil of their predecessors. Yet there were many which perished only through calumny, and their loss has been severely felt. The Church of England has certainly never been without many individuals cultivating in unobtrusive ways the principles of asceticism, but she has lacked communities devoted to this high aim. The mere collegiate life of her universities fails in its intellectual energy, because its members are wanting in the self-denying stimulus and cumulative labour and life-long perseverance which an avowed cultivation of the religious life alone can ensure. He who would triumph in anything must begin by triumphing over self, and no community which is not pledged to this fundamental endeavour can achieve collective glory or progressive victories in any department of inquiry. In no age or country have secular canons as a community escaped the snare of the wealth they enjoyed. In like manner do wealthy endowments in a university tend certainly to sap that spirit of study which they were intended to foster. It is needful to have ascetic principles recognised as a basis of life which all accept.

Modern movements. The Church of England has felt various movements of asceticism. Although there may have been a widely-spread popular feeling tending to depreciate a strict life under rule, yet the divines who have been most true to her principles have constantly maintained the importance of the evangelical counsels and the subordinate practices of austerity which all Christians ought to follow. That movement which eventuated in the mighty secession of the Wesleyans gained its moral vigour in the ascetic principles which indeed are still commemorated in the very name of Methodism. The movement commonly known as Evangelical was distinguished more by nothing than by the abstraction from the world and the rigorous simplicity of life which its leaders, living as they did in special devotion to Holy Scripture, could not fail to urge as the ideal of Christianity, and which they moreover exhibited in their own lives. Ascetic practices failed in their system, because they were left to the short-lived impulses of individual piety. When the fervour of this piety began to decline, asceticism came to be more definitely and prominently put forward, in accordance with the principles of the Church of England, by the leaders of the so-called Tractarian party. The observances of the appointed fast-days and prayers of the Church, the duty and blessedness of almsgiving, were strenuously enforced.

There is another movement of modern times which seems at first sight to deserve to be reckoned as one of the forms of asceticism; that is Teetotalism. It differs, however, from asceticism because it is founded upon a principle altogether different. Though it inculcates abstinence, it does so mainly upon the score of physical improvement, not for the purpose of cultivating any supernatural virtue. This is not the place to discuss its abstract merits or demerits, but probably the adherents of the system may be divided into two classes. Those who advocate Teetotalism upon grounds consistent with Christianity do so upon practical grounds, because of the immense evils arising to society from excess in drink, and they advocate it especially as a remedial measure to be adopted by those persons who cannot restrain themselves within the bounds of moderation. The objects which they set before their disciples are advancement in domestic comfort, intelligent happiness, social wellbeing. They do not urge them to this practice as a means of mortifying the earthly nature which comes between them and the perfect apprehension of God; they only shew

that man as a rational creature ought to seek the higher happiness rather than the baser gratifications which the world offers to him. This may be, if properly guarded, a very useful substratum for religious teaching and higher training, but it contains within itself no idea of supernatural elevation to be communicated to the soul. The ascetic, on the other hand, seeks not natural comfort, but a higher life with God by the same discipline of the flesh. He seeks to unite himself by suffering, as a sacramental link, to his Saviour's Passion, and to offer himself a living sacrifice to God through Jesus Christ, looking forward to the joy of the resurrection. He accepts the law of the Cross as a practical law of his life, taking holy vengeance upon his sinful nature for those sins which made Christ die, and resting in the love of God to accept and bless the expressions of his penitential love. He does not conceive that he could be more pleasing to God merely by rising in the scale of natural vigour. He realizes that the fallen nature must be subdued through the power of Christ's Passion willingly accepted, and recognises henceforth only one object of joy, finding his entire satisfaction in the love of God. Teetotalism is purely natural, and stops short in nature. Asceticism is the reaching out of the soul after the supernatural, while it realizes, claims, and surely finds the supernatural assistance and reward which God has provided.

There is another class of Teetotalists who differ from the true ascetics for quite another reason. They hold wine to be an unlawful indulgence. That which was harmless as a mere disciplinary system becomes distinctly heretical when thus propounded. Like Vegetarianism, it falls into the errors with which the early Church was familiar, and of which St. Paul spoke when he prophesied of some who would command to abstain from meats which God hath provided to be received with thanksgiving. The ascetics of the early Church never tolerated any such abuse. Their abstinence was, as a means of individual perfection, not enforced by any law of universal obligation. Every creature of God is good, even though it may be desirable for us, either through discipline for the future or penitence for the past, to abstain from partaking of it.

Objections. There will be some to whom Asceticism presents an unnatural aspect, if by it is intended the endurance of privation in matters not essentially sinful. This arises from men losing sight of the Fall. Had we been unfallen creatures, all the gifts of our Father would doubtless have been abundantly at our disposal. There would then have been no excess to grieve over nor to guard against. The evil is not in matter but in man. All God's creatures are good, but it is necessary for man to suffer ere he can be admitted to the higher gifts which are not of this world. God has exposed him to suffering in this world, and has revealed to him a further state of suffering in the next; and man is not acting in a manner unnatural, but entirely consistent with the natural appointment of Providence experienced here, and revealed as existing hereafter, when he voluntarily takes vengeance upon himself, and confesses himself to be unworthy of the good things which God has left within his reach. How truly natural this law of self-abnegation is becomes the more manifest when we find, as we do, that such a law tends more than anything else to rescue man from the poison of sinful impulses with which his fallen nature is tainted. Suffering is a merciful provision, ascetic endurance a wise self-discipline for wearing out those evil tendencies which exist only the more strongly in the fully developed organism of perfect natural health and vigour. So we find St. Paul saying that he kept under, or browbeat, his body, and brought it into subjection, lest that by any means when he had preached to others he himself should be a castaway. If man in natural health were at one with the purpose of his creation, then natural temperance would suffice to his sanctification; but since the natural man in his most perfect condition is sinful, all his faculties by which he clings to this world have to be browbeat—the word is a very strong one—and mortified. He that liveth after the flesh will mind the things of the flesh, but he that liveth after the spirit the things of the spirit.

One further objection to asceticism remains to be noticed. It is thought by many to develope spiritual dangers worse than the bodily evil which it strives to quell, and is also supposed to foster self-righteousness in the very struggle of penitence. To this it must be replied that every religious practice is liable to the same perversion, but we are not to reject the good because of possible dangers. In truth there is, as we have seen, an inherent tendency in the life of simple and natural temperance to forget the essential evil of our nature in its present fallen state. When we feel ourselves to be at peace with ourselves because the faculties of our nature are in health and harmony, we fancy ourselves to be at peace with God. For this reason our Lord said that the publicans and harlots had not so great an impediment to their entrance into the Kingdom of God by the greatness of their sin, as the Scribes and Pharisees had by their well-regulated but self-satisfied morality. The ascetic must constantly keep in mind that he is a sinner, and all his bodily privations are meaningless if they are not the expression of a hearty conviction of his own unworthiness. Asceticism without penitence would be the most degrading form of cruelty. This, indeed, it is when it is placed upon the foundation of a false dogma, as in heathen countries, where the ascetic regards himself as a pure spirit struggling with the impurity, not of his own nature, but of the matter in which he is temporarily imprisoned. The Christian ascetic, on the contrary, is carrying out God's work of vengeance upon himself as a sinner, and seeking to be conformed to the likeness of Christ as his Redeemer, while he acknowledges that if his body is to be offered a living sacrifice acceptable unto God, it can only be through the merits of the Body of Christ and His Sacred Passion with which he is united. He seeks not to be quit of

his body like the Manichee or the Buddhist, but to rise into freedom from the sin which enthrals him, that his body may be the more capable of a glorious resurrection through its sympathy and participation in the suffering of Jesus. He does, indeed, believe that God will not be unrighteous and forget his works and labour which proceedeth of love, as well in the fulfilment of the first law of charity, which is devotion to God, as in the second law, which is beneficence to our neighbour. He is, therefore, not discouraged by a harsh view of the Divine disregard, but strives to work out his salvation, knowing that it is God who worketh in him both to will and to do of His good pleasure, and the feebleness of his own efforts leads him the more fully to rest upon, while his sufferings teach him to realize, the atoning work of Jesus his Redeemer. Those who have suffered most, whether by Providence or by devotion, will be the fullest in their acknowledgments of the alone sufficiency of the merits of Christ.

Indeed the experience of all ascetics has been, that in this struggle with sin they have been brought, not to an easier life of holiness, but a more difficult contention with Satan. Their temptation is rather to despair than to self-complacency. Many persons fail to recognise the supernatural character of this struggle with Satan; and, indeed, some scarcely realize practically the existence of Satan himself. If we wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers and the rulers of the darkness of this world, it is plain that we must betake ourselves to some supernatural exercises. The soul enters upon its struggles with Satan, especially, in acts of bodily suffering. At such times Satan comes especially to assail. We have the example of our Lord's Temptation in the wilderness, and of the Agony in the Garden. Times of special devotion are times of Satan's special assault, but God gives grace in proportion to the need of His people. Spiritual temptations, therefore, are no reason for declining the conflicts. They have to be expected. They must be endured if we are to be partakers of the higher grace, but then they are also the very means appointed by Almighty God for making the higher gifts of grace secure to us, and the higher exercises of devotion possible. The messenger of Satan is given to the ascetic to buffet him, lest he should be puffed up by any spiritual advancement. He is thus kept mindful of his own continuing weakness and inherent sinfulness in a way more real and terrible than other men know of. When he is weak he becomes strong, always bearing about in his body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifest in his mortal body. These spiritual struggles of the ascetic far outweigh any mere bodily mortification which he may practise. Indeed they cause him to rise above the sense of many bodily sufferings by the intenser anguish which his soul endures. But then, too, he knows a consolation and a joy far beyond what can otherwise be known. He does not look upon his life as a gloomy portion of misery beyond others, but he knows himself to have a joy unknown to the world in proportion as he feels himself to be identified with the Cross and Passion of Jesus Christ.

[Body, Natural. Buddhism. Counsels of Perfection. Fasting. Monasticism. Mortification. Nazarite. Theology, Mystical. Vocation.]

ASH WEDNESDAY. [Lent.]

ASPERSION. [Baptism.]

ASSUMPTION. This term has been not unfrequently used for the *taking up into* bliss of the souls of departed saints, the day of their death being called the day of their assumption. But its more distinctive application in recent times has been to the taking up of the Blessed Virgin, both soul and body, into Heaven.

The idea of the Blessed Virgin's assumption rests on no historical basis, there being no record of any value respecting the circumstances of her death, much less of any that may have followed after her death. Epiphanius says that nothing whatever was known in his time as to the death of St. Mary: but a tradition of the seventh century asserts that all the Apostles were brought together miraculously to witness it, with the exception of St. Thomas, that on his arrival (three days afterwards) her grave was opened that he might see her once more, and that nothing was found there except her grave clothes. It seems sufficient evidence against this tradition having come down from Apostolic times, that there is not the slightest indication in Christian writings for the first six centuries of what would have necessarily attracted the heart of the Church had it been a well-known fact.

It is true that a festival now observed as that of the Assumption by the Roman churches has been dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin from primitive times. It was originally held on January 18th, and was changed to its present day, August 15th, in the time of Gregory the Great. But in all early Calendars this is called the "Dormitio," "Κοίμησις," or "Μετάστασις" of the "most holy Mother of God," and "Assumption" is a comparatively recent name for the day. Thus the festival gives no evidence whatever in favour of the belief that the body of the Blessed Virgin has already arisen from the grave, but merely commemorates her holy death, the departure of her soul from the Church on earth.

On the other hand, those who do not feel themselves bound strictly by historical evidence in such a case as this, will find little difficulty in believing that the tradition represents a truth. It is certain that the bodies of some of the holy dead have already risen, for one of the many marvellous circumstances attending our Lord's death was that "the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after His resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many" [Matt. xxvii. 52]. Thus there is no à priori difficulty in the way of supposing that the body of St. Mary arose from the grave shortly after death: and, indeed, if such a resurrection would have ministered to the glory of her risen

and ascended Son (as the resurrection of the other saints apparently did), it seems as probable in her case as in that of others.

Apart from the historical difficulty, it would also seem very fitting that the holy body which was the vehicle of so mighty an event as the Incarnation of God should be preserved from the corruption of the grave; and should be at once received into that blessed place where He who had taken His Manhood of its substance had Himself gone, in that Manhood, to dwell.

From a purely historical point of view, therefore, there is no evidence for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the traditional evidence for it is not strong; but on à priori grounds there is no valid objection to a belief in it. The exaggeration of such a "pious belief" into a dogmatic article of the faith would be unwarrantable: and much exaggeration and credulity have undoubtedly surrounded the observance of the festival.

ASSURANCE. Out of the word πληροφορία [Col. ii. 2; 1 Thess. i. 5; Heb. vi. 11, x. 22], or rather out of the word as rendered in the A. V., a doctrine has been developed which substantially assigns to truly converted persons a perfect *assurance* of peace with God—that is, of present pardon and future salvation. This tenet prevails chiefly among the Methodists, and those sections of "the religious world" which take their colour from the teaching of Wesley. As in all other misbeliefs, there is a nucleus of truth in the doctrine of assurance, though its gross exaggeration destroys Christian modesty, and leads to Antinominanism. Most persons who are really serving God faithfully will have some degree of consciousness that they are in God's favour; but when they have done all they will say that they are "unprofitable servants," and that they dare not do more than hope through the mercies of God that they shall be saved. Such a hope, founded on a strong faith, may be scarcely distinguishable in some pious persons of strong feeling from what is called assurance, but the nearer it approaches to an intellectual or dogmatic form, the greater becomes the danger of its lapsing into Antinomianism.

ATHANASIAN CREED. [QUICUNQUE VULT.]

ATHEISM. The denial of the existence of God. "Αθεος ὁ μὴ νομίζων εἶναι Θεόν [Clem. *Strom.* vii. ch. i.]. In discussing this subject we shall investigate—I. The name; II. The thing; III. Its causes; IV. Its arguments; V. The verdict of the Bible upon it; and VI. The books, tracts, &c., written in favour of and against it.

I. *The name* has been applied variously and widely: to Mezentius [Virg. *Æn.* 7] and the Cyclops [Hom. *Od.* 9] in Beyerlinck's *Magnum Theatrum*, &c.; by the Athenians to Diagoras of Melos, and thence to all the Melians, whence Melius is applied in the sense of ἄθεος to Socrates [Aristoph. *Nubes* 831: see Suidas, *s.v.*]; to Anaxagoras, Aspasia, &c.; to Euemerus of Messena [Lactantius, and Eusebius, *Præp. Evan.* lib. 2]; to Theodorus and Bion [*v.* Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* i. 1]; to the Christians by the Pagans [Julian *ap. Sozomen*, v. 15, cf. Athenag. *Apolog.* and Clem. *Strom.* vii. 1, who adds elsewhere, καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοι οὑτωι Θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι]; to the Pagans by the Christians [Clem. *Protrept.* p. 11; Beza *ad. Ephes.* ii. 12]; to the heretics by the orthodox; to Eunomius by St. Jerome [*Ep.* 38, *ad Pammach. Bened.*]; to Arius by Athanasius, &c.; to Anastasius the Emperor by Zosimus and Paulus Diaconus; by Catholics to Protestants [Possevinus, *Biblioth.* viii. 1-10; Claudius de Sainctes, *Tract. Pecul.*; Chiconius *c. Cuvillum;* Campanella, *Atheismus Triumph.;* Mersenne, *Comm. in Genes.*]; by the Jesuits to the Macchiavellians [see Voet, *de Ath.* p. 116, Lessius, *de Prov.* Dedic. p. 1]; by Perkins to Turks, Jews, and Papists [*Works*, ii. 526]; to Vorst the Calvinist, to Socinians, to Arminians, by their respective opponents [Voet, p. 120]; to the Mahometans [*ib.* p. 122]; by Calvin to the Pope and Cardinals [*Inst.* iv. 7, 27]; to Erasmus by the Jesuits; to Charron by Mersenne; to Aristotle by Tycho Brahe; to Descartes, for rejecting Aristotle; to Taurellus by the Heidelberg Divines [A.D. 1610]; to a usurer by Luther, [Voet, *l. c.* p. 121-7); to the mystical physicians, and the deniers of magic [*ib.* 125-9]; to Vanini, Fludd, Montaigne, J. Bruno, Cardan, Macchiavelli, Charpentier, Basson, Charron, Campanella, by Mersenne [*L'impiété des Déistes*, &c.]; to the Socinians in Poland, Geneva, and elsewhere, by the same; to the Sceptics, Epicureans, Cabbalists, Hermetico-Lullistæ, Hermetico-Paracelsistæ, &c. [Voet, p. 131]; to the Enthusiastæ, Spirituales, David-Joristæ, &c. [Voet, 118]; to Ranters [Somers, *Tracts* vi. 24]; to the followers of Rabelais [Voet, *l. c.*]; by the Spanish theologians to the French, Venetians, &c., who favoured the house of Austria; by the author of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* to the Spanish theologians [Voet, p. 116]; to the French Deists by Voet, H. Stephanus, and Mersenne [Voet, p. 117; Mersenne, *Questions rares et curieuses Théologiques*, 112-46, 1630]; to the Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Tartars, the ancient Prussians, the Chicimeci of New Spain and other American peoples, the Souldani of South Africa, the tribes of the middle of Africa, and other barbarians, &c. [Hoffmann, *Lex. Univ.* s. v., Lessius, *de Prov.*, &c.]; and lastly, by Maréchal to almost every eminent person who has ever lived [*Dict. des Athées*, passim.].

II. *The thing* is the denial, by words, in theory, or in practice, of the existence of a spiritual cause of the universe, whether that cause be conceived as one or many; and as a consequence of this, the supposition that visible Nature is the ultimate fact with which the human mind has to deal. Historically we may distinguish two kinds of Atheism—Atheism as a prevailing sentiment, which is the result of moral, political, and other causes, and Atheism as a philosophical theory, which is the conclusion of a reasoned statement from certain premises. Speaking roughly, the Atheism previous to the middle of the eighteenth century was mainly of the former type, that prevailing since that time of the latter. The first, as Bacon, writing at the end of the sixteenth century, said, "is rather on the lip than the heart of man," which is shewn by "nothing more than

this, that Atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others; nay more, you shall have Atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects; and, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for Atheism and not recant; *whereas if they did truly think* that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves?" [*Essays*, xvi.] It was, in fact, a fashion of feeling, speaking, and, unfortunately too, of living—a state of anarchy in the breast of the individual which was the natural reflex of the anarchy—religious, moral, ecclesiastical, political, intellectual—in society at large. The contemporary writers in defence of the Being of God (of whom, especially towards the latter end of the seventeenth century, there was a prodigious number) appear therefore to have made a mistake in meeting the Atheism of their time by the direct assault of counter-argument. For, although Atheism pervaded society, it did not appear in books. Until the year 1750, when the great French *Encyclopédie* was published, there is scarcely an Atheistic book or tract to be found [see Buckle's *Civilization*, i. cap. 14]. It became necessary, therefore, both to imagine the individual antagonist, invent the arguments that he would be likely to use, and then refute them. Thus the shots went safely over the heads of the enemy; no one was convinced; and as the same man played both his own and his adversary's hand, there was no winner. The real and only "refutation" was that which history has slowly brought about in the settlement of society and of opinion, the amelioration of the general estate of man, and the consequent elevation of European morals. The Atheism of this period was, in short, not so much an argument to be rebutted as a disease to be cured. "We must not think," says Perkins, "that this wicked thought is onely in some notorious and hainous sinners, but it is the corrupt mind and imagination of every man that cometh of Adam naturally, not one excepted save Christ alone" [*Man's Naturall Imagination*, *Works*, ii. 525]. The natural man, as such, has no knowledge of God; and in a period of protracted social disturbance, when the spiritual support of established opinions and institutions gives way, all but the noblest and strongest have a tendency to relapse more or less into a state of nature. It is of this kind of Atheism that Milton speaks—

> "Unless there be who think not God at all;
> If any be, they walk obscure;
> For of such doctrine never was there school
> But the heart of the fool,
> And no man therein doctor but himself."
>
> *Sams. Agon.* 295.

III. *The Causes of Atheism* in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, according to the more or less unanimous verdict of contemporary writers, were:—

[*a*] *A widespread libertinism of life.* The Atheist, says Bishop Fotherby, becomes "a bad servant unto all his vices, but more especially unto his ambition and his belly" [*Atheomastix*, book i. c. 19; and to the same effect Meric Casaubon, Glanvil, "Dorotheus Sicurus," Reimmann, Spizelius, Grapius, Meier, Rajcsanyi, Jenkin Thomasius, Bishop Dawes, Lessius, Mersenne, Voetius, and others], which Bacon thus explains: "They that deny a god destroy a man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beast by his body" [*loc. cit.*]. It seems, however, to have been rather the cause of Atheism than its effect: for the Atheism of the later French school, of which the following passage may be taken as characteristic, seems to have been in great measure free from it:—

> "Des coupables plaisirs sectateurs insensés
> Des folles passions esclaves abusés,
> Gardez-vous de penser que ma muse novice
> Daigne vous élargir la carrière de la vice;
> Je n'écrie pas pour vous: ma morale à vos yeux
> O mortels abrutis, paraîtrait exaltée;
> Pour votre châtiment je vous laisse à vos Dieux
> *L'homme vertueux seul a le droit d'être Athée.*"
>
> *Maréchal.*

Connected with libertine Atheism was also the profane and sceptical witticism, which is included by writers of the time under the word "drollery" [cf. Glanvil's *Whip for the Droll, Fidler to the Atheist*], and which gave rise to the terms "Lucianicus," "Rablæsianus" (follower of Rabelais), as synonymes of Atheist [Voet]; the pride, security, and luxury of life [Bacon, Dor. Sicurus]; the weakening of the family tie, and neglect of parents [Jenk. Thomasius], and unnatural conduct [cf. Massinger's *Maid of Honour*, *Act* iii. *sc.* 3, where the king who refuses to ransom his natural brother is said—

> "To break
> The adamant chains of nature and religion,
> *To bind up atheism*, as a defence
> To his dark counsels?"]

The term "Epicurean," which occurs in the general sense of a bad man, has several shades of meaning in connection with Atheism. In a squib against the proclamation of liberty of conscience by James II., the imaginary signers call themselves "the Atheists or the sect of the Epicureans" [v. infr.], and go on to speak of "all religion as a cheat." But the name seems originally to indicate, along with "Stoic," "Peripatetic," "Atomist," merely a student or adherent of the later schools of Greek Philosophy, thence an opponent of the Scholastic Aristotelianism, and not unfrequently of the religious belief which it had been used to defend [so Voet]. The licentious and pagan ideal of life which came in with the Revival of Letters, found a theory ready made for itself in the philosophy of Epicurus, and hence the term "Epicurean" became synonymous with a man of pleasure, who was prepared to defend his practice, and hence with the libertine Atheist: τέλος ἐστὶ τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεοὺς τὸ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.

It was against this tendency to shelter libertine Atheism under the name of Epicurus, that Gassendi wrote his great work in three folio volumes [A.D. 1649], to shew first, that Epicurus was not an Atheist, and secondly, not an evil-liver. The book was thus written, not so much

in the interests of Atheism, as of Deism; but, by promoting Deism, it indirectly promoted Atheism, and, by rendering the pursuit of pleasure respectable, it indirectly fostered its licentious indulgence. For the inference is easy from the Deist's denial that God has any care for man to the Atheist's denial that man need have any care for God, or for the moral life,—

"Je n'ai pas plus besoin de Dieu que lui de moi."

Thus, as before, the root of Atheistic sentiment is the want of a proper conception of the dignity and spiritual aim of human life.

[*b*] *Enthusiasm, i.e.* the religion of excited emotion, is an opposite but co-ordinate effect of a disordered state of society and opinion with libertinism, and, like it, closely connected with Atheism. Voet does not scruple to speak of the "Enthusiastæ," "Spirituales," "Phantastico-Contemplativi, et Sublimantes" of his time as Atheists or tending to Atheism. And for this Henry More gives as a reason that this "temper disposes a man to listen to the magisterial dictates of an overbearing fancy rather than to the calm and cautious insinuations of free reason." By this he apparently means that in his feelings man is purely passive and "overborn," whereas in his reason he is "free," *i.e.* active [AFFECTIONS]. The Enthusiast's belief in God depends upon physical causes, and "by change of diet, feculent old age, or some present damps of melancholy," may disappear. The Enthusiast thus plays into the hands of the Atheist, even if he do not himself ultimately become one; and while, on the one hand, the pretence of the latter to wit and natural reason makes the former secure that reason is no guide to God, the latter, on the other hand, concludes religion to be merely fancy and "a troublesome fit of over-curious melancholy." [*Comments on Glanvil's Whip for the Droll*, &c. p. 27, foll.; see also More's *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus.*]

[*c*] *The state of Theology and the religious world* is another cause of Atheism insisted on by the seventeenth century writers. Thus Reimmann complains of clerical scandals; Casaubon of the use of fallacies in support of religious truth (*e.g.* Achilles and the tortoise); "Dorotheus Sicurus" of the disuse of reasons and learning in religious controversy, and of the quarrels about ceremonies; Voet of the "new method of the Jesuits Arnald and Verron, who, by throwing discredit upon the validity of the natural reason in Divine things, aid the growth of scepticism, so that "non ab hereticis . . . sed a Papistis arma Atheis certatim suppeditari" [*De Ath.* p. 119; *De Ratione Humana in reb. fidei*]. With this we may compare the dictum of the Père Mersenne, the friend of Descartes, that none of the proofs of the Being of God are satisfactory to the reason [*Letter to Florianus Crusius*]. On the other hand, Voet admits with the Romanist theologians that the spirit of private judgment, and the change from one sect to another, was productive of Atheism [*De Atheismo;* cf. Cornelius a Lapide, *ad Ep. Jud.* 11, *ad* 2 *Tim.* iii. 9: "Lutheranismum et Calvinismum . . . in Atheismum abire;" Glanvil, *A Whip*, &c., p. 22, and More in his *Notes;* so also Dor. Sicurus speaks of the factions and divisions of religion, the fierce disputes, wars, and devastations of the Reformation period, the difficulty of choosing the true religion, and weariness and dissatisfaction of changing]. Voet further mentions the reaction against the excessive ceremonial of the Mediæval Church as leading to the abandonment of all outward expression of the religious life, and generally of the "præsentium et antiquorum fastidium," as alike leading many to Atheism. To which Spizelius adds general religious confusion, simulation, and (the result of all) what he calls "Gallio-ism," the neglect of and aversion from theological questions.

[*d*] *The secularization of politics* and growth of the utilitarian view of religion as an instrument of police in the hands of the magistrate. It is this notion, as calculated to throw discredit upon *all* kinds of religion, and therefore as tending not only to antichristian, but to antitheistic habits of thought, against which the defensive writers are contending when they condemn the "Politici" (= the followers of Macchiavelli and Hobbes), who are neutral, "ad cujusque religionis susceptionem . . . modo aiunt, modo negant." [So Lessius and Voet, the last of whom remarks pertinently, "Omnis religio nulla religio."]

[*e*] *The decline of belief in Magic* was closely connected with the growth of Atheistic sentiment [Glanvil, *A Whip*, &c.]. It is curious that, whilst the belief in occult science tended in the mystical physicists (Cardan, Vanini, &c.) to a kind of semi-Atheism by deifying matter, its decay, due partly to the revolution against the ecclesiastical miracles of the Middle Ages, but mainly to the growth of experimental science and the explanation of many phenomena hitherto deemed supernatural, should promote Atheism by leading to a suspicion that the whole region of the supernatural was capable of being explained away. The fact is, that Magic was regarded as a kind of outwork of religion, which it was necessary to defend, lest the citadel should be attacked. "One reason why God permits sorcery," says Meric Casaubon, "certainly is that men, generally so inclinable to Atheism, might certainly know, if not wilfully blind, that there is something besides flesh and blood, and what may be seen with the bodily eyes, *i.e.* ordinary nature, to be thought upon." "It is certainly a point of excellent use to convince incredulity," and "hence it is that they that deny or will not believe any supernatural operations by witches and magicians are generally observed to be Atheists, or well affected that way," or, at least, "it cannot be denied but that the opinion is very apt to promote Atheism, and therefore earnestly promoted and countenanced by them that are Atheists." For we may reason, he adds, with Origen, that a man who believes magic will probably believe miracles, by a kind of à fortiori argument from the power of the devil to that of God. [*Credulity and Incredulity*, &c., p. 91,

and the *Sequel*, p. 171.] Similarly, Mersenne writes in defence at once of theology and alchymy, and Voet enumerates the existence of the "novi Saducæi," who refer magical operations and apparitions to natural causes, amongst the causes of Atheism. [*v.* Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus.*]

[*f*] *The growth of Experimental Science and of Mathematics*, though not in itself adverse to religious belief, operated for some time prejudicially to religion, and is set down by many as a cause of Atheism. To take the last first: the study of mathematical methods led men to try to apply them to all things in heaven and earth. They appeared to form a standard of certainty, which might serve to divide the true from the false in common belief. Hence the attempt and failure to prove the existence of God by mathematical methods threw a haze of suspicion over the doctrine. Accordingly, we find Casaubon complaining that divinity should be tried by mathematics, and made subservient to them, and Mersenne giving up the Theistic argument as hopeless. It seems to have occurred to nobody that possibly mathematical demonstration, and not the Theistic argument, was at fault, and that the latter might really have an *equal* without having a *similar* kind of certainty.

It was a misfortune that the rise of experimental science should have been connected with a revival of the old Atomism of Leucippus and Democritus, and its moral accompaniment, Epicureanism: ἀθείαν ἀτόμους καὶ ἀφιλόσοφον ἡδονήν. It is against Atomism rather than against any conclusions of natural science, as such, that the great argument of Cudworth is directed. [*Intellectual System*, pref. p. 41.] So Casaubon, Rajcsanyi, J. Thomasius, Voet, Bacon. Apart from this, however, as tending to draw away attention from metaphysics, or to impart an unphilosophical character to them, and as calculated to concentrate study upon secondary and material causes, experimental science was "very apt to be abused or to degenerate into Atheism." "This is a great precipice," writes Casaubon, "and the contempt of all other learning an ill presage," adding that metaphysics, "this secondary kind of theology," is much out of request. The idea of the constancy of natural law which was beginning to dawn upon the world seemed to many, if admitted, a fatal blow to religious belief, as in the existing state of speculation, the operation of Divine Providence by way of suspension and interruption seemed to be a clearer proof of the existence of Deity than the placid and orderly fulfilment of the Infinite Will through the operation of general laws.

[*g*] *The gradual increase of a sceptical spirit* in all things seems partly attributable to the resuscitation of ancient Pyrrhonism, partly to the Cartesian theory of doubt as the first step in thought. On this subject see Buckle, *Hist. of Civilization*, I. cap. viii.

IV. *The Arguments of Atheism.* As has been said, after the middle of the eighteenth century, Atheism becomes less a morbid habit of character and feeling pervading social life, and becomes much more distinctly a theory, and while gradually ceasing to be essentially libertine, it becomes distinctively literary. We shall endeavour to set before the reader three principal types of the Atheistic argument which have appeared at intervals of half a century since 1750.

[*a*] D'Holbach's *Système de la Nature.* Starting from the assumption that nothing exists but matter, and the motion which is essentially inseparable from it, the theory goes on: There is no design or order in Nature but only necessity; the cause of motion is the tendency of things to self-preservation, and at the same time to attract and repel other things. These three conditions of motion are called in Physics, Inertia, Attraction, and Repulsion, and in Morals, Self-love, Love, and Hate. Both Physics and Morals are the same, the only difference being that whilst in some cases the motion of molecules is on a sufficiently large scale to be visible, in others it is not. It is from drawing a qualitative instead of merely a quantitative distinction between the motion of the brain molecules and the other motions of the body or of the world, that man has come to regard himself as an union of two substances of different kinds, one of which, the soul, shews its unreal character, by its only being capable of description by negative predicates. The soul is really only a name for a part of the body, the brain, the molecules of which are set in motion by impact of external things, the result being what we call thought and will: the motion itself being called sensation in the one case, and passion in the other. Moral action is thus wholly a product of the passions, and these of the mixture of fluid and solid elements in the constitution. It followed naturally from this conception of himself as a compound of two substances, that man should extend the same view to the universe of which he is a part. This is the origin of the idea of God as distinguished from the world, an idea which explains nothing, consoles no one, terrifies all, and the unreality of which, as of the soul, is shewn by its being a bundle of negative attributes. Theology is a mass of contradictions, banishing God to the utmost distance from man by virtue of His metaphysical attributes, and on the other hand drawing Him into the closest relations with man by virtue of His moral. True knowledge, the privilege of the few, substitutes force for Deity, and natural laws for His attributes and providence. At the same time it must not be supposed that the idea of God is a pardonable error, or one useful or necessary for the government of the rude and uncultivated. It is hurtful, and its use for any purpose is as unjustifiable as to administer poison to prevent a man from misusing his bodily powers. This noxious character arises from two illusions which it draws with it; freedom and a future life. The doctrine of freedom is merely an artifice to reconcile the conception of God as a moral Being with the existence of evil, and involves the absurdity that if a man can really introduce a new factor into the world, the world is in fact a new world, and the free-agent a creator as almighty as God. The doctrine of the other world is pernicious, because it draws men

away from attention to their vocation in this. Materialism, on the other hand, is at once logical and beneficent. It frees man from his fear of God, and from the pain of remorse and longing for what is unattainable; both of which vanish before the knowledge that all action is necessitated, and that it is the part of man to live happily in the present and not sacrifice his enjoyment to a chimera.

Such in substance is the doctrine of this remarkable book; a doctrine perfectly logical and commanding assent at every point from any fair mind—if the premises be admitted. But if the keystone be taken out the whole arch falls to pieces. That keystone is the unproved assumption that matter is an ultimate fact, and capable of being known as such. [MATERIALISM.]

[*b*] Maréchal, *Dictionnaire des Athées* [A.D. 1800] represents in many respects the opposite pole of Atheistic thought to the *Système de la Nature*. Like the latter it is a consistent theory of life; but unlike it, it is wholly unargumentative and dogmatic. There seems no reason why Maréchal should have been an Atheist except that he was so. The instructive part of his work consists of a preface to a Dictionary enumerating the different eminent persons who have been wholly or in part Atheists. The Catalogue is framed on the loosest and most arbitrary principles, and includes along with Charron and Montaigne, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, St Gregory, Pascal, Grotius, Fénélon, Bossuet, and our Lord Himself. The preface lays down the following ideas:—"Dieu n'a pas toujours été." He was unknown to the child of nature, who in the age of gold recognised no higher being than the father of the family which constituted the entire sphere of his activity [p. 1]. And the modern Atheist is one who, disengaging himself from social bonds which were contracted without his knowledge or consent, "remonte à travers la civilisation à cet ancien état de l'espèce humaine" [p. 3]. He is not the Sybarite who gives himself out as an Epicurean when he is only a debauchee, nor a follower of Macchiavelli, nor a renegade priest turned savant, nor the fanatical iconoclast who preaches the cultus of reason to the populace who cannot rise above instinct. Neither is he the hypocrite, nor the man of the world and follower of Atheistical fashion, nor the timorous philosopher who blushes at his own thoughts, nor the physician who denies God in order to have the gratification of constructing the world himself, nor, in fine, he who feels no want of God because he can be wise without one. *He is no elaborate reasoner against Theism*, but simply says, "the question as to whether there is a God in heaven interests me as little as the inquiry whether there are animals in the moon" [p. 4]. A modest and tranquil recluse, he dislikes to make a noise, or to parade his principles; he practises virtue in order to be at ease with himself. Jealous of his honour and too proud to obey even a God, he takes no commands but from his own conscience [p. 38]. He does his duty as a citizen, though declining to enter into politics, but with an activity like that of nature, of which he feels himself an indispensable part, he co-ordinates himself with nature in performing those duties which are imposed upon him by his relation with other beings [p. 10]. "His life is full like that of Nature," and in the quiet uprightness of family life he perceives the nothingness of social distinctions, of the gross pleasures of the herd, while he dismisses the abject terrors of the believer in God [pp. 11-13]. Atheism is thus the most natural and simple thing in the world, and "le plus parfait désintéressement est la base de toutes les déterminations de l'Athée."

In this view of Atheism, the following characteristics are remarkable: [*a*] that it is the picture of an ideal character and not the exposition of a theory; [*b*] it takes for granted that a discussion upon the subject has gone before, and a conclusion in favour of Atheism has been arrived at, about which argument has ceased; its object is therefore not so much to convince the understanding about the doctrine, as to enlist the sympathies on the side of the ideal practiser of it; [*c*] that this ideal consciously excludes any approach to the old libertine Atheism; and [*d*] is intimately connected with the retirement from social relations and duties into the seclusion of family life. In this last point it touches Rousseau on the one hand, and, while giving up all the more offensive and unphilosophical traits of Epicurism, touches Epicurus on the other. And it is only on this last subsidiary point that the theory of Maréchal admits of a refutation. A mere assertion, unsupported by evidence or argument, unless in itself ostensibly probable, can only appropriately be met by an equally naked denial; but an ideal of life which involves the negation of all the wider social economy of man, especially when such a view is not the vagary of the individual but the characteristic of many of the highest minds of the age, is a fair subject of criticism.

In the first place, such an ideal as a life for all is a self-contradiction; for if we suppose society disintegrated into an infinite series of separate families, it is obvious that to continue in this patriarchal isolation it will be necessary for the families to unite in some system of common agreement and protection, as a substitute for that shelter which they have hitherto enjoyed in the state. And such a system is simply the state over again under another name. If, on the other hand, such a life is for the few and not for all, it ceases to be a human ideal, and becomes merely a counsel of perfection for the few, practised at the expense of the many. Secondly, we may argue that, even supposing it possible for modern people to return into the primitive condition of family life, such life must as inevitably develop into the state (unless the nature of man itself could be essentially changed) as it has necessarily developed into the state in the past. Hence, even supposing such an ideal attainable by all, it could never, under existing conditions, be a permanent form of life. But thirdly, a little attention to the subject will discover that society and the state, besides being a mere shelter from violence, sums up in itself all those laws and institutions

which have arisen out of the relations of men one to another, and which therefore form a permanent embodiment of the activity of man on the unselfish or spiritual side of his nature. For a man to recede from the state is, therefore, for him to attempt the attainment of a higher life by receding from his nobler or social into his individual and ignoble self. And this point it is important to mark, because it at once reveals the origin and weakness of the Atheistic theory which is so closely connected with it. Whether Nature reveals upon the whole a predominance of good over evil or the reverse may be a matter of question, and therefore its testimony to a beneficent Creator may be matter of question also; but it cannot be denied that society and the state is a standing evidence to the triumph of good in the world. If Nature then, in one of her aspects at least, reveals a Deity, society as a spiritual creation reveals Him much more, and the Atheist of the Maréchal type is open to the same confutation as the libertine, though from a different point of view, viz., that his inability to discern the existence of God arises from his taking too low a view of man. He fails to see the Divine Image in the conscience, because he turns his back upon that social order through which (in the first instance) that image is reflected upon it. Here, then, we have as before rather to account for Atheism by revealing its cause, than to answer its arguments. That cause was the utter rottenness of existing political arrangements before the outbreak of the French Revolution, producing aversion from society altogether. It would follow that here, as before, the best refutation of Atheism is a sound state of the body politic.

[*c.*] Radenhausen's *Isis* is important as a type of the more refined Atheism of the present generation. In a dialogue between a modern Atheistic *savant* and his father, the following ideas are developed:—"The Atheist and Theist have the same facts of consciousness, feelings, &c. to interpret, which the one calls the knowledge of a Divine Being, whilst the other calls them by another name. They thus differ, as Copernicus and Tycho Brahe differed—merely in their mode of formulating the same phenomena" [p. 410]. The belief in God originated in the course of thousands of years, from the observation of nature, and is the result of primitive science. The idea, once formed, was withdrawn by the priests from progress, and therefore has crystallized. These ideas about the universe as a whole, and man's relation to it, are necessary products of the human mind, and therefore imperishable. The form which these ideas assume is that of a series of projections by man of the image of himself, differing from one another as one nation from another. The common elements in these various beliefs, arise—[1] from the general similarity of the outer world as it is known to man, and [2] from the general similarity of men in their capacities and defects; the first as subjecting man to a series of influences, partly favourable, partly unfavourable, which are stronger than he; the second, as possessed of limited powers of sensation, and as having a memory and understanding capable of development. On the other hand, these influences on man differ in different regions, and these capacities are differently developed in different individuals [pp. 422-3]. These differences give rise to local differences in the names and outward expression given to such natural influences, and to a gradual development in the corresponding ideas. The Fetish worshipper, the idolater, the Atheist and the Theist have thus all precisely the same material for thought; viz. the presence of forces and influences in the outward world, in the face of which man feels himself weak or powerless. The Fetish worshipper elevates everything unwonted or inexplicable into a personal agency and worships it. The idolater conceives the operation of these influences—the sirocco, the inundation, the clouds, the thunderstorm, the blazing woods, the sand-storm, &c. under visible forms. Hence among the Egyptians, the Semitic and Aryan races, the images of the gods bear, in their original shape, a strong resemblance to these powers in nature, but shew a tendency to become gradually humanized, until in Greece they attain the perfection of the human form. The fusion of nations and religions then eliminates in the course of ages the local character of these impersonations, or rather produces gradually the mental image of one Supreme Power, whom the Theist worships, and to whom the local deities are subordinate. Thus the thirty-three gods of the Vedic hymns become the limbs of Brama, and the devils and inferior spirits of the Parsees: so, "who is there among the gods or among the clouds that can be compared to Jehovah," and "Thou are exalted above all gods:" so also in Christian countries the saints are merely the ancient local deities of Europe under new names [p. 424]. The character of this supreme personification was determined by the climate and natural conditions of the different localities: in torrid regions, characterized by extreme fruitfulness on the one hand, and wholesale or violent destruction of life on the other, the attributes of the one Deity are great goodness coupled with savage vengeance: in temperate climates, where the alternations are not so violent, and the conditions of life more regular, the divine attributes are conceived as moderation, justice, certainty in rewarding and punishing, &c. The Atheist, then, has the same materials for thought as these three kinds of believers in the existence of God; he is far from holding man to be almighty, or from ignoring that the order of nature is on such a scale that, compared with human motives and limitations, it may rightly be designated omnipotent, infinitely good, wise, omnipresent, &c.; he recognises also that some one pervading force lies at the root of all these powers which bear upon man. What he denies is that these powers, whether one or many, are anything distinct from nature [p. 426].

The remainder of the dialogue is taken up with criticisms of the Ontological, Cosmological, and Physico-theological (Design argument) proofs of

the Being of God, for a consideration of which we must refer the reader to the article on THEISM.

On the argument, generally, it may be remarked [i.] that it is not so much a positive theory of Atheism, such as we have had in D'Holbach and Maréchal, as an attempt to explain away Theism: [ii.] that it can scarcely be said that we know enough at present of the growth of mythology and language, or of the genesis of ideas in the mind of primitive man, to enable any sound and duly cautious reasoner to arrive at the conclusion that the idea of God arose in the way described: [iii.] that even granting that it arose from a personification of the powers of nature, the irresistible tendency in man to suppose a being or beings, spiritual like himself, as the creating and sustaining cause of the world, is left unexplained, and is quite capable of being explained as itself an evidence of the existence of a Supreme Spirit, to whom the finite spirit experiences the attraction of affinity. [iv.] Lastly, the argument is only valid against Deism, *i.e.* against the belief in a Supreme Abstraction remote from a world in which He has never revealed Himself; but proves nothing against the Christian doctrine of a God who has revealed Himself in nature and to the human mind, and who is reconciling the world to Himself.

Besides these three types of dogmatic Atheism, we may mention, as influencing the modern mind, the theory of Auguste Comte, and a host of books on natural science (too numerous to mention, but of which Dr. Büchner's little work on *Force and Matter* may be taken as a type), which insinuate or profess Atheistic tenets.

As to the first type, which does not so much deny the Being of God, as decline the controversy, whether there be or be not such a Being, as inaccessible to the human mind, we may remark that this is an opinion shared by many Theists, as we have seen in the case of the Père Mersenne, some of the Jesuit writers, &c.

As to the second, it is important to observe that experimental science, as such, and without trespassing into the region of metaphysics, has not power logically to *deny* the existence of God; for it confessedly deals solely with physical phenomena and their laws, *i.e.* generalizations from them; and it is not pretended by any Theist that God is either a phenomenon or the law of phenomena. Science, therefore, can only say with the astronomer, "I have swept the heavens with my telescope again and again, and can discover no God;" it cannot decide whether or not there are other means of arriving at the knowledge of Him. When it attempts to do this, and speaks of matter and force, it has gone beyond the region of phenomena, with which alone it has to deal, into the sphere of metaphysics, and must stand or fall, not as experimental but as philosophical. Its denial of the possibility of metaphysics on the ground that nothing exists but force and matter, is therefore a contradiction in terms; and, as a matter of fact, the ground upon which such a denial is made in scientific treatises will almost always be found to be some modification of the theory of D'Holbach.[1] *Theology, it cannot be too often repeated, has nothing to fear from the progress of the natural sciences, but everything to fear from the prevalence of bad metaphysics.*

V. *The passages in Holy Scripture bearing on Atheism* contemplate two classes of persons who deny the existence of God: the "wicked" and the "fool." The "wicked" [Hebr. *rasha*, deriv. from root = to be tumultuous, to make a noise] is he who [Job xxi. 14] says unto God, "Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways. What is the Almighty that we should serve Him, or what profit should we have if we pray unto Him?" The same word is applied [Gen. xviii. 23] to the Sodomites; [Job ix. 24] to the violent wrong-doer "who covereth the faces of the judges;" [*ib.* xv. 20] to the "oppressor" [cf. A. V. margin, and chap. xx. passim]; [Ps. vii. 9] to Cush the Benjamite, the persecutor of David; [*ib.* xi. 6] to "him that loveth violence;" and [Isa. xiv. 5, &c.] to the Gentiles as the oppressors of Israel. In a word, the "wicked" man is, like Plato's tyrant, the wrong-doer on a sufficiently large scale, to override the laws and escape punishment.

The "fool," on the other hand [Hebr. *Nabal*], who [Ps. xiv. 1, and liii. 1] "hath said in his heart that there is no God," is corrupt and filthy, eats up the people like bread, shames the counsel of the poor, &c., does not call upon God, and who, as one of the workers of iniquity, has no knowledge. The word occurs once [Prov. xix. 1] in the sense of "stupid," but [in Prov. vii. 22] he "goeth to the correction of the stocks," *i.e.* comes under the hands of the law. In Jer. xvii. 11, he "getteth riches, but not by right." More often it = "impious, wicked, abandoned:" thus Nabal "the churl" [1 Sam. xxv., esp. ver. 25] is "such a son of Belial, that a man cannot speak to him." So [2 Sam. iii. 33], "Died Abner as a fool dieth? Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fetters." In Job ii. 10 the word is applied to Job's wife for urging him to "curse God and die."

This induction seems to shew that the "fool" is like the "wicked" in being impure and unjust: he differs from him in being a petty wrong-doer, whose proper place is the stocks. [Compare Ps. xxxvi. 2, &c.]

From such passages no distinct verdict can be extracted as to the theoretical Atheist, if his speculative Atheism is dissociated from practical immorality. Nothing of course can be found in his favour: as the only denier of God there contemplated is the practical Atheist, whether great

[1] The ultimate refutation of these various forms of Atheism consists in the scientific proof of the positive doctrine of THEISM, which will be found under that word. To this head, also, the negative criticism of the Atheistic arguments strictly belongs; but as these arguments have been stated in their strongest form in the present article, it has been thought desirable to anticipate a portion of the refutation, and to indicate in each case the weak point in the Atheistic argument, which the reader may work out more at large for himself.

or small, whose character is the opposite of "just;" that is, the opposite of the man who is fair, law-loving, benign, liberal, temperate, truthful, wise, and generally blameless. [*v.* Gesenius, s. v. *Çadik.*]

VI. *Literature of Atheism.* It may be useful for purposes of further study of this subject to present in one view the different books, pamphlets, &c., which have appeared during the last three centuries. The list does not pretend to be more than an instalment of the great number of treatises for and against this doctrine.

[*a*] *The sixteenth century.* 1536, Calvin, *Instit.* iv. 7, 27, speaks of the prevalence of secret Atheism in the Roman court, mentioning especially Popes Julius II., Leo X., Clement VII., and Paul III. Not long after this we have the story of Cardinal Perron demonstrating the existence of God before the Emperor Henry III., and then offering to disprove it on the morrow. For this he was very properly ordered out of the room [Voetius, *Diss. de Atheismo*, p. 118]. Towards the end of the century appeared the Abbé Charron's book, *De la Sagesse*, which led to his being regarded as an Atheist by the Jesuits [*v. De la Sagesse*, i. 4, 366; see also Buckle, *Hist. of Civilization*, vol. i. 475, follg.; Reimmann, *Hist. Atheismi*, s. v.]. 1595, *Arcana Atheismi revelata*, by Cuper [Rotterd.]. This was an examination of the system of Spinoza, which was erroneously supposed by many to be, or to lead to, Atheism. Cuper, in spite of his criticisms of Spinoza, is supposed by More to have been a covert Atheist [see Hoffmann, *Lexicon Universale*, Leyden, 1698, s. v. *Atheus*, who classes also Boulainvilliers among the Crypto-Atheists]. 1597, appeared Bacon's essay on Atheism [*Essays*, xvi.], and, 1599, *Atheomastige*, by Guil. de Assonville [Antwerp].

[*b*] *First half of the seventeenth century.* 1605, *A Confutation of Atheisme*, by John Dove, D.D. [Lond.]. 1608, *Man's Naturall Imagination*, by Perkins, Wks. ii. 446, 525; Engl. wks. iii. 175. 1615, *Amphitheatrum æternæ providentiæ divino-magicum, christiano-physicum, nec non et astrologo-catholicum adv. vett. philosophos, atheos, epicureos, peripateticos et stoicos*, by Gisbert Voet [Lyon]. 1617, *De Providentia Numinis et animi immortalitate*, libb. ii. *adv. Atheos et Politicos*, by Lessius, S. J. [Antw.]. 1616, Vanini *de Admirandis naturæ reginæ deæque mortalium arcanis*, otherwise called *The Dialogues of Nature* [Paris]. 1619, Vanini is said to have confessed at the stake that thirty Atheists had set out from Naples to propagate their views in all parts of Europe. Mersenne, too, writing shortly afterwards, speaks of fifty thousand Atheists in Paris alone, and of the circulation of a number of books, partly MS., partly printed, which he does not name, but which insinuated Atheistic opinions. 1622, *Atheomastix*, a valuable posthumous fragment by Martin Fotherby, Bishop of Salisbury. 1624, *L'impiété des Deistes, des Athées, et des Libertins;* and 1625, *La verité des Sciences contre les Sceptiques* [Paris], both by the Père Mersenne. In the latter [p. 15], he says he does not think any of the proofs of the Being of God satisfactory to the reason. 1631, *Atheismus Triumphatus seu reductio ad religionem per scientiam veritatis* [Rome], by Campanella, was accused of covert Atheism. 1639, *Disputatio de Atheismo*, by Gisbert Voet [*Disput. Select.* pt. i. pp. 114-226], one of the most learned and exhaustive treatises on the subject. 1643, *L'Atheisme Convaincu* [Saumur], by Cappel, who says [p. 2], "Il se voit plus d'Athées et de prophanes qu'il ne semble y en avoir jamais eu, même entre les payens, ce qui paroit par le desbordement estrange et la corruption horrible des mœurs qui se voit aujourd'huy si commune mesmes entre les Chretiens."

[*c*] *Latter half of the seventeenth century.* Gassendi, *Animadversiones in Diog. Laert.* lib. x. *qui est de vita, moribus, placitisque Epicuri*, 3 vols. fol. 1649. This book, which is a rehabilitation of Epicurus, as one "who did not fear God and yet lived well," is said to have "made many Atheists," so much so that had Gassendi "had the advice of all the Atheists that ever were, had he advised with Hell itself, he could not have lighted upon a more destructive way to all religion" [Meric Casaubon, *Credulity and Incredulity in things Natural, Civil, and Divine*, Lond. 1668, p. 224, and Additions]. The book, though confessedly written only "exercitationis gratia," was received "with so ready assent and applause" by "so many professing Christians" as to be "an argument to" Casaubon, "with many others of the inclination of the age" [*ib.* 226].

Gisb. Voet, *Apparatus ad controversiam adv. Atheos. Exerc. et Biblioth. stud. Theol.*, Ultraj. 1651; Spizelius, *Scrutinium Atheismi historico-æticologicum*, Aug. Vindel. 1663, and *Ep. ad Meibomium de Atheismi radice, ib.* 1666; Moore, *Divine Dialogues*, London, 1668; "*The Humble Address of the Atheists or Sect of the Epicureans*" to James II., a satire said to be "presented by Judge Baldock, and graciously received," Nov. 5, 1688 [Bodl. *Pamphl.* 179]; Meric Casaubon, *Op. supr. cit.* 1668; Reiserus, *de Origine progressu et incremento Antitheismi*, Aug. Vindel, 1669; Malpighius (anatomist), *The Microscope's Evidence to the existence of an intelligent Author of Nature*, 1669; Howes' *Assize Sermon at Northampton, against Atheists, Independents, Presbyterians, and Anabaptists*, 1669; Sir Charles Wolseley, *The Unreasonableness of Atheism*, 1669 *Recantation* of Daniel Scargill, B.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who confesses before the Vice-Chancellor "that he (formerly) gloried to be an Hobbist and an Atheist, . . . agreeably to which principles and positions I have lived in great licentiousness, swearing rashly, drinking intemperately, boasting myself insolently, corrupting others by my pernicious principles and example," July 25, 1669 [Somers, *Tracts*, vol. vii. 370]; Glanvil, *Λόγον θρησκεία*, 1670; also *On the Tendencies of the Philosophy of the Royal Society*, 1671; Jo. Müller (prof. at Wittenberg, and Lutheran writer against Jansenism), *Atheismus devictus*, Hamb. 4to, 1672; Glanvil, *Sin of Scoffing*, &c., Lond. 1676; Wagner, *Examen*

Elenchticum Atheismi Speculativ, Tubingen, 4to, 1677; Cudworth, *Intellectual System, a confutation of the reason and philosophy of Atheism, and a demonstration of the impossibility of it*, London, 1678, in which [c. 2] the arguments in favour of Atheism are so well stated, said Dryden, that C. had failed to answer them in c. 5 [*Dedic. to Æneid*, ii. 378]. *The Libertine Overthrown, or a Mirror for Atheists*, being the egregious vicious life and eminently and sincerely penitent death of John Earl of Rochester, who died 1680, "abstracted for the use of the meanest capacities" from Burnet and Parsons; Bp. Manningham, *Popery one great cause of Atheism*, Lond. 1681; Glanvil, *A Whip for the Droll* (= the scoffer), *Fidler to the Atheist, being Reflections on Drollery and Atheism*, a letter to H. More, with comments by More, 1682; Dr. Grew (botanist), *The Microscope's Evidence to an Intelligent Author*, &c.; Redi (insectologist), to the same effect; J. P. Grüneberg *De Atheorum religione prudentum*, and *Disputationes de Scientiâ Dei*—all about this date; Jac. Abbadie, *de veritate religionis Christianæ* [pt. i. c. 18 p. 129], Rotter. 1684; *Origine of Atheisme in the Popish and Protestant Churches*, shewn by Dorotheus Sicurus, made English, with a preface by E. B., Esq., 1684; *A Discourse upon the Reasonableness of Men's having a Religion or worship of God*, by His Grace George d. of Buckingham [Somers, *Tracts*, ix. pp. 13-19], 1685. To this an answer appeared, only described in Somers, and a rejoinder by the Duke, in which he says he does not understand the answer, but offers to give the author £1000 if he will prove that he is the same George Duke of Buckingham that he was twenty years ago. (The point of the Duke's tract is, that matter is not eternal.) *The Atheist unmasked by a person of honour*, Lond. 1685; Untereyk, *Der narrische Atheist*, Bremen, 1689; *The Second Spira*, by J. S., 1693. This was an account of the last sickness of an Atheist and reprobate, the member of a club, which "within the last seven years" [A.D. 1687-92] "met together constantly to lay down such rules and method as that they might be critically wicked in everything that they could, without the laws taking hold of them." "A deal of company" came to witness his despair during eight days' illness; and hear him "curse the day when he exchanged the Christian faith" for the Creed "of Spinoza and the Leviathan." It is said that the publisher sold thirty thousand copies of this tract in six weeks. [Lowndes' *Bibliographical Manual.*] By the same author, *A conference betwixt a modern Atheist and his Friend*, London 1693; Bentley, *Boyle Lectures against Atheism*, 1693; *An Anatomy of Atheisme, a poem by a person of quality*, Dawes, Bishop of Chester, 1693; Hoffmann, *De Atheo Convincendo*, an inaugural lecture delivered at Halle, works. v. pp. 125-30, 1693; *Sermon by the Archbishop of Canterbury* (Tillotson) *on Atheism*, circ. 1694; Pritius, *Diss. de Atheismo in se fœdo et humano generi noxio*, Leipsic, 1695; Jablonsky, *Stultitia et irrationabilitas Atheismi*, Magdeb. 1695; Edwards, *Thoughts concerning the causes and occasions of Atheism*, 1695; Grapius, *An Atheismus necessario ducat ad corruptionem morum*, Rostock, 1697; Hoffmann, *Lexicon Univ.*, s. v. Leyden, 1698; Lidgould (Fellow of Clare Coll. Cambr.) *Proclamation against Atheism*, 1699.

[*d*] *First half of the eighteenth century.* Abicht, *De damno Atheismi in republicâ*, Leips. 1703; Jenkin Thomasius, *Hist. Philosophica Atheismi*, Altdorf, 1703; Jo. Rajcsanyi, (S. J.) *Itinerarium Athei ad Veritatis viam* (A dialogue against the Macchiavellians), Vienna, 1704; Jo. Fabricius, *Consideratio Controversiarum*, pp. 1-23, 1704; Jo. Christ. Wolfius, *Dissertatio de Atheismi falso suspectis*, Wittenberg, 1710; H. More, *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (in which Enthusiasm is shewn to be one of the causes of Atheism), also *Antidote to Atheism*, 1712; Philips, *Diss. Historica de Atheismo*, Lond. 1716; *The Third Spira*, memoirs of a young English gentleman at Paris (went through two editions), 1717; Buddeus, *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, Jena, 1717; Biermann, *Impietas Atheistica scoptico-sceptica delecta*, Hanov. 1720; Jo. Jac. Syrbius, *Diss. de Origine Atheismi*, Jena, 1720 (*v.* Zedler and Jöcher); Reimmann, *Historia Atheismi et Atheorum falso et merito suspectorum*, Hildes. 1725; J. Alb. Fabricius, *Delectus argumentorum*, &c., p. 286, *ib. Philosophis et gentibus falso imputatus Atheismus*, p. 299, *ib. Scriptores adv. Atheos*, from which this bibliographical notice may be considerably extended, p. 340, 1725; Warburton's *Divine Legation*, bk. i. sec. 3-5, Lond. 1738.

[*e*] *Latter half of the eighteenth century.* In 1751 appeared the celebrated French *Encyclopédie*, "the first work in which Atheism was openly promulgated," [Buckle's *Civilization*, i. p. 786]. "Dans un intervalle de douze années, de 1758-70, la litterature Française fut souillée par un grand nombre d'ouvrages où l'Atheisme était ouvertement professé" [Lacretelle 18*ième Siècle*, *ap.* Buckle, *op. cit.* i. 787]. In 1764, Hume met at Baron d'Holbach's a party of the most celebrated men in Paris. Hume raised the question as to the existence of a bonâ fide Atheist, and was told that he was in company with seventeen such [Burton's *Life of Hume*, ii. p. 220, ap. Buckle]. In 1764, Walpole writes of the educated Parisians, that "their avowed doctrine is Atheism" [*Letters*, v. 96, ed. 1840, *ibid.* Boulainvilliers, *Doutes sur la religion*, Lond. 1767].

In 1770 appeared *Le Système de la Nature* by Mirabaud, Baron d'Holbach (or, in part perhaps, La Mettrie). It was read very widely by "des savants, des ignorants, des femmes" [Voltaire, *Dict. Phil.* s. v. Dieu]. "The views it contains are so clearly and methodically arranged as to have earned for it the name of the code of Atheism" [Buckle, *l. c.*]. An extract from Voltaire's answer to it, in which he states his persuasion that the error "proceeds from no badness of heart," is translated in the *Annual Register* for 1771, p. 183, *Characters*. In 1774, Priestley reported that all the philosophical persons to whom he was introduced in Paris were unbelievers

in Christianity and even professed Atheists [*Memoirs*, i. p. 74]. In 1775, the Archbishop of Toulouse, in a formal address to the king on behalf of the clergy, declared that "le monstrueux athéisme est devenu l'opinion dominante" [Soulavie, *Règne de Louis XVI.*, vol. iii. p. 16, ap. Buckle, l. c.]. This, like all similar assertions, must have been an exaggeration; but that there was a large amount of truth in it is known, says Buckle, to whoever has studied the mental habits of the generation immediately preceding the Revolution. Among the inferior class of writers, Damilaville, Deleyre, Maréchal, Naigeon, Toussaint; among the higher intellects, Condorcet, D'Alembert, Diderot, Helvetius, Lalande, Laplace, Mirabeau, and St. Lambert, openly advocated Atheism.

Jacobi, *Briefe üb. Spinoza* [p. 307], 1789. Platner, *Philosophische Aphorismen* [i. p. 543, follg.], 1793. Heidenreich, *Lettres sur l'Atheisme*, Leips. 1796. Malham, *A word for the Bible, being a serious reply to the speculative Deists and practical Atheists*, London, 1796.

[*f*] *The nineteenth century.* Sylvain Maréchal, *Dictionnaire des Athées*, Paris, 8vo, 1800, reprinted by Didot, 1855. This—"the most extraordinary of Maréchal's books"—appeared just as French society was settling down after the Revolution, "les mœurs dissolues du Directoire s'étaient épurées peu à peu," and religion was reviving under the influence of Napoleon. Silence was imposed upon all journals which desired to criticise or draw attention to the book, embargo was laid upon its circulation, and its author passed over with contempt, and deprived of the éclat of a persecution. The original edition is now only to be found in a few private libraries. Alea, *Antidote de l'Atheisme, ou Examen critique du Dict. des Athées*, 1800. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen der Religion*, a set of lectures delivered at Heidelberg in the winter of 1848-9. Iconoclast, *God, Man, and the Bible, three nights' discussion with the Principal of St. Aidan's College*, London, 1860; also, *A Plea for Atheism*, and *Is there a God?* Holyoake, *The Limits of Atheism*, London, 1861. John Watts, *The Logic and Philosophy of Atheism*, London, 1865. Arnold Ruge, *Reden üb. Religion* (founded upon Schwartz, *Ueber den Ursprung der Mythologie*, and Dupuis, *L'origine de tous les cultes*), Berlin, 1869. Radenhausen, *Isis*, vol. ii. p. 409, follg.

The modern books, on general or special points of natural science, which popularize Atheistic views in the present day are too numerous to mention in detail; but their general character has been sketched above. [Theism.]

ATONEMENT. The term Atonement contains a great breadth and depth of doctrine. It is not merely a theological symbol for the sacrifice of the Death of Christ, and the satisfaction that He made for fallen man, but it involves the whole work of the Son of Man, His life of suffering and holy teaching, His bitter Agony and Passion upon the Cross, His Resurrection and Ascension to glory, and His return in the Spirit to abide with His people, individually and collectively, to the end of time and for ever and ever. So the whole work of love whereby man is made one with his Maker, and strengthened for his contest with the powers of evil, is expressed in the word Atonement. Man was wholly lost to God, and alienated by wicked works, but Christ is the At-one-maker; and the entire act whereby man is once more made one with Him Who inhabiteth eternity is the At-one-ment.

For such, doubtless, is the etymology of the word; and however anomalous in form it may seem, it has its Teutonic analogy in such words as *Vereinigung, Reconciliation,* and *Entzweiung, Division:* and, viewing the close connection that subsisted between our Reformers and German Divines, it would seem that the word may either have been formed on that analogy; or, if it already had existence, that it was drawn from its obscurity as a rare word in earlier writers, and adapted to the need of a reformed theological nomenclature;

> "notum callida verbum
> Reddiderat junctura novum."

In the Scriptures of the Old Testament *Atonement* and *Reconciliation* are convertible terms; and there is this proof of their synonymical relation, that they are equivalents for the same Hebrew word, and it is evidently in the Hebrew that we must seek for the meaning of the terms. The earliest authority for the noun Atonement in our language is our Authorized Version. Later, though almost contemporaneous, writers use the verb *atone;* but this occurs nowhere in our English Bible, either in the canonical Scriptures or in the Apocrypha. In three places where it was necessary to render the idea of "atone" as a verb, we find "reconcile" substituted in its place.[1] We may easily understand that our translators, adopting the idiomatic combination "at one," would avoid the barbarism of converting it into a verb "to at-one," although the analogy of our language might admit of its development into the noun "At-one-ment."

Next, as regards the meaning of the word, a comparison of the Hebrew text enables us to identify the term "reconcile" with the idea of "acceptation." In 1 Sam. xxix. 4, "reconcile himself" is the rendering of the reflexive form of a verb that, in Leviticus, is used of accepted sacrifice; both of the terms, therefore, "to make atonement" and "to reconcile," involve the notion of "acceptation," for they are convertible terms, and one of them clearly has this force assigned to it. And, further, the Hebrew verb "caphar" to reconcile, or, as was said in later English, "to atone for," had this meaning of acceptation, independently of the idea of sacrifice. Moses, when the people had sinned in making the golden calf, sought to make "atonement" for them in praying to God: "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin, and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written" [Exod. xxxii. 30, 32]. The half-shekel capitation tax upon

[1] Lev. vi. 30, xvi. 20; Ezek. xlv. 20. Cf. 2 Macc. v. 20, viii. 29.

the people was an "atonement," each man for his soul [Exod. xxx. 12, 15, 16]. In the rebellion of Korah, Aaron made "atonement" with incense on behalf of the people [Num. xvi. 46]. Phinehas, by his ready zeal for the honour of God, made "atonement" by his act [Num. xxv. 13]. And the captains of the host of Israel made "atonement" for their souls after a day of slaughter, by offering in the sanctuary the richest of the Midianitish spoil. All these subordinate instances serve to prove the rule, that "to make atonement" in the Scriptures of the Old Testament means to render acceptable.

Assigning now to the term "Atonement" this signification, we may next inquire into the mode whereby the Divine favour is restored to man. The Hebrew verb "caphar" means "to overlay," as the Ark was overlaid with pitch in preparation for the Deluge; as the altar and various parts of the sanctuary and holy vessels were "overlaid" by the blood of sprinkling; as Aaron and his sons were consecrated by the superficial spot of blood on certain specified parts of the body, to remind them typically of the duties of obedience and active piety; their garments at the same time being "overlaid" with the blood of sprinkling [Exod. xxix. 21, Lev. viii. 30]. In other senses the same roo' serves to express the Mercy-seat that "overlaid" the Ark of the Covenant; and the obliteration of a word when written by "overlaying" it with ink.[1] Now in what way are we to connect the idea of "acceptation" with overlaying the base of the Altar, or, on the day of Atonement, the Mercy-seat with the blood of sprinkling? There are two main points of saving doctrine involved in the new creation of man in Christ; pardon of sin, whether derived from the first parent or actual; and restoration, in whatever degree, to the original likeness in which Man was created, *i.e.* in righteousness and true holiness. If we limit the idea of Atonement, as wholly confined in its application to the pardon of sin, we take far too narrow ground; for if, in any degree, we are made through Christ at-one with God, we must in that same degree be built up new men in Him; justified through faith in Christ from sin, and redeemed from its power, each man according to the capacity vouchsafed to him for receiving the good gift of God's grace. And both of these points are symbolized by the blood of sprinkling. The pardon of sin, through the vicarious death of the Blessed Lamb of God, was typified on the day of Atonement by the sacrificing priest laying his hand on the head of the victim, and transferring to it the sins of the whole people. The same verity was set forth in the consecration of Aaron and his sons by a similar imposition of their hands on the head of the victim [Lev. viii. 14]. In acts of individual sacrifice, the person offering laid his hand on the head of the victim in token of sin transferred [Lev. i. 4]; and the blood poured forth on the base of the Altar or sprinkled upon the Mercy-seat completed the expiatory act, sin being "overlaid" and for ever done away by the significant rite. It was the "At-one-ment" for sin.

The blood of the victim is the life thereof; and life for life was the idea that lay at the foundation of every burnt-offering and sin-offering under the law; so that "without shedding of blood is no remission" of sin [Heb. ix. 22]. "For the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls, for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul" [Lev. xvii. 11]. Accordingly this atonement for sin formed the very act of consecration, whether of priests [Exod. xxix. 21; Lev. viii. 30], or of the people [Exod. xxiv. 8], or of the altar [Exod. xxiv. 6, xxix. 36; Lev. ix. 9, 18]; and, every year, the altar of incense, that otherwise was of bloodless use, was consecrated by the solemn atonement of blood [Exod. xxx. 10]. The leper, when cleansed, was also finally set free from his ban of disability by the atonement of blood [Lev. xiv. 25]. Thus "almost all things are by the law purged with blood" [Heb. ix. 22], and the ordinance typified clearly the deep mystery of sin pardoned through the sacrifice of the death of Christ.

But the form of Atonement speaks no less surely of that other essential particular, without which man could never have been made at-one with God, his renewal by the spirit of Regeneration, and recovery from a condition of sin to the obedience of Christ. The blood of sprinkling, which is the life, spoke of the life of Christ in the soul of man; the living graces with which He should endue his people. Passages may be multiplied from the New Testament connecting this inward Gift of holiness with the Precious Blood of Christ that was shed for the life of His people. "Much more, being now justified by His Blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him; for if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by His life" [Rom. v. 9, 10]. "How much more shall the Blood of Christ, Who, through the eternal Spirit offered Himself to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God" [Heb. ix. 14]. "Having boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus . . . let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience" [Heb. x. 19]. "Now the God of peace who brought again from the dead the Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will" [Heb. xiii. 20], where parallelism marks correlation, ὁ ἀναγαγὼν Ἰησοῦν . . . ἐν αἵματι . . . καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς . . . ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ. "Elect . . through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus" [1 Pet. i. 2]. "Redeemed, from your vain conversation, with the Precious Blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot" [*Ibid.* 19]. "The Blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth

[1] Similarly, the Chaldaic term for hoar-frost that "overlays" the ground with rime is derived from this same root.

from all sin" [1 John i. 7]. "For thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood . . . and hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth" [Rev. v. 9, 10]. "And having made peace by the blood of His Cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself . . . and you, who were alienated . . . by wicked works . . . yet now hath He reconciled in the body of His Flesh through death, to present you holy and unblameable and unreprovable in His sight" [Col. i. 20]. And thus He is the At-one-maker with respect to past sin, and the At-one-maker with regard to present strength.

This view also of the sanctifying power of the Precious Blood of Christ gives great significance to the ordinance of the year of jubilee [Lev. xxv. 11]. It was proclaimed with trumpets on the day of Atonement. But this day was known as a day of austere fasting and self-mortification [Lev. xxiii. 27, 29]. And this day of sorrow and penitence is selected for the proclamation of the most joyous day that was known to Israel, on the periodical return of the "acceptable year" of the Lord, the year of jubilee, the year of manumission to the captive, and redemption of forfeited patrimonies; giving immunity to the debtor and personal freedom to the bondsman, and restoration, as regards the evicted, to their ancestral possessions. The reason for this apparently incongruous association is most probably to be found in the fact with which this article commenced, that the blood of the Atonement prefigured two great spiritual truths; the Blood of Christ that, as a satisfaction to the offended justice of God, cleanseth from all sin; and the Life of Christ in the hearts of His faithful people, that not only cleanseth from all sin, but purifies the will, and makes the law of their Master to them the perfect law of liberty.

The present article has been restricted entirely to the fundamental idea of the theological term Atonement, as we meet with it in the Bible; the way in which the subject has been most usually treated by divines refers rather to the Satisfaction made by Christ to the justice of God, and the Reconciliation thereby worked out between man and his Maker and Judge. [RECONCILIATION, SATISFACTION.]

ATTRIBUTES. Properties manifested by, or predicable of, the Divine Essence; *e.g.* wisdom, goodness, truth. [See Articles treating of the Nature and Names of God.]

ATTRITION. The meaning of the theological term Attrition, being unknown in patristical, must be sought in scholastic divinity. It is the correlative of contrition; and the origin of the two terms is to be found perhaps in the Greek ἐπιτρίβειν, *atterere*, marking the acute and paroxysmal character of Attrition; and συντρίβειν, *conterere*, as descriptive of the settled, and so to say chronic condition of contrition, the "sorrowing of a godly sort that worketh repentance" [2 Cor. vii. 10]. As used by the schoolmen, the two terms are perfectly intelligible, and define accurately two distinct steps in an onward direction towards the grace of repentance: the first stirrings of remorse, when the conscience is pricked and alarmed; and the state of the soul when fear at length has given place to love, when sin is hated, and obedience marks that complete change which resolves all moral discord in repentance. Contrition, whether perfect or in its imperfect state of Attrition, corresponds with the Greek term μεταμέλεια as shewing anxiety and alarm, and with the Latin "pœnitere," derived by etymologists from "pœna;" for Attrition is full of the fear that "hath torment," and Contrition is still subject to ecclesiastical censure and penalty [1 John iv. 18]. Repentance, as God's more perfect gift, coresponds with μετανοία, renewal of mind, and the Latin "resipiscentia," a return to wisdom, when sin is cast out, and the penitent, clothed with grace and in his right mind, is found sitting at the feet of Jesus. The following sequence then is indicated. Attrition denotes the first stings of a conscience charged with sin, and goaded with the horrible fear of punishment; it is the condition described in the Book of Wisdom, "wickedness condemned by her own witness is very timorous, and being pressed with conscience, always forecasteth evil things" [Wisdom xvii. 11; 1 John iv. 18]. At length perfect love "casteth out fear," and by virtue of the love of God Attrition becomes Contrition. Sin is now hated; and love, of necessity, produces obedience; this being "the love of God, that we keep His commandments" [1 John v. 3]. Lastly, a true and cordial repentance, and man's complete recovery to God is the result. The active principle, then, of Attrition is the fear of punishment, or regret for worldly loss or disgrace, and is more like the sorrow of the world that "worketh death" than a step on the ladder of salvation [2 Cor. vii. 10]. As an imperfect form of Contrition, the schools made it referable to the grace of CONGRUITY, leading up to the hearty and permanent repentance which stands in connection with the grace of CONDIGNITY. Attrition, though weak, and, as regards salvation, ineffectual *per se*, is still a fruit of faith. In the Roman system of theology, by a development of doctrine, Absolution supplements all that Attrition needs, and raises it into Contrition. "Pœnitens ex attrito virtute Absolutionis fit contritus et justificatur" [Bellarm. *Pœn.* ii. 18]. The practical tendencies of such a doctrine are pointed out by Bp. Jer. Taylor, *Diss. on Popery*, II. i. end, and *D. and P. of Rep.* X. v. [CONTRITION. Browne on Art. p. 281, 10th ed. Burnet on Art pp. 366, 368, ed. 1841. Laurence B. Lect. vi. Luther, *de Pœnitentia.*]

AUDIENTES. The general name of HEARERS was given in the primitive Church to all those who were permitted to be in Church while the Scriptures were read and sermons preached, but were dismissed before the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. But those to whom the appellation was particularly given, were [1] the second order of catechumens. Bingham shews [*Antiq.* X. ii. 2] that the first order of catechumens were called ἐξωθούμενοι, being instructed without the Church, and that the other three orders were successively the Audientes, GENUFLEC-

TENTES, and COMPETENTES or ELECTI. [2] The second order of penitents were also called by this name, the several orders being successively the FLENTES, Audientes, GENUFLECTENTES or SUBSTRATI, and CONSISTENTES.

The Audientes of both classes had their places assigned to them in that part of the "narthex," or ante-chapel, of the ancient Basilican churches nearest to the nave; and as soon as the sermon was ended, the deacon dismissed them with the words, "Let none of the hearers, nor of the unbelievers be present." This discipline lasted ordinarily for a year, when the *Audientes* became GENUFLECTENTES.

AUGSBURG CONFESSION [*Confessio Augustana*]. A formal statement of opinions on certain points of doctrine and practice presented by the Saxon Reformers to the Emperor Charles V. and the States of the German Empire at the Diet of Augsburg, A.D. 1530.

I. *Its history.* By the year 1529, the Reformation movement, up to that time an united effort, had been split up by the rise of the Anabaptists, and by the difference between the German and Swiss Divines on the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. The former had resulted in the Peasant War in 1526, and had introduced such elements of social disorder as to alienate many of the moderate supporters of the new movement. The latter was a still more dangerous breach. Between Luther and Melanchthon on the one side, Zwingle and Œcolampadius on the other, the question had been disputed with the utmost violence of language and feeling. After several attempts, it was found impossible for them to come to an agreement, since Luther and those who held with him regarded the point of difference as fundamental. The general result of these divisions was to give a check to the spirit of reform. It was clear that one section of the Reformers wished to do their work within the Church, not agreeing with those who wished to separate. Accordingly, they were disposed to try whether it was not possible to reconcile differences with the ecclesiastical authorities, and so preserve visible unity. It was in this state of affairs that the Emperor Charles V. proposed to visit his German dominions. He had two great objects in doing so: first, to deliberate upon means of resistance against the Turks; secondly, to deal with the new religious movement, and, if possible, to preserve the unity of the Church. And with regard to this second object he was disposed to try two methods of action. On the one hand he held himself bound, as the faithful son and protector of the Church, to root out heresy; on the other he was firmly possessed with the belief that compromise and agreement were possible. He was inclined to try persuasion, therefore, though at the same time he was resolved to use force if necessary. Accordingly, he urged the Pope (Clement VII.) "to convoke a general and free council for the Scriptural determination of all controversies," and promised to enforce its decisions with the sword. It was a request which the more moderate Reformers had repeatedly made, but the Pope was thoroughly opposed to it. He was persuaded that the new movement could only be repressed by force of arms, and he therefore called upon the Emperor to act as became the son and protector of the Church. At length they agreed to a compromise. The Emperor was to try all that he could do in the way of persuasion, and if that did not succeed he was to resort to force. The Emperor, therefore, called together the States of the Empire, to meet at Augsburg on the 8th of April, 1530, stating in the proclamation that he desired "to allay divisions; to leave all past errors to the judgment of our Saviour, and, further, to give a charitable hearing to every man's opinions, thoughts, and notions; to weigh them carefully; to bring men to Christian truth; and to dispose of everything that has not been rightly explained on both sides."

It was now for the Reformers to decide in what way their "opinions, thoughts, and notions" should be represented, and on the suggestion of Pontanus (or Brück), senior Chancellor of Saxony, it was agreed to present an apology for their religion. For this purpose they took as their basis the seventeen articles drawn up at Schwabach in the autumn of the previous year. These articles were, in the main, identical with another set of articles on doctrinal points compiled at the conference held at Marburg between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians. They had been rejected by the Swiss Reformers, and by Ulric and Strasburg, because of their distinct assertion of Lutheran doctrine on the Holy Eucharist. To the articles on doctrine framed from these sources by Melanchthon, other articles were added relating to matters of practice. A draft of his revision was submitted to the Elector and to Luther, and was again revised by himself at Augsburg, with the aid of Pontanus and others; and on the 31st of May copies of the Confession in Latin were put into the hands of all the Lutheran princes present at the Diet.

On the 25th of June a German and a Latin copy were presented to the Emperor, and, after some dispute as to which should be used, the former was read aloud by Chancellor Beyer in the chapter-room of the episcopal palace.

II. *Its contents.* The Confession consisted of two parts, the first relating to matters of doctrine, in twenty-one articles, the second dealing with practical abuses, in seven articles. It begins with an address to the Emperor, declaring the earnest wish of the compilers for the restoration of unity by mutual agreement, and appealing to a general and free council in case their present efforts should be unsuccessful. Then follow the articles in the subjoined order:—

PART I.

Doctrinal Articles.

1. De Deo [Francke].
   De unitate Essentiæ [Cœlestine].
2. De peccato seu vitio originis.
3. De Incarnatione Verbi.
4. De justificatione hominum.
5. De ministerio Evangelii [Cœlestine].
   De ministerio ecclesiastico [Francke].
6. De bonis operibus [Cœlestine].
   De nova obedientia [Francke].

7. De Ecclesiâ.
8. De Sacramentorum administratione.
9. De Baptismo.
10. De Cœna Domini.
11. De Confessione.
12. De Pœnitentiâ.
13. De usu Sacramentorum.
14. De ordine Ecclesiastico.
15. De ritibus Ecclesiæ.
16. De rebus civilibus.
17. De judicio Dei [Cœlestine].
    De Christi reditu ad judicium [Francke].
18. De libero arbitrio.
19. De causâ peccati.
20. De fide et bonis operibus.
21. De cultu sanctorum.

PART II.

"Articuli in quibus recensentur abusus mutati."

1. De utraque Specie.
2. De conjugio Sacerdotum.
3. De Missâ.
4. De Confessione.
5. De Discrimine ciborum et traditionibus.
6. De votis monachorum.
7. De potestate Ecclesiasticâ.

The Confession ends with a few brief sentences stating that there were other abuses which might have been discussed, such as indulgences, pilgrimages, wrongful excommunication, &c., but that the compilers have selected the principal ones to avoid prolixity. They state only what is absolutely necessary, that they may not be thought to be introducing anything contrary to Holy Scripture or the Catholic Church.

It was Melanchthon's wish that the Confession should be signed only by ecclesiastics, but this was overruled, and the following signatures were attached :—those of the Elector John of Saxony; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Francis and Ernest, Dukes of Lüneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; the Senate and Magistrates of Nuremberg; the Senate of Reutlingen.

III. *Its reception.* The moderation of its tone and the manifest desire for unity expressed in it, won sympathy from the more moderate of the opposite side, including the Prince Archbishop of Cologne, and the Bishop of Augsburg. The rest, however, were more violent, and urged the Emperor to reject it altogether, and at once to put in force the Edict of Worms. After some discussion, it was agreed to authorize the Roman Catholic Divines to write a Confutation. Accordingly Eck, Wimpina, Cochlæus, Faber, and others were intrusted with this work. Their first draft was presented on the 13th of July, and rejected as too violent. Their amended copy was presented and read in full Diet on the 3rd of August. In this document some of the articles of the Confession were approved, others were condemned, a few were in part approved and in part condemned. Under the first head comes those relating to the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation, the necessity of Baptism, and the efficacy of the Sacraments (exception being taken to the fact that the number—seven—was not mentioned), the mission of the clergy, the authority of the magistrates, the last judgment and the resurrection. With regard to the Holy Eucharist, the Lutherans were required to admit that communion in both kinds was not essential. Under the second head comes the article on justification, with its formula "sola fides," together with those on the invocation of saints, the denial of the cup to the laity, the celibacy of the clergy, monastic vows, and the sacrifice of the mass.

The articles "De Peccato seu vitio originis," "De Confessione," and "De Pœnitentia" were in part accepted; though, as regards the former, objection was taken to the term "concupiscence," and the latter was considered to underrate or to deny the necessity of satisfaction.

The Emperor now admonished the reforming party to return to the Church, threatening them at the same time with severe measures in case of their refusal. But the resistance of the Elector of Saxony, and the prospect of a Turkish war induced him to try further projects of compromise. After two fruitless schemes had been tried, a conference took place on the 16th of August between seven representatives of each side :—

On the Lutheran.	On the Catholic Side.
Princes.	
John Fred. Prince Elector of Saxony.	The Bp. of Augsburg.
The Margrave of Brandenburg.	The Duke of Saxony.
Doctors of Canon Law.	
Pontanus.	Bernard of Hagen.
Heller.	Vehe.
Theologians.	
Melanchthon.	Eck.
Schnepf.	Wimpina.
Breutz.	Cochlæus.

This number was afterwards reduced to six, viz. : Eck, Melanchthon, and the four lawyers; and the consultations continued until the 24th of August. Each article of the Confession was taken separately, and on the doctrinal matters a still closer approximation was attained. On fifteen out of the twenty-one articles, they came to an entire agreement; on three others (Nos. 12, 20, 21), to partial agreement, and the remaining three were held to be matters on which mutual concession might be rightly made. On the practical questions, they came to an agreement with regard to three, viz. those relating to confession, abstinence from meats and other observances, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but on the rest they entirely disagreed. It was on points of practice, not on points of doctrine, that the final rupture took place. Campeggi, the Papal legate, would not hear of any concession, and succeeded in inducing the States to decree that, until the council was held, no married priests should be appointed to benefices, confession should be enforced as absolutely necessary, the canon of the mass should not be omitted, private masses should not be put a stop to, and communion in one kind should be held to be as valid as in both. This decree the reformers entirely rejected. A few less important interviews, with a view to reconciliation, were held during the last few days of August, but led to

no result, and the Emperor then tried to deal with the matter himself. Having had previous communication with the Pope, he could now promise a Council for the settlement of points of difference, if the reformers would meanwhile submit to the Church, and restore everything as far as possible to its original state, but the reformers would accept no such condition. He then urged a renewal of conferences, and offered to preside at them himself, and to use his personal influence to find means of preserving unity, but the terms in which his offer was made only fixed the reformers the more in their determination to concede nothing. He was now personally inclined to use force, but in this he could not obtain the support of the States, for political reasons. A project of a "Recess" was therefore submitted, in which a threat of war was held out as the final measure, but time was allowed until the 5th of May for the reformers to explain themselves on the disputed points. But the publishing of books on matters of faith was prohibited, and other conditions were insisted upon, while it was further asserted that the Confession had been confuted from Holy Scripture. The reformers, therefore, refused to accept the Recess, and took the opportunity to present the *Apology for the Confession*, written by Melanchthon. At length the negotiations were finally broken off, and the contending parties separated. On the 19th of November the Recess was published, and fresh measures were concerted on both sides.

IV. *Its subsequent influence.* The Augsburg Confession, besides being the first public form of belief presented by the Lutheran section of the Reformation, was in reality the foundation of their separate system. On the one hand, it put into definite shape their objections to the current doctrines and practice of the Church; on the other, it marked them off from the more violent of the reformers. It became the basis of all subsequent Confessions. The Schmalkaldic league was formed [A.D. 1531] among those who had subscribed and supported the Augsburg Confession. By the peace of Nuremberg [July 23, 1532], it was agreed that the state of things then existing should continue among those of the reformers who recognised the Confession, till disputed points could be settled by a General Council. In 1537, it was the basis of the Schmalkaldic articles, drawn up when Paul III. proposed to hold a council at Mantua. Later still, in 1552, it formed the main part of the two reformed confessions presented at the Council of Trent, the "Confessio Saxonica" and the "Confessio Virtembergensis." Twelve years earlier [A.D. 1540], Melanchthon had published another edition of the Confession known as the "Confessio Variata." It was the original Confession, with several minor alterations and one inportant one, modifying the Lutheran doctrine on the Holy Eucharist, with the view of a reconciliation with the Swiss reformers. This gave rise to a series of the bitterest contentions between those Lutherans who supported the original Confession and those who agreed with Melanchthon. In course of time discussion arose on other doctrinal points, and the two schools became more and more divergent, until, at length, in 1577, the "Formula of Concord" was issued at Bergen. In this and in the "Book of Concord" [1580], the "Confessio Augustana invariata," with the "Apologia Confessionis," is made the distinctive standard of doctrine for the Lutheran communities, and the Swiss school is condemned along with the Anabaptists and other violent reforming sects. The Confession has continued to be regarded as the distinctive symbolical formula of the Lutheran Church.

In addition to its influence abroad, it also exercised a strong influence on the composition of the XIII. Articles which are supposed to have been adopted as a basis of union by the Conference of English and German divines, which met by request of Henry VIII. in 1538. Through these and the Würtemberg Confession they became the source of several of the Thirty-nine Articles.

[Francke, *Lib. Symb. Eccl. Luth.* Cœlestinus, *Hist. Conf. Aug.* Waddington, *Hist. of the Reform.* Ranke, *Hist. Ref. in Germ.* Hardwick, *Reformation. Hist. of the Articles.* Pusey, *Real Presence.*]

AUGUSTINIANISM. The theological system of St. Augustine, the great doctor of the Western Church; the word being usually applied to his peculiar views on the doctrines of Predestination and Grace. [See CALVINISM.]

AURICULAR CONFESSION. The subject of Confession will be found fully dealt with under that word. It is sufficient here to say that the word "Auricular," when first applied to Confession, bore the meaning which we now express by "Audible" or "Oral." Thus, Shakespeare makes one person say to another, who is to overhear the conference of two persons, "If your honour judge it meet, I will place you where you shall hear us confer of this, and by an *auricular* assurance have your satisfaction" [Lear, I. ii.]. In this sense, it is also found in the "Institution of a Christian Man" [A.D. 1537], where in expounding the doctrine of penance, it is said, "And therefore, to attain this certain faith, the second part of penance is necessary, that is to say, Confession to a priest, if it may be had . . . *Item*, That the people may in no wise contemn this *Auricular Confession*, which is made unto the ministers of the church" [p. 98, Oxford ed., 1825]. The term is also used in the second part of the Homily on Repentance.

It is well to remember this simple meaning of the phrase, as an invidious sense has been given to it in more recent times, which it did not formerly bear. [CONFESSION.]

AUTHENTICITY. By the "authenticity" of a document is meant that it is the production of its professed author; by its "genuineness," that its received text is incorrupt. For example: the first Epistle of St. John is the "authentic" composition of that Apostle; the passage in it relating to the "Three heavenly witnesses" [1 John v. 7, 8], owing to the imperfect support of evidence, cannot be accepted as a "genuine" text. Much confusion has arisen from incorrectly de-

fining these two terms. Archbishop Trench writes as follows:—"A distinction drawn by Bishop Watson between 'genuine' and 'authentic' has been often quoted: '*A genuine* book is that which was written by the person whose name it bears as the author of it. An *authentic* book is that which relates matters of fact as they really happened.' Of 'authentic' he has certainly not seized the true force, neither do the uses of it by good writers bear him out. The true opposite to αὐθεντικός in Greek is ἀδέσποτος, and 'authentic' is properly having an author; and thus, coming with authority, authoritative. . . . Thus an 'authentic' document is, in its first meaning, a document written by the proper hand of him from whom it professes to proceed." Dr. Chalmers[2] adopts the erroneous distinction of Bishop Watson. The words of Tertullian are well known, "Percurre ecclesias Apostolicas . . . apud quas ipsæ *authenticæ* literæ eorum recitantur,"[3]—the writer referring rhetorically to the (supposed) continued existence of the actual autographs of the sacred writers. So St. Jerome, referring to the autographs of Origen's *Hexapla*, uses the expression "ex ipsis authenticis."[4]

AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH. The Authority of the Church descends from her heavenly Head and from the throne of God, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you" [John xx. 21], were the words of our Lord; and, as all power and authority were given to Him by the Father as His birthright,[5] so He consecrated His Apostles by breathing upon them and saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained" [John xx. 22, 23]. It was no evanescent authority, destined to disappear with the Apostles when their course was finished, but it was to endure as long as the Church on earth lasted. "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" [Matt. xxviii. 20]. "He promised not only to the Apostles that he would be with them, but absolutely to all His disciples; for the Apostles were not to live to the consummation of all things; to us, therefore, and to those who shall come after us, the promise hath been made" [Theophyl. in Matt. xxviii. 20]. [HIERARCHY, APOSTLES, APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION, EPISCOPACY.]

The true living Authority of the Church, therefore, is vested in the Bishops; "Scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, et Ecclesiam in Episcopo" [Cypr. Ep. lxvi. *ad. Florent.*]; hence Chrysostom considers the words, "Tell it unto the Church" [Matt. xviii. 17], to be the same thing as, "Tell it to the rulers of the Church," for it belongs to them to take cognizance of all that affects the peace of the Church and of its members; ruling "in meek and gentle ways, directly influential on the mind and conscience, ways of rational persuasion, exhortation, admonition, reproof; they must be 'gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient; in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves,' convincing, rebuking, exhorting, with all long-suffering and doctrine, that they may finish their course with joy" [Barrow, *Serm.* xxvi.; 2 Tim. ii. 24, iv. 2. Taylor, *Duct. Dub.* III. iv. 4]. In practice, "that which belongs directly and immediately to the Episcopal office, is the government of the clergy, as to manners and function, the visitation of the diocese, the detection of vice, the support of churches and ecclesiastical mansions, the care of all things that concern the public worship of Almighty God, and the like; together with the right of inflicting spiritual censures, as the proper means of attaining those spiritual ends" [Gibson, *Codex*, Introd. xxiv. *Consecration of Bishops*]. Each bishop is responsible for the godly discipline of his diocese; his engagement, on consecration, being "to maintain and set forth quietness and peace among all men; and such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous within his diocese, correct and punish according to such authority as he hath by God's word, and as to him shall be committed by the ordinance of this realm." His authority, therefore, is based upon the Word of God, and his power to enforce discipline "in foro exteriori" is statutable and derived from the State.

Further, the bishops, as the sole depositories of judicial authority in the Church, delegate the power of acting in their behalf to their officials. The bishop, if he so please, may discharge in his own person the office of ecclesiastical judge; but custom, having the force of law, prescribes the appointment of a chancellor, who unites in one person the two offices of official principal and vicar general, with cognizance in both capacities of all causes ecclesiastical; the latter having the additional power of enforcing penal awards. The two offices, however, have been so long united, that it might be difficult now to define their exact jurisdictional duties. To the vicar general, as distinguished from the official, pertains the discharge of episcopal duties, in the absence, or during the incapacity of the bishop; but if such services are not needed, the appointment is not obligatory. In the same way, the jurisdiction assigned to archdeacons, with the power of holding visitations, and the privileges of capitular bodies, descend to them derivatively from the diocesan, however they may seem to be held at the present day in independent privilege; each and all of these being separate offsets of episcopal authority.

The duties of all ecclesiastical judges have been greatly modified and limited by the Church Discipline Acts, which have transferred many of their functions to the commissioners appointed *pro re nata* by the bishop. [JURISDICTION, COUNCIL, CONVOCATION, ROYAL SUPREMACY, SYNOD. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* vii.; Barrow, *Unity of Church; Sermons on Obedience to Spiritual Guides and Government;* Bingham, *Antiq.* b. ii.]

AUTOCEPHALI. [1.] Those metropolitans who were independent of patriarchal authority, and claimed final jurisdiction within their own provinces, subject only to an appeal to a General

[1] *A Select Glossary*, 3rd Ed. p. 15.
[2] *Evidences of Christianity*, b. ii. ch. 2.
[3] *De Præscriptione*, c. 36.
[4] *Comm. in Ep. ad Titum*, c. iii. 9.
[5] ἔδωκεν, τουτέστι ἐγέννησε. Chrys. in John v. 22.

Council. [2.] The title was also given to such bishops as were exempt from the jurisdiction of the metropolitans within whose provinces their dioceses were locally situated, and only in obedience to the patriarch.

The Church of England was autocephalous up to the time of the foundation of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and has been perfectly so during the last 330 years. During the Middle Ages its independence was encroached upon by the usurpations of the Popes, which were submitted to by the sovereigns, clergy, and people as an escape from greater evils, but were often protested against as the exercise of an unlawful jurisdiction.

AVE MARIA. A devotional form of words composed of the salutations offered to the Blessed Virgin Mary by the angel Gabriel, and by her cousin Elizabeth [Luke i. 28, 42]. The Roman Church has added to these words a short prayer, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners, now, and at the hour of our death. Amen."

The first appearance of the "Hail Mary" as a devotional formula is in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory [A.D. 590], where it occurs as an Offertory Antiphon for the fourth Sunday in Advent. In this early form the words of the angel only are used; and it does not seem to have been used in any other way than as an antiphon for the following six centuries. It first appears in association with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in a constitution of Odo, Bishop of Paris, A.D. 1195: "Exhortentur populum semper presbyteri ad dicendam orationem Dominicam, et Credo in Deum, et Salutationem Angelicam Beatæ Mariæ Virginis." After that date it appears in several canons of local synods, as of one at Exeter, held in the year 1287. Many councils and bishops had previously ordered the constant recitation of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, but until the end of the twelfth century not one such order can be found which includes the Ave Maria. Nor is it to be found in the rules of monasteries before that time.

The addition of St. Elizabeth's salutation to that of the angel was made by direction of Pope Urban IV. [A.D. 1261]. The addition, "Holy Mary," &c., does not appear in any form of the "Hail Mary" before the sixteenth century; but it began to be used about A.D. 1508, the Franciscans appending the last words, "And at the hour of our death," at a still later date. It was placed in the Roman Breviary in its present form by order of Pope Pius V. in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The "Hail Mary" was never used in the modern Roman form by the Church of England, although additions began to be made to its Scriptural words by private persons a few years before the Reformation period began. In the *Mirror of our Lady*, printed in 1530, it is given both in Latin and English, the words of the latter being, "Hayle, Mary, full of grace, the Lorde is wyth the, Blyssed be thou in all women, and above all women: and blessed be Jesu, the fruyte of thy wombe. Amen." At a much earlier date, perhaps in the fourteenth century, the form is given in rude verse by Myrk in his *Instructions for Parish Priests*, where he directs them to teach their parishioners the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the "Hail Mary," as follows:—

> "Hayl be thow Mary fulle of grace;
> God ys wyth the in euery place;
> I-blessed be thow of alle wymmen,
> And the fruyt of thy wombe, Ihesus. Amen."

From this it is evident that the precatory addition was unknown to mediæval England; and the evidence already given is also confirmed by that of the Primers. Its gradual introduction elsewhere is illustrated by what the commentator on the *Hours*, who wrote the *Mirror of our Lady*, adds in his remarks upon it. "Some say at the beginning of this salutation, 'Ave benigne Jesu,' and some say after Maria 'Mater Dei,' with other additions at the end also. And such things may be said when folks say their Aves of their own devotion, but in the service of the Church I trow it must be seiver" [safer], "and most medefull" [acceptable] "to obey to the common use of saying as the Church hath set without all such additions."

In the *Institution of a Christian Man*, an authoritative statement of Anglican doctrine, set forth by Church and State in 1537, there is an *Exposition of the Ave Maria*, headed by it in the words, "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women; and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." At the end of the *Exposition*, which is entirely occupied with setting forth the blessing of the Incarnation, is the following paragraph respecting the true devotional use of this formula: "We think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that this Ave Maria is not properly a prayer, as the Paternoster is. For a prayer properly hath words of petition, supplication, request, and suit; but this Ave Maria hath no such. Nevertheless the Church hath used to adjoin it to the end of the Paternoster, as an hymn, laud, and praise, partly of our Lord and Saviour Jesu Christ for our redemption, and partly of the Blessed Virgin for her humble consent given and expressed to the angel at this salutation. Lauds, praises, and thanks be in this Ave Maria principally given and yielded to our Lord, as to the author of our said redemption: but herewith also the Virgin lacketh not her lauds, praise, and thanks for her excellent and singular virtue, and chiefly for that she humbly consented, according to the saying of the holy matron St. Elizabeth, when she said unto this Virgin, Blessed art thou that diddest give trust and credence to the angel's words; for all things that have been spoken to thee shall be performed." [ANNUNCIATION. MARIOLATRY. Grancolas' *Comment. in Brev. Rom.*]

AZYME [ἄζυμος]. A designation of the unleavened bread used in the Holy Eucharist. Priests celebrating with unleavened bread have also been called AZYMITES. An exhaustive dissertation "on the Controversy concerning Azymes" will be found in the Introduction to Neale's *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, pp. 1051-76. [EUCHARIST.]

B

BAAL, the Hebrew term for Lord, represents the Jupiter, or, as Gesenius says, the Hercules of the Shemitic idolatrous tribes, the Canaanites, Phœnicians, Carthaginians; and is the Bel of Babylon, where it was also the name of the planet Jupiter. Baal, as a symbol originally of the sun, was worshipped as the source of light and heat, and as the dispenser of the earth's produce. The devastating effects of nature in storms and earthquakes and volcanic throes, were also referred to Baal as the god of Nature, Energy being the idea symbolized, whether beneficent or, as was most generally the case in ancient demonolatry, malignant. Baal was the male principle of the plastic power of nature, Ashera the feminine, the Ashtaroth of Scripture [Judg. ii. 13]. The tribes of Israel found the worship of Baal established in Canaan; Samuel exterminated it for a time [1 Sam. vii. 4]; but it still lurked amid the hills and groves of Judæa, until it was re-established by the kings of Israel, Jeroboam and Ahab, who formed of it an hybrid religion in conjunction with the worship of Jehovah [Hos. ii. 16]. Baal having been the original deity of this district, his worship and specific name varied into several and distinct Baalim [Judg. ii. 11, &c.] among the different tribes of Canaan.

> "Baalim and Ashtaroth: those male,
> These feminine."

Thus Moloch is identified with Baal by Jeremiah [xxxii. 35]. Baal-Berith (of the covenant), Ζεὺς Ὅρκιος, indicates a compromise made with idolatry by the people at Sichem on Gideon's death. Baalzebub, the Ζεὺς Ἀπόμυιος, was worshipped at Ekron by the Philistines [2 Kings i. 2], as controlling that plague of hot climates, the legions of flies that swarm and sting, murdering sleep and spoiling food; and making it necessary, in the Christian Church, that a deacon should stand on either side of the altar with a ῥιπίδιον, or fan of peacock's feathers, to keep the chalice clear. [*Const. Apost.* viii. 12.]

The name in the New Testament in many MSS. stands as Beelzebul, "Dominus stercorarius," according to the usual Jewish way of expressing contempt by a change of letter; so Shechem became Συχὰρ, *i.e.* a lie, in allusion to the false worship of Gerizim. Beelzebub [Matt. xii. 24] is called Prince of the Devils, a title given in Talmudic writings to Asmodeus [Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. voc. Asham], the same demon being known by either name. [ABADDON.] Baal-Peor of the Moabites [Num. xxv. 5; Hos. ix. 10] took its name from Mount Peor [Num. xxiii. 28]. He was the Priapus of Palestine [Jerom. *in Hos.* iv. 14], whose foul rites were the source of the Eleusinian mysteries and Phallic impurities of Greece. Jerome also identifies this idol with Chemosh [Isa. xv. 2; Creuzer, *Symbolik*, ii. 976]. Rabbinical etymology refers the name to the abominations that it symbolized rather than to the hill locality. [*Talm. Sanhed.*, f. 60; *Targ. Jon.*, Num. xxv. 1.]

The word stands in combination with various names in the ancient topography of Palestine, marking the principal sites of Baal worship; such as Baal-Tamor, Baal-Bek, Baal-Gad, Baal-Amon, Baal-Zephon, which last however represented the evil principle, Typhon, an object of worship along the flats of the Nile [Creuzer, *Symb.* i. 317; Movers' *Phönizier*, vol. i.; Winer, *Real W. B.*; Bryant's *Mythology*; Selden, *de Diis Syris*].

BANNS. A word in common usage with the ancient Franks and Lombards, signifying a fine, a publication, an announcement or proclamation, a convocation, or the place of justice. It is usually both in France and England restricted to the public notification of marriage about to be solemnized. The custom has been traced to the former country in the twelfth century, and the word banna, as used by the Bishop of Beauvais, is repeated by Pope Innocent III. A.D. 1213; and the order of the Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, was no doubt urged on by the canonical restrictions of affinity, made about that period, which necessitated great precaution on the part of parish priests. In some cases it would seem that the banns were published after marriage in France, for what purpose is not clear.

Beyerlinck derives the word from "band," a rope, or "bahn," a trodden way, or ἀπὸ τοῦ παντός, and adds, that in Germany it means the bond of excommunication. It seems, however, that "bannire" meant to summon a military contingent to the royal bann or banner, the standard and sign of meeting; hence the word denoted the proclamation, as in the Italian and Spanish "bando," and then public denunciation by ecclesiastical authority, thus passing into the English meaning, ban, a curse or excommunication.

In A.D. 1200 banns in England were required to be published three times before marriage; these were defined, A.D. 1322, to be three distinct

Sundays or festivals. Lyndwood suggests that the three first week-days after Easter or Pentecost would be sufficient. The Church of England requires their publication after the Nicene Creed, but if there is no morning service, then after the second Lesson during Evening Prayer.

BAPTISM. The sacrament which our Lord instituted for admission into His Church, which was typified and predicted under the Old Dispensation. Thus, when the Holy Spirit moved upon the waters [Gen. i. 2] there was a mysterious figure of the new creation by water and the Holy Ghost.[1] The Deluge typified baptism,[2] a sinful world being destroyed, and Noah and his family saved from destruction in the Ark. The passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea was another type of a death unto sin and a new birth, in the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, and the redemption of God's chosen people.[3] Also the various ceremonial washings of the Old Law [Exod. xix. 14; Lev. xv. xvi. 4], and the rite of circumcision, as we learn from St. Paul [Col. ii. 11-13], prefigured the one ablution from sin. The prophets also predict the sacrament of Holy Baptism [Isa. lii. 15;[4] Ezek. xxxvi. 25-27; Zech. xiii. 1].

Before Christian baptism is spoken of in the New Testament, we have an account of the baptism of John preceding our Lord's ministry. The Baptist intimates that there was an essential difference between his own baptism and that of Christ. John baptized with water unto repentance, but Christ should baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire [Matt iii. 11]. Thus the one baptism was figurative, signifying by the purifying properties of water the need of repentance, and of a renewal of heart and life; the other was the appointed means for communicating the gift of the Holy Ghost and its regenerating influences: the one a baptism by water, which can only cleanse outwardly; the other a baptism by the Holy Ghost, which, like fire,[5] burns up the corruptions of a sin-defiled nature, and thoroughly cleanses the inner man. Very great also was the difference in another point of view. In John's baptism the sin-stricken multitudes were warned, from motives most awful and impressive, of the duty of repentance, and many, there can be no doubt, were thus brought to true repentance for sin; whilst in Christ's baptism the gift of the Holy Spirit was imparted to those who had already repented of sin, and cleansed them from its guilt and pollution. Thus John's baptism, though preliminary and inferior to that of Christ, was a preparation for it—the preaching of repentance for the gift of regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost. We are ignorant of the *mode* of John's administration of baptism, and only know that it must have differed essentially from Christian baptism, since some baptized by him, it is said, knew not whether there be any Holy Ghost [Acts xix. 3].

In illustrating Holy Baptism, our remarks will be given under two heads, theologically defined as the Matter and the Form of baptism: the Matter, water; and the Form, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The Matter of the Sacrament is usually divided into materia remota (water), and materia proxima (ablution).

The materia remota, or water, is absolutely necessary for the valid administration of the sacrament. This is clearly stated, as well in the passages here referred to [John iii. 5; Acts viii. 36; Eph. v. 26; Heb. x. 22] as in those previously quoted from the Old Testament, which predict regeneration through the cleansing of water. The teaching of the Fathers is equally explicit. "Tolle aquam," says St. Augustine, "et non est baptismus"[6]—without water there is no baptism. Water is indispensable, as the matter of baptism; and the sacrament, if administered in any other liquid, as wine or milk, would be invalid.[7] Some of the early heretics denied that water was essential. Thus Tertullian [*De Baptismo*, sec. 1] speaks of the Cainites, who rejected baptism probably on account of the supposed impurity of matter. St. Augustine says that the Manichæans for the same reasons reject baptism by water [*De Hæresibus*, 46], and also the Seleucians and Hermians, who, he says, "baptismum in aqua non accipiunt" [*De Hæresibus*, 59]. A similar charge has been made against the Albigenses or Cathari, a Manichæan sect of the Middle Ages.[8]

We now come to the materia proxima of baptism, or ablution. The word baptism signifies generally washing, and is used in this sense in Holy Scripture. Thus it means dipping or bathing [Naaman, 2 Kings v. 14, and Judith xii. 7,

[1] S. August. *De Diversis Quæst.* lib. ii. sec. 5.

[2] Ibid, *contra Faustinum M.* lib. xii. c. 17, &c. Other illustrations of this type are given by Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, sec. 8, and St. Ambrose, *De Mysteriis*, c. iii.

[3] Mare rubrum significat baptismum. S. August. *in Joann. Evang. Tract.* 45, c. x.; Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, sec. 9; S. Ambros. *De Sacramentis*, lib. i. c. vi. St. Ambrose mentions other types, the cleansing of Naaman in Jordan, the axe which Elisha caused to swim, and the waters of Marah made sweet by wood, adding, "ergo si in figura tantum valuerunt baptismata, quanto amplius valet baptismus in veritate."

[4] St. Justin [*Apol.* i.] quotes Isa. i. 16-20, as typical of the sacrament of the new birth. St. Cyprian says [*Epist.* 63, sec. 5] that as often as water alone is mentioned in Scripture baptism is alluded to, as is intimated in Isa. xliii. 18-21.

[5] See the remarks of Maldonatus on John's baptism. *Comment. in loco.*

[6] *Tract.* xv. *in Joannis Evangel.*

[7] St. Thomas Aquinas says: In quacumque aqua quomodocumque transmutata, dummodo non solvatur species aquæ, potest fieri "baptismus." A summary of the explanation which Aquinas gives *of quomodocumque transmutata* may be added in the words of a recent editor [*Summa Theologica cum notis*, 1867]:—"Hinc docet S. Doctor baptismum fore validum in aqua maris, in lixivio, in aquis balneorum sulphureorum, in aqua decoctionis carnium, sed notandum est talem aquam non est promiscue assumendam, nisi in casu necessitatis" [*Summa*, tertia pars. quæst. 56, art. 4].

[8] "The common opinions of all the Cathari are these—namely, that the Devil made the world and all things in it; also that all the sacraments of the Church—namely, the sacrament of baptism of material water, and the other sacraments, are not profitable to salvation, and that they are not the true sacraments of Christ and His Church, but delusive and diabolical, and of the Church of the malignants" [Maitland's *Albigenses and Waldenses*, p. 418, 1832].

LXX.], the washing of cups and dishes [Mark vii. 3, 4; Heb. ix. 10], and also signifies overwhelming sorrows and sufferings [Isa. xxi. 4, LXX.; Luke xii. 50; Matt. xx. 22]. From all which illustrations we may gather the meaning of a thorough cleansing, as by immersion or washing, and not by mere affusion or sprinkling a few drops of water. The bathing of Naaman and Judith was by immersion: cups and dishes were not cleansed by a few drops of water, but by a thorough washing; and the comparison of our Lord's sufferings to baptism is intended to shew how thorough and overwhelming, as it were, was their nature. Hence, as might be supposed, the primitive mode of baptizing was by immersion, as we learn from the clear testimony of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers. Thus John baptized in Ænon, near Salim [John iii. 23], because "there was much water there," and Christ after baptism "ascended up out of the water." We cannot doubt in these cases there was immersion, for it is shewn from the Baptist's *reasons* for baptizing at Ænon, and Christ's "ascending" from the waters of Jordan. St. Paul's language, however, is even more explicit: he speaks of our being buried with Christ in baptism [Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12], and with the same illustration in view that Christians die with Christ, and are raised with Him [Rom. vi. 11; Col. ii. 20, iii. 3], are immersed in the baptismal water, and rise from it as our Lord from His burial in the tomb.

That immersion was the ordinary mode of baptizing in the primitive Church is unquestionable. Tertullian says, "ter mergitamur,"[1] we are thrice immersed, and St. Ambrose speaks of immersion in the name of each Divine person.[2] St. Cyril of Jerusalem,[3] and St. Basil[4] also, mention the same usage. Immersion in the name of each Divine person was, indeed, the ordinary mode of baptizing [TRINE BAPTISM] during as long as twelve centuries.[5] The innovation of affusion, or pouring water on the baptized, afterwards began in the Latin Church, and has become the general Western usage. In the Eastern Church baptism has always been by immersion, and as a modern, well-informed writer says, the Eastern Church has never ceased to protest against the innovation in the mode of baptizing of the Latin Church.[6]

But another mode of baptizing was certainly permitted, and was occasionally in use from an early period, called CLINIC BAPTISM, or baptism administered in time of sickness, which was by affusion, or pouring water upon the baptized; and not only in time of sickness, but on other occasions where a sufficient quantity of water could not be procured, baptism by affusion was permitted. This baptism disqualified a person for holy orders, not from any doubt of its validity, but for reasons stated in the Council of Neocæsarea.[7]

In baptizing, as is implied in the scriptural use of the term to which we have referred, the water should be so applied as to constitute, in the proper sense of the word, an ablution, to signify and to convey the inward cleansing of the soul.[8] It is, however, the teaching of mediæval canonists, as may be seen in Lyndwood,[9] that a drop of water touching the baptized will suffice as an outward sign for conveying the inward grace of the sacrament; and there can be no doubt that, from the time of St. Cyprian, the belief has generally prevailed in the Western Church, that the quantity of water used in baptizing does not affect the validity of the sacrament.[10] Admitting this, a practical theologian must protest against the usage of baptizing by aspersion, or sprinkling a few drops of water; an usage which, in cases of haste or carelessness, has often caused grave doubts respecting the validity of administration.

Primitive Ceremonies. Baptism was publicly solemnized in the primitive Church only on great festivals, as Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Epiphany. The sacrament was administered with many ceremonies, varying in some degree in an earlier and later age, and in the Eastern and Western Church; and there can be no doubt that the disuse in the English Church of ceremonies which so strikingly symbolized man's fallen and corrupt state by nature, and the exalted privileges of his regeneration and adoption into the family of God, has been a not unimportant cause in modern times of prevailing irreverence and unbelief.

The candidate for baptism, being unclothed,[11] and looking towards the West (symbolically the region of darkness), first renounced Satan and all his pomps and angels;[12] the font or baptismal

[1] *De Corona Milit.* c. 3.
[2] Lib. ii. *de Sacramentis*, c. vi.
[3] Lect. xx. sec. 4. [4] *De Sancto Spiritu*, c. 27, sec. 66.
[5] St. Thomas Aquinas, who died in the thirteenth century [1274], speaks of the "communior usus" of immersion [*Summa*, tertia pars, quæst. 66, art. 7].
[6] *Catholic Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism.* By Mouravieff, late Procurator of the Holy Governing Synod of Russia. [See Neale's *Voices of the Church*, p. 56.]

[7] "If any man has been baptized in sickness, he must not be promoted to be a presbyter, for his faith was not of his own free choice, but of necessity" [Can. xii., Hammond's transl.].
[8] Devoti says, "Abluendum est autem præsertim caput ac tanta est effundenda aquæ copia, quanta opus est ut baptizandus vere ablutus dici possit. [*Institut. Canon. De Baptismo.*]
[9] Sufficit quod modica stilla aquæ projecta a baptizante tangat baptizandum. Et concordat ibi *Hostien* qui hoc putat satis consonum esse juri et æquitati, licet tutius sit quod totus mergatur in aqua. [*Immersio*, lib. iii. tit. xxv.]
[10] There are various opinions in the Eastern Church respecting the validity of Latin baptisms by affusion or aspersion. Their validity, a modern writer says, though admitted in Russia, is denied elsewhere in the "orthodox" communion [Palmer's *Dissertations on the Orthodox or Eastern-Catholic Communion*, p. 107, 1853].
[11] The adult heathen was under catechetical instruction and preparation for baptism for three [*Apost. Constit.* viii. c. 32] or two years [*Concil. Elib.* c. 42], though the length of time must in some degree have depended on his fitness. Catechumens were divided into two classes—"audientes," those just placed under instruction, and "competentes," those prepared for baptism. A new name, not a heathen but a Christian one, as that of one of the Apostles, was given to the infant by his sponsor [INFANT BAPTISM], or probably selected by the adult himself.
[12] Tertullian, *de Corona* c. iii.; S. Cyril, lect. xix.

water was then consecrated,[1] the candidate made his profession of faith,[2] and was signed with the cross on the forehead and breast;[3] then followed exorcism and exsufflation[4] to cast out the evil spirit which dwelt in him, being by nature born in sin; the priest then touched his nose and ears with spittle, saying, Ephphatha, be opened,[5] and gave his benediction by imposition of hands,[6] afterwards anointing the catechumen on the breast and shoulders.[7] Salt[8] was given to him as the symbol of a holy life, to which he was now being called and pledged.[9] After these ceremonies followed trine immersion in the font,[10] pointing out, as St. Cyril says, the three days' burial of Christ. The neophyte was then clothed in white, as an emblem of his new birth,[11] and tasted the food of new-born children, milk and honey;[12] a lighted taper was also given to him as a token of his enlightenment by the Holy Ghost.[13] The symbolic use of salt is illustrated in Lev. ii. 13, Matt. v. 13, Mark ix. 49. We have mentioned anointing before baptism; there was also an unction after baptism with consecrated chrism and imposition of hands.[14] This was called σφραγίς, or the seal of the Holy Ghost, and was the completion of baptism. This sealing with the Holy Ghost was afterwards separated by the Western Church from baptism, and called confirmation; in the Eastern Church, in early times as at present, confirmation immediately follows baptism, a child being confirmed by the priest who baptizes, with chrism consecrated by the bishop. In the Western Church confirmation by the bishop followed in the case of infants as soon as possible after baptism. [CONFIRMATION.]

The Form of the Sacrament. In considering the form of baptism, a preliminary point of some importance requires our attention, viz. the time at which our Lord instituted this sacrament. He gave commission to His apostles to baptize immediately before His ascension, but the sacrament, as is generally thought, was previously instituted. Thus our Lord is represented as baptizing soon after His conversation with Nicodemus [John iii. 26], in which He expressly intimated the grace to be conferred in the sacrament, and its necessity for salvation. And though the Evangelist says [iv. 2], that our Lord baptized *not*, but His disciples, yet these words must not be too strictly or literally interpreted, as if our Lord did not on any occasion baptize, but can only be fairly considered as meaning that He did not usually baptize, but His disciples. The baptism mentioned was at least virtually that of our Lord, as done by His sanction and command. At what time He instituted this sacrament is unknown, but most probably immediately after His own baptism[15] in the river Jordan [iii. 22].

But a more important inquiry remains. Was our Lord's baptism before the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost properly *Christian* baptism, communicating the gift of the Holy Ghost, or was it merely identical with the baptism of John. We read in the 25th verse [John iii.] there was a dispute between the disciples of Christ and of the Baptist about cleansing or purifying, or as the words are generally interpreted, on the relative efficacy of the two baptisms, a dispute which could not have arisen had they been known to be identical. Moreover, our Lord would not have instituted a temporary baptism identical with that of John, and which shortly afterwards was to be set aside by His own more perfect institution. It is a more probable belief, therefore, that Christ's baptism from the beginning was a baptism with the Holy Ghost. This, the Baptist seems to imply, was *always*, or *necessarily* the characteristic of Christ's baptism as distinguished from his own; the one by water, the other by the Holy Ghost. We read in John vii. 39, that the Holy Ghost was not yet given before Jesus was glorified, but this refers only to the public and visible entrance upon His office on the day of Pentecost, and to the wide diffusion and power of His holy influences afterwards bestowed. So great was the difference before and after this day that in *a certain sense* the Holy Ghost was then *first* given. But obviously such words must not be too strictly interpreted [see Gen. vi. 3; Isa. lxiii. 10; Psa. li. 11; Neh. ix. 20; Luke xi. 13.]

It has been thought that the Apostles, of whose baptism no record is given in Scripture, were baptized by our Lord; others have supposed that some of them were baptized, who afterwards baptized their Apostolic brethren. Our Lord would scarcely have addressed the Apostles, as we are told in John xiii. 10, had they been unbaptized, "he that *is washed*, needeth not to wash except his feet; and *ye are clean*, but not all."

We may now go on to consider the actual

[1] Tertull. *de Bap.* c. iv.; St. Cyril, Lect. iii.; *Apost. Constit.* vii. sec. 43.

[2] Ibid. *de Coron.* c. iii.; St. Cyril, *Lect.* 2, c. iv.

[3] St. Basil, *de Spiritu S.* c. xxvii.; St. Augustine, *de Catech. rudibus*, c. xx.

[4] St. Augustine, lib. ii. *de Gratia et Peccat.* c. 40; Ibid *de Nuptiis et Concupis.* lib. i. c. 20.

[5] St. Ambrose, lib. i. *de Sacramentis.*

[6] St. Augustine, lib. ii. *de Peccat. mer. et rem.* c. 26.

[7] Such was the usage of the Latin Church [see Martene, *de Antiquis ritibus*, lib. i. c. 1, sec. 13]—according to the Eastern custom the whole body was anointed; St. Cyril, Lect. xx. sec. 3.

[8] *Concil. Carthag.* iii. c. v.

[9] The "exorcism," "exsufflations," touching with spittle and salt of the catechumens, were usages peculiar to the early Western Church, and are not mentioned by the Greek Fathers, or in the Euchologies [see Drouven, *de re Sacramentaria*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 220, 1756].

[10] St. Cyril, Lect. xx.

[11] St. Ambrose, *de Myst.* vii.

[12] Tertull. *cont. Marc*, lib i. xiv.

[13] St. Ambrose, *de Bap. Virg.* c. v.

[14] Χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον ἐλαιῷ ἀγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι, καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ [*Constit. Apostol.* lib. vii. 22].

[15] Three reasons may be given why our Lord submitted to be baptized by John: [1.] To set His followers an example of obedience—"Thus," He says, "it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." John, by Divine command, announced the baptism of repentance; our Lord, though without sin, humbly submitted to it, and thus acknowledged its obligation and authority. [2.] He hereby sanctioned the ministry of the Baptist, upon which His own depended. [3.] And also sanctified water—henceforward to be the means for conveying the blessings of His redemption and to be the mystical washing away of sin."

Form of Baptism. It was instituted by our Lord when he commanded the Apostles to baptize *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*,[1] and as being so instituted must be essential to a due administration of the sacrament. The first difficulty as regards the Form in Holy Scripture is from the account given in Acts [viii. 16, x. 48], that some were baptized "in the Name of the Lord" or "of the Lord Jesus." But it must be borne in mind that when we read of converts baptized in the Name of the Lord or of the Lord Jesus it is not necessarily to be assumed that the names of the other Divine Persons were omitted: converts might be spoken of as baptized into the Name of the Lord Jesus, since it was into the religion which *He* instituted (*His* religion we may say, the disciples being called *Christians*), that the convert was baptized.

We have no proof, nor is it probable, that during the Apostolic age any other form than that instituted by our Lord was ever used by the Apostles: neither is it likely that they would have altered a form which their Master had so recently instituted. Some of the Fathers have asserted (taking the passages referred to in their literal meaning) that the Apostles were permitted, by a special dispensation, to baptize in the Name of Jesus only, that His Name, as in that early age was especially needful, might be honoured and magnified.[2] This supposition takes for granted, that the Apostles did baptize in our Lord's Name only, which, as we have said, is not merely improbable and unsupported by tradition or the testimony of the early Fathers, but the *reasons* for the supposed innovation are unsatisfactory, since the Name of Jesus would not have been especially magnified by its use only in the baptismal form, but rather in and through its union with the other Divine Persons.

The Church has always considered the form indispensable, and that its alteration renders Baptism null and void. Thus in the forty-first Apostolical Canon: "If any bishop or presbyter, contrary to the ordinance of the Lord, does not baptize into the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but into three unoriginated (Fathers), three Sons, and three Paracletes, let him be deposed." St. Irenæus says[3] that one of the sects of the Gnostics baptized "into the Name of the unknown Father of all, into truth the mother of all, and into Jesus who came down" (from heaven). The Paulianists, so called from Paul, bishop of Samosata, who was excommunicated by the Council of Antioch [A.D. 269] for denying the Divinity of our Lord, were ordered to be rebaptized by the Council of Nice [c. 19]. Also in the second Council of Arles [A.D. 451] it is said that the Photinians, or Paulianists, must be baptized.[4] In the Council of Laodicæa [A.D. 320], those who return to the Church from the Phrygian heresy, or the Montanists, were to be rebaptized [c. 8]. In the seventh canon of the General Council of Constantinople [A.D. 381], after mentioning many heretics whose baptism, being in accordance with the form, is allowed—the Council adds: "But the Eunomians, who baptize with one immersion [and also altered the form[5]], and the Montanists, called Phrygians, and the Sabellians, we receive as heathens." The form had been changed, and hence their baptism was set aside as invalid.

The ordinary rule of the Church is given in the first Council of Arles [A.D. 314], that if any one had been baptized in an heretical or schismatic communion in the Name of the Father, &c., he was to be received by imposition of hands, but if not, he was to be baptized [can. viii.].

The Minister of the Sacrament. The minister of baptism is in the first instance the bishop. Christ gave the commission to baptize to His Apostles, and the same right must primarily belong to bishops, their successors. Priests baptize by permission of the bishop, and not from any inherent rights or power of their order; in cases of necessity deacons, and laymen, and women are permitted to baptize [LAY BAPTISM]. St. Ignatius says, "It is not lawful without the bishop to baptize."[6] "The right of giving it (baptism) hath the chief priest, which is the bishop, then the presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop."[7] St. Ambrose says that priests baptize, "but the beginning of their ministry (exordium ministerii) is from the bishop."[8] "Neither priest nor deacon," in St. Jerome's words, "has a right to baptize without command of the bishop."[9] "The bishop, after God, is your father; for he, through water and the Spirit, hath regenerated you unto adoption."[10]

The necessity of Baptism for Salvation. Our Lord's words [John iii. 5] declare that except any one be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God: through baptism only are we admitted into the Church, Christ's kingdom upon earth, and by it only

[1] In the Eastern Church the form is thus worded, "The servant (or handmaiden) of God is baptized in the name of the Father," &c. This form is generally allowed to be equally valid with that in use in the Western Church.

[2] Thus St. Ambrose [*De Spiritu Sanct.* lib. i. c. 3] argues that baptism in Christ's Name only, where the true faith was held, was virtually the same as baptism in the Name of the three Divine Persons (qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem significavit), the Divine Nature being whole in each Person. But even should we admit this theory, also held by St. Basil [*De Spiritu Sanct.* c. 12] and St. Hilary [*De Synod cont. Arian*, n. 85], such baptisms were limited to the Apostles, and unquestionably in subsequent ages they would have been set aside as invalid. The matter in dispute may be stated in a few words. The Apostles seem to have baptized in our Lord's Name only, and St. Ambrose, by ingenious and plausible arguments, has attempted to vindicate them. But if the alleged fact is no fact, the usage of the Apostles stands in no need of vindication.

[3] *Adv. Hær.* lib. i. c. 21.

[4] "Secundum statuta Patrum baptizari oportet," c. xvi.

[5] Bingham, *Antiq.* xiii. 5. [6] *Ad. Smyrn.* sec. 8.

[7] Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, sec. 17.

[8] Lib. iii. *de Sacramentis*, c. 1.

[9] Ecclesiæ salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exsors quædam et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas tot in Ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione, neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habeant baptisandi. Quod frequenter si tamen necessitas cogat scimus etiam licere laicis. *Dial. ad Lucifer*, sec. 9.

[10] *Apost. Constit.* lib. ii. c. 26.

do we become possessed of the inestimable blessings of redemption and salvation [Acts ii. 38, xxii. 16; Eph. v. 26; Tit. iii. 5; 1 Pet. iii. 21]. In the early Church, some sects of Gnostics denied the necessity of Baptism, thinking probably that the faith even of the unbaptized was sufficient for salvation.[1] Theodoret mentions a sect who rejected baptism, the Ascodrutæ or Ascodrupitæ, thinking that Divine mysteries cannot be represented by earthly and visible signs; that redemption is spiritual or intellectual, and not to be conveyed through outward rites[2]—a form of unbelief which has prevailed in all ages, though especially characteristic of modern religionism. "Oh wretched unbelief," says Tertullian, "which denies to God His own proper qualities, simplicity and power. What, then, is it not wonderful that death should be washed away by a mere bath? Yes, but if because it is wonderful it be therefore not believed, it ought on that account the rather to be believed."[3]

The necessity of baptism for the salvation both of adults and infants was very strictly held in the Primitive Church. An exception, however, was made in the case of martyrs: the baptism of blood, or dying for the Name of Christ without the opportunity of water baptism, sufficed for salvation. Also in the case of those who, prepared by penitence and faith for the gift of regeneration, were unavoidably deprived of the outward sign: they were already baptized with the Holy Ghost, which, like fire, had burnt up sin, and purified and sanctified them. Hence theologians speak of three baptisms—of water, of fire, and of blood.[4]

The Grace of the Sacrament. But the necessity of baptism will be further illustrated, and we shall see why so much importance should be given to right matter and form, by inquiring into the spiritual grace of the sacrament as set forth in Holy Scripture and by the Fathers. Our Lord, in His conversation with Nicodemus, calls baptism a new birth [John iii. 3], and St. Paul mentions in detail its spiritual blessings [1 Cor. vi. 11]: "You were washed," or rather "washed yourselves (*ἀπελούσασθε*); have been sanctified, have been justified;" cleansed from all sin, original and actual; sanctified by the infused gifts of the Holy Spirit; and thus having been made holy, have been justified. In another passage St. Paul calls baptism "the washing of regeneration and of the renewal of the Holy Spirit," and says that herein "being justified by His grace, we are made heirs according to the hope of eternal life" [Tit. iii. 5-7. See also Acts ii. 38, xxii. 16; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 27; Eph. v. 25-27; Heb. vi. 4, x. 32]. Thus by baptism are we cleansed from sin, adopted into God's family, being made His children by spiritual birth, so that His first-begotten Son is not ashamed to call us brethren [Heb. ii. 11]. We are sanctified, justified, and enlightened by the vivifying power of the Holy Ghost.[5]

But if we consider the teaching of the Fathers we shall find in their extant writings uniform testimony in illustration of the true nature of baptismal grace. Our quotations will be limited to writers usually considered as belonging to the first two centuries, including a few which probably belong to a later date. St. Clement of Rome says, "Keep the flesh chaste and the soul undefiled, that ye may have eternal life."[6] We read in the *Apostolical Constitutions*:[7] "Baptism is given into the death of Jesus, oil for the Holy Spirit, the sign of the cross for the Cross; the chrism (*μύρον*) is a confirmation of the confession." In the *Recognitions of St. Clement* baptism is said to have been instituted that the Jews, on the cessation of sacrifice, might be absolved from all their sins,[8] and afterwards: "I shewed them (the Jews) that they could by no means be saved unless, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, they hastened to be washed in the baptism of the trine invocation."[9] And in the catholic Epistle of St. Barnabas: "We go down into the water full of sins and pollutions, but come up again bearing fruit."[10] In the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*

[1] S. Irenæi, lib. i. c. *ult.* Tertullian, *de Baptis.* c. 1.

[2] Theodoret says they do not baptize: *Λύτρωσιν γὰρ καλοῦσι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπίγνωσιν. Hæret. Fab. Compend.* lib. i. c. 10.

[3] *De Baptismo*, sec. 1.

[4] Thus St. Thomas Aquinas: "Tria baptismata fluminis flaminis et sanguinis." *Summa*, III. qu. lxvi. 11.

[5] The above principally, though not *exclusively*, keeps in view the spiritual grace of baptism in the case of infants. In reference to adults there is necessarily some difficulty and difference of opinion. Faith and repentance are the conditions of baptism—and, we may ask, would an impenitent adult be regenerated, thus being baptized without the requisite conditions. Was Simon Magus regenerated by baptism? The answer may be given, with certain qualifications, in the affirmative. He received the gift of the Holy Ghost, which remained like seed in a barren ground and could only be a cause of condemnation, until, by repentance, his heart was improved and thus the seed began to fructify. Hence St. Peter told Simon to repent if the thought of his heart might be forgiven him, but repentance would have been impossible if he had not had the gift or influence of the Holy Spirit. If an adult receiving baptism in impenitence be not in a certain sense regenerated, he would necessarily be excluded from salvation: he cannot be rebaptized, and it is only through Baptism that the gift of regeneration can ordinarily be conveyed. St. Cyril [*Introductory Lect.* sec. 2] says that Simon Magus was "baptized but not enlightened," was incapable of receiving enlightening and sanctifying grace, but this does not prove that he had not the gift in the sense before explained. And St. Augustine: "Through baptism the Church brought forth Simon Magus, . . . yet because love was wanting he was born in vain" [*De Baptismo*, lib. i. c. 10. See also *In Evang. Joannis*, tract. 6]. In the case of infants there can be no doubt that grace is always sacramentally given in baptizing; they cannot put any bar or hindrance to the infusion of grace, like an adult, by impenitence, nor was original sin ever regarded as *per se* excluding from the grace of regeneration. St. Augustine always either states or assumes, that *all* baptized children are regenerate [*De Baptismo*, lib. iv. c. 24, 25; *De Prædestinatione Sanct.* sec. 29], a truth probably first denied by Calvin. [See *Institut.* lib. iv. c. 15, sec. 10.]

[6] 2 Epist. sec. 8. In baptism we are sealed with the Holy Spirit, and an outward and inward mark is set on us as God's children which cannot afterwards be wholly effaced or lost—called in Greek *σφραγὶς*, and in Latin "character." Thus St. Cyril of Jerusalem calls baptism *σφραγὶς ἁγια ἀκατάλυτος*, and St. Augustine, comparing it to the mark set on soldiers, says, "character est Regis mei."

[7] Lib. iii. c. 17.

[8] Lib. i. c. 39.

[9] Lib. i. c. 63.

[10] Sect. xi.

it is predicted,[1] that after the dispersion of His people, God "will have mercy upon them, and save them by faith and water." In the *Shepherd of Hermas* we read: "Now before a man receives the Name of the Son of God he is appointed unto death, but when he receives that seal he is free from death and appointed unto life. For that seal is water, into which men descend under the bond of death, but come up destined unto life."[2] St. Justin thus describes baptism: "Then we bring them (to be baptized) where there is water, and after the same manner of regeneration as we also were regenerated ourselves they are regenerated; . . . and that we may obtain remission of sins we have formerly committed, in the water, there is called over him that chooses the new birth and repents of his sins the Name of God the Father and Lord of all things. . . . Now this washing is called illumination, because they who learn the meaning of these things are enlightened in their mind. And in the Name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the Name of the Holy Ghost, does he who is enlightened receive his washing."[3] "Wherefore," says Theophilus,[4] "God blessed those things which were born of water, that it might be a proof or evidence (δεῖγμα) that men were about to receive repentance and remission of sins through water and the laver of regeneration." In the words of St. Clement of Alexandria,[5] "being baptized we are enlightened, being enlightened we are adopted, being adopted we are perfected, being perfected we are made immortal." St. Irenæus says[6] that Christ giving His disciples the power of regeneration to God, said to them, "Go into all nations, baptizing them in the Name," &c. And again, "Christ came to save all men, all who through Him are born again to God."[7] "Our bodies through the laver, and our souls through the Spirit, have received that union (with God) which is unto incorruption."[8] "Happy," says Tertullian, "is the sacrament of our water, whereby, being cleansed from the sins of our former blindness, we are made free unto eternal life. . . . We, poor fishes, following our Ἰχθύς, Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor are we safe except by abiding in water."[9] [ΙΧΘΥΣ.]

Sin after Baptism. A few words must be added on an important doctrine connected with our subject—sin after baptism. Amongst the articles of faith is a belief in "one baptism for the remission of sins," *i.e.* a plenary remission of all sins, original or actual, previously committed. The baptized are placed in a new position: washed from sin, and regenerated by the Holy Ghost, they have higher privileges and responsibilities. Hence sin after baptism must differ essentially from the sin of the unbaptized or unregenerate, or have *its own* peculiar guilt and aggravation. Not that any past baptismal sin is to be considered as being of itself unpardonable (as certain heretics in the early Church believed), since baptism gives us an assurance of forgiveness by admitting us into the Church, wherein we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and also sacramental means of cleansing from sin. It will, however, be found that from the earliest period the essential difference of sin before and after baptism was fully recognised by a penitential discipline for the punishment of those who had sinned grievously after baptism, or lapsed in time of persecution. In the *Shepherd of Hermas*, a work of high authority in the primitive Church, and probably written by St. Paul's companion,[10] we read of a time of penance being allowed to grievous sinners.[11] The heresy of Montanism [A.D. 150] into which Tertullian fell, which excluded gross sins, as apostacy, adultery, and murder from forgiveness, Gieseler says was "a mere exaggeration of Catholic teaching."[12] The Montanist heresy was afterwards revived by Novatian [A.D. 250]. At first, says the same writer, his followers "declared themselves only against the readmission of the lapsi, but afterwards they fully returned to the old African notion that all who had defiled themselves by gross sins after baptism should be for ever excluded from the Church, as the Church itself would be tainted if they were received again."[13] In the Council of Nice, and the local or provincial Synods of Ancyra and Neocæsarea, received by the Council of Chalcedon into the code of the Universal Church, various classes of penitents are recognised. [Bingham, bk. xviii. c. 1, 11; Marshall's *Penitential Discipline* (Anglo-C. Lib.); St. Pacian's *Epistles and Exhortations to Penance.*]

BASILIDIANS. A sect of Gnostics, followers of Basilides, a disciple of Menander, and a native of Alexandria, who died about A.D. 130. A peculiarity of this sect, beyond the usual tenets of the early Gnostics, was a belief that the body of Christ being a mere phantom, yet a living and actual body was crucified, namely, the body of Simon of Cyrene. Thus the crucified person being a mere man, was not an object of worship or faith, and might be renounced without any renunciation of the true Saviour. The transmigration of souls was also one of their doctrines [Metempsychosis], and they denied the resurrection of the body. [Gnostics: and the *Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.

BASLE CONFESSION. [Calvinistic Confessions.]

BEATIFICATION, the act by which the Pope declares on behalf of a person whose life was

[1] Levi, sec. 16. This work was probably written at the close of the first century [Gallandii *Proœmial. Dissert.*].
[2] Lib. iii. c. 9. sec. 16.
[3] *Apol.* i. sec. 61.
[4] *Ad Autol.* lib. ii. c. 16.
[5] *Pœdag.* lib. i. c. 6.
[6] *Advers. Hæres.* lib. iii. c. 17.
[7] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 22.
[8] Ibid.
[9] *De Baptismo*, sec. 1.

[10] The writer of the life of Hermas in Smith's *Biographical Dictionary* thus concludes: "Considering, moreover, that the work [*The Shepherd*] already enjoyed considerable reputation in the time of Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, we must suppose that it was either written in the time of the Apostles, or soon after, and that its author was either the person mentioned by St. Paul [Rom. xvi. 14] or one who assumed the name of that person for the purpose of acquiring a greater influence upon the minds of his readers."
[11] Lib. iii. simil. vi.
[12] *Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. i. p. 148 (Davidson's trans.).
[13] *Ibid.* p. 284. See also Burton's *Eccles. Hist.* lect. xix. Montanism [1845].

holy and accompanied by miracles, that he thinks that his soul enjoys eternal bliss, and, in consequence, permits religious honour to be paid by the faithful to him.

Beatification differs from canonization, because the Pope does not pronounce judicially in determining the state of the blessed, but only permits to a religious order or community the privilege of a particular cultus, which is to be free from the charge of superstition, as possessing the seal of papal authority. In canonization the Pope speaks judicially, and determines "ex cathedra" the condition of the new saint.

The ceremony of Beatification was introduced when it was thought proper to allow an order or community to render special honour to the person proposed to be canonized, but without a full knowledge of the truth of the facts, and in consideration of the length of the proceedings attendant on canonization. It differs from canonization, not so much in the manner of proceeding, as in being a provisional permission to a religious order, a diocese or particular church, to have an office of a saint, whereas in canonization all churches are empowered to observe his feast. Beatification is the preliminary of canonization, and permits the name of "Blessed" to be given to the new saint; sometimes a particular office was permitted, but it was to be recited in secret without hindrance to the appointed service of the day. A papal indulgence is required for the exhibition of any portrait or relics; and a decree of Pope Alexander VII. in 1659 positively forbade giving to the beatified the honour rendered to those "legitimately" pronounced to be saints. In 1625, Urban VIII. prohibited painting the head of those who had died in the odour of sanctity with the aureole or disk of light, or exhibiting their portraits on altars, in chapels or churches; the publication of their lives and virtues, or miracles, without the approbation of the diocesan, acting with the advice of devout and learned assessors; or hanging lamps, images, or offerings about their tombs [André, *Cours du Droit Canonique*]. The Congregation of Rites, established in 1587 by Pope Sixtus V., reports previously to the accord of the title of Venerable to a saint by the Pope. The first solemn beatification was that of St. Francis de Sales by Alexander VIII. on January 8, 1662.

[Giusto Fontanini, Archbishop of Ancyra, *Codex Constitutionum quas summi pontifices ediderunt in solemni Canonizatione*, A.D. 993 *ad* 1729 (Romæ, 1729). *Collectio Bullarum et Constitutionum quas summi pontifices ediderunt*, etc. (Romæ, 1752). Emmanuel Azevedo, *Opera P. Benedicti* XIV., vols. i. to v. (Romæ, 1749). Castellino, *de Inquisitione miraculorum*, etc. André, *Cours du Droit Canonique*, 1844. Rocca, *de Canonizatione Sanctorum*. Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, liv. xcv. 10, 37. Beyerlinck, *Theatrum*, tom. ii. p. 68, iv. 125. Pascal, *de la Liturgie*, 227. Boissonnet, *des Ceremonies*, etc. 404. Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii. 636. *Cærem. Episc.* c. i. s. vi. Ducange, *Glossarium*, ii. 107. Maillane, *Dict. du Droit Canonique*. Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 437.]

BEATIFIC VISION. The distinctive characteristic of the highest and final state of blessedness is thus named by theologians on the ground of certain statements made in the Holy Scriptures. It is a blessedness to attain to a knowledge of God by the contemplation of His attributes, the education of our faith, the widening and deepening of our love, the perfecting of sacramental union with Him, and the realization of His Sacramental Presence. But beyond all this there is a yet higher blessedness which is reserved for future life, when they who enter into the joy of their Lord will "see Him as He is" and "see His Face," as do the holy angels: which direct and unhindered vision of God is called the Beatific Vision

That this great privilege cannot be obtained until after death was declared by God Himself to Moses, whose request "shew me Thy *glory*," was answered by "I will make all my *goodness* pass before thee, and I will proclaim the Name of the Lord before thee, and will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will shew mercy on whom I will shew mercy. And He said, Thou canst not see My Face, for there shall no man see Me and live, . . . but My Face shall not be seen" [Exod. xxxiii. 19-23]. St. John also declares, "No man hath seen God at any time" [John i. 18]; and St. Paul that, "No man hath seen or can see" Him until in His appointed times He shall reveal Himself [1 Tim. vi. 16]. The vision of God therefore which was vouchsafed to the prophets [Isa. vi. 1, Ezek. viii. 4], to St. Paul [2 Cor. xii. 2], and to St. John [Rev. i. 13], was that of the Second Person of the Trinity revealing Himself before and after His Incarnation in the form of His glorified Manhood, "the King in His beauty" [Isai. xxxiii. 17, THEOPHANY.]

That, on the other hand, it will be attained after this life, is as distinctly declared by St. Paul when he writes, "For now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even as I am known" [1 Cor. xiii. 12]. St. John also writes, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is" [1 John iii. 2]. Perhaps, also our Lord Himself leaves us to infer the same truth when He tells us of His little ones that "in heaven their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven" [Matt. xviii. 10]. Nor can we fail to see the association between His words, "If any man serve Me, let him follow Me, and where I am there shall My servant be" [John xii. 26], with those of the great Revelation of the future, "His servants shall serve Him, and they shall see His face; and His name shall be in their foreheads" [Rev. xxii. 3, 4].

It has been held by many theologians, that the Beatific Vision has not yet been vouchsafed to any, but is reserved until after the Judgment Day. When this opinion was maintained on behalf of the Greek Church at the Council of Florence [A.D. 1439], it was condemned by the Western Bishops; and it was again indirectly

censured at the Council of Trent (when it had become common among Lutherans and Calvinists), by the decree respecting the Invocation of the Saints who are already enjoying eternal happiness in heaven, and reigning together with Christ [Sess. xxv.]. Yet it may well be doubted whether the highest degree of the "mansions" in the Father's house which are now the abode of the saints is not lower than that reserved for them after the Judgment and the Resurrection of the body. The saints are with Christ in His kingdom; but "when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God" [1 Cor. xv. 24], it is reasonable to believe that their condition will be still more exalted, and that then, and then only, will the full glory of the Beatific Vision be opened out before their eyes. [Resurrection.]

BEELZEBUB. [Baal. Satan.]

BELGIC CONFESSION. [Calvinistic Confessions.]

BEMA. The "Sanctuary," or altar space, of an Eastern Church. [Neale's *Introd. Hist. of Eastern Church*, p. 178.]

BENEDICITE. The hymn "Benedicite omnia opera" is of Jewish origin, and seems to have been originally formed by an expansion of the 148th Psalm. It is not known to exist in Hebrew, but was incorporated with the Greek translation of the book of Daniel (among other similar additions) in the LXX. Whatever its real origin, it has been adopted by the Christian Church as a hymn for Divine Service from primitive times. St. Chrysostom speaks of it as "that admirable and marvellous song, which from that day to this hath been sung everywhere throughout the world, and shall yet be sung in future generations." It is also mentioned in similar terms by Rufinus; and as early as the time of St. Athanasius it occupied the same position, as one of the Psalms at Lauds, that it does in the Salisbury Use. In the old Gallican ritual it was sung between the lections, a precedent for its present use as a Canticle in the Morning Office of the Church of England. [Mabillon, *de Liturg. Gallic.* ii. 108.]

BENEDICTION. The act of benediction consists in the use of words and actions by which persons or things are set apart from merely secular uses, and it is generally done to the intent that they may become means of good to the faithful. We are told that "without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better" [Heb. vii. 7], and accordingly we find God spoken of as blessing created beings [Gen. i. 28], the seventh day [ii. 3], a field [xxvii. 27], bread and water [Exod. xxiii. 25]. Melchizedek blessed Abraham [Gen. xiv. 19], the patriarchs blessed their children [xxvii. 23, &c.], and Moses and Aaron blessed the people [Lev. ix. 23], Samuel blessed a sacrifice [1 Sam. ix. 13], and ministers of Christ bless the Eucharistic chalice [1 Cor. x. 16]. There is a different sense in which "blessing" is spoken of in Holy Scripture, where man is said to "bless" God, *i.e.* to praise and thank Him, but we are only now concerned with the sense of the term usually conveyed by the technical term "Benediction." The Old Testament is full of such passages as those just quoted, in which either God Himself, or man as His representative, is spoken of as the agent in blessing. The primary notion of the Hebrew word, בָּרַךְ, lies in *breaking down*, hence *bending the knees, kneeling*, the less to receive blessing from the greater, and this includes the notion of the human agent kneeling to receive from God the blessing to be given. The Greek term εὐλογεῖν, like the Latin *benedicere*, relates altogether to the agent. This is the word used in the Septuagint and New Testament, both of God and of His servants, and it has come down to us as an ecclesiastical term through the ancient Liturgies and the writings of the Fathers. It is quite evident from Holy Scripture that words of blessing, whether spoken by God or spoken in His Name and by His authority, were words of power and efficacy to obtain the good invoked. Even Balak was constrained to confess to Balaam, "I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed" [Num. xxii. 6], while the faithful always regarded the blessing of God and of His representatives as did Jacob, when he said "I will not let thee go except thou bless me" [Gen. xxxii. 26]. When Christ lived as Man upon earth, His formal blessing multiplied the loaves and fishes, and made bread and wine to become His body and blood. And, in accordance with His words, "As the Father sent Me, even so send I you" [John xx. 21], endued with power from on high [Luke xxiv. 49], we find St. Paul saying, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" [1 Cor. x. 16]; and again, "When thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that is unlearned say the Amen at thy Eucharist?" [1 Cor. xiv. 16, see *original*]. It is indeed a Sacramental benediction, or "Eucharistization," that is here referred to, but we may infer by analogy that power to confer other benedictions was also given to the Church by our Lord. St. Paul appears to be referring to the common custom of blessing food at meals where he says (combating Gnostic and Judaizing superstitions), "Every creature of God is good, . . . for it is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer" [1 Tim. iv. 5], and the same may be referred to in the Jewish proverb quoted by our Lord, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs"[1] [Matt. vii. 6]. The blessing of places and things so often referred to in the Old Testament involved the principle expressly sanctioned by our Lord in His cleansing of the Temple, and by St. Paul in his reproofs of such as profaned holy places. And it has ever been practised in the Christian Church from the earliest times. There are very ancient forms of benediction of various things, and also notices of the custom in the writings of the early Fathers.

[1] So strong was the feeling on this point in the Middle Ages, that many held it to be an act of impiety to give a dog food that had been blessed while the meal was going on. But as the effect of the benediction was considered to have ceased when the meal was ended, any remnants might be given to beasts without impropriety.

It was, in fact, like other ritual and ceremonial usages, instituted by God in the first instance as good for man, and was accordingly retained by the Church as a quasi-sacramental link of connection between the Creator and His creatures. The term "sacramentals," which has in recent times been applied to the five "commonly called Sacraments," distinguished from Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, was used by the schoolmen to designate benedictions or consecrations such as those now under consideration.

There is scarcely any "creature of God" that has not been the subject of solemn benediction. Persons have generally received benediction on assuming particular offices, and on particular occasions, as in the sacraments and sacramental ordinances, in the consecration of kings, abbots, &c., in the benediction of travellers on going and returning, and the like. Altars, churches, churchyards, vestments and vessels, bells, candles at Candlemas, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday, the first-fruits of corn and wine at the harvest and vintage, and of the sea at the fishing-season, may be mentioned among many other things which received special benedictions to fit them for sacred uses. The benediction of food at a meal invites special attention, as being still a matter of daily observance among ourselves. It was practised by the Jews, and thus came into use among the first Christians. The Jewish form given in the Talmud is as follows: "Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, the King of the world, who hast produced this food (or this drink, as the case may be) from the earth or the vine." There are references to it in the New Testament [see above], and in the *Apostolic Constitutions* [vii. 49] is a beautiful form of "Grace before meat."[1] The forms which have been most used in the Western Church are "*Benedic Domine nos et hæc tua dona quæ de tua largitate sumus sumpturi, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*"[2] And the shorter form, "*Benedictus benedicat*" before the meal, and "*Benedicto benedicatur*" after it.[3] A person in holy orders is the proper minister of this as of other benedictions, if present, otherwise the master of the house, or person presiding at the meal.

The use of holy water, or water of aspersion [Num. xix.; Exod. xxx. 18-20], dates from the earliest days of the Jewish Church, and Baronius [Anno 57, c. viii.] is probably right in assuming that, like many other Jewish ceremonies, it was adopted into the Christian ritual, for it is referred to by early Christian writers, and there is a form for blessing it in the *Apostolic Constitutions* [viii. 29]. It has been customary to bless it for various special uses, as well as for the general purpose of remaining in the benatura, or holy water-stoup, at the entrance of the Church. In mediæval times the font was not blessed at each separate service, but only on Easter Eve and Whitsun Eve, the ordinary times for baptism. A special office was used for this, and the water remained in the font to be used again and again.

Martene has printed a great number of benedictional offices of all kinds. The essential form is the use of certain appropriate words, which may be accompanied by suitable gestures. Such are imposition of hands, as in the patriarchal blessings, and as when Christ blessed little children, and signing with the cross, in token that through the cross of Christ all blessings flow from God to man. Holy water and chrism, which had themselves been previously blessed, were also used in the more solemn benedictions, as in that of bells, which in these and other respects so resembled the office of baptism that it unfortunately acquired the name of the sacrament, a name frequently applied to it by Roman Catholic ritualists and theological writers. So we now hear people speak of the "christening" of a ship, meaning the somewhat profane ceremony of naming it, which is a corruption of the old *benedictio navis*. The blessing of military ensigns is fortunately still a religious function. "House-warmings" are traditional observances connected with the *benedictio domus*. Buildings other than churches have been solemnly blessed by modern bishops, as have also church bells. Archbishops Laud and Sancroft used to consecrate altars and the *instrumenta* of public worship, and other bishops have done the same from time to time. In the *Hierurgia Anglicana* is a form for such consecrations, of the date 1703. The tradition of consecrating churches and churchyards has always been kept up by English bishops.

A priest is competent to perform any benediction, although it is more proper that a bishop should officiate if convenient. The less solemn benedictions, such as the *benedictio mensæ*, may be given by lay persons, but such benedictions are to be regarded rather as prayers for a blessing than the act of blessing itself. A woman cannot give solemn benediction under any circumstances. Abbesses claimed this power in the time of Charlemagne, but it was treated as an abuse. The same custom arose and was repressed in the Greek Church. Private benedictions, such as those of children by parents or aged persons, of relations and friends by dying persons, &c., are acts of Christian charity which have always been sanctioned by the Church. The rite of "benediction with the blessed sacrament" now so common in the Roman Church is one of very recent introduction, and consists in holding over the people the monstrance containing the sacred host.

Although sacerdotal benediction has much analogy with the sacraments and sacramental ordinances, it is to be distinguished from them in respect of the special graces which they convey, of their necessity to salvation, and of their being administered to mankind alone. It is analogous to the sacraments in having "an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace." The sign may

[1] See Conybeare and Howson on 1 Tim. iv. 5.

[2] *Gelasian Sacramentary.*

[3] There is an ancient form of grace after dinner at Clifford's Inn, which is not said, but acted. Four loaves, closely adhering together, and said to be emblematical of the Four Gospels, are held up by the occupant of the chair, who raises them three times in allusion to the Blessed Trinity, and then hands them to the butler

vary, as we have seen, and its effect is to set apart persons, places, or things for particular purposes. All things are, moreover, in virtue of benediction, especially fitted for their proper uses, "sanctified by the word of God and prayer" [1 Tim. iv. 5]. In the Holy Eucharist, however, we have a consecration quite distinct from any mere blessing of food, and in Ordination or Confirmation one quite different from any mere blessing of persons. The sacrament of baptism is also quite distinct from the benediction of the water, which is by no means essential or always practised. The sacraments are either necessary to salvation or to the perpetuation and well-being of the Church, whereas benedictions are only accessory. Nor is the recipient of benediction necessarily a person, but it may be a place or a thing.

The right appreciation of the Christian practice of various benedictions is happily reviving among both clergy and people, and the bishop or priest who desires to exercise this function need not be at a loss for proper formulæ while the ancient offices are readily accessible in many printed books. Yet an Anglican Benedictional is one of our *desiderata*. [*Pontificale* and *Rituale Romanum;* Martene, *de Ant. Rit. Eccles.* lib. ii., and *de Ant. Mon. Rit.;* Beyerlinck, *Magn. Theatr. Vitæ Humanæ*, s. v. *Benedictio;* Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, and *Hierurgia;* Blunt's *Sacraments and Sacramental Ordinances; The Priest's Prayer-Book.*]

BENEFICE. The perpetual right to receive the fruits of ecclesiastical goods by virtue of the spiritual office of an ecclesiastical person, constituted by the authority of the Church. It requires to be erected by episcopal authority; to be founded for purely spiritual purposes; to be conferred by an ecclesiastical person, and bestowed on a clerk in orders; it must be perpetual, and be given to another person than him who confers it. According as benefices are tenable by regulars or seculars, they receive their definition. The former contain Doubles, the claustral offices of the conventual prior, chamberlain, almoner, hospitaller, sacristan and cellarer; and Simples, such as non-conventual priories, and the places of monk or canon regular; according as they are tenable by men or women, they are designated further as masculine and feminine. Again some are *curata*, with cure of souls, or *non-curata*, sinecures without any such charge. Curata are either—[1] those improperly, and in a large sense only, so termed, which have external cure, viz. in matters of visitation, correction, excommunication, and [2] those strictly and properly having cure of souls, with the exercise of the power of the keys and the ministration of sacraments, such as all parish priests enjoy. All benefices are regarded as secular except of regular foundation or having a prescription of forty years. Secular benefices are either *simple* or *double*. [1.] *Doubles* are dignities, personages (personalia or personatus), and offices which have either cure of souls annexed, or some special jurisdiction, eminence in choir and chapter and processions, precedence, or administration of Church goods attached to them, viz. the Papacy, cardinalate, episcopate, capitular headships, the archpresbyterate, archidiaconate, and penitentiaryships, the præcentorship, &c. Benefices with cure of souls are also included. [2.] *Simples*, which have neither administration nor special eminence, but are instituted solely for celebrating Divine worship, as canonries and prebends in cathedral churches, chaplaincies, and the like. Those again are mere Simplicia, where only saying of prayers is concerned, and Servitorian, where celebration of Holy Communion or singing in choir are required.

Benefices are still further regarded as [1.] *elective*, which are conferred by competent electors, and confirmed by authority; as in elections of canons by a dean and chapter. [2.] *Presentative*, either ecclesiastical, when the presenter has founded a church or benefice out of church revenues, or is an ecclesiastic holding the power of presentation by virtue of his place, or secular, when made by a layman, its founder or patron; but in this case canonical institution by ecclesiastical authority must supervene the exercise of patronage. [3.] By *postulation*, when otherwise ineligible persons are directly chosen by two-thirds of a chapter; confirmation, however, is indispensable. [4.] *Freely collative*, when the ordinary himself collates or presents. [5.] Of canonical exchange. [6.] Given by resignation in favour of the presentee; collation following. A regular benefice is said to be held *in title* when occupied by a regular, and *in commendam* when tenable by a secular, who has a dispensation. *Compatible* benefices are pluralities canonically tenable.

Manual or *temporal* benefices are revocable at pleasure, as though in the hand of the presenter, and *titular* benefices are perpetual. The other kinds are perpetual vicarages, prebends, *commendams*, where a person named receives charge of a church; *pensions*, an income derived from the benefice of another; and *præstimonia*, a pension granted to canons or other clerks out of the church revenues. Consistorial benefices are those granted by provision of the Papal Consistory. Benefices are voidable through any crime by which forfeiture is entailed; by exchange, by resignation, by acceptance of another benefice not tenable together with it. For the reception of a benefice the priesthood is indispensable, and by the statute law of England, benefice now seems to designate only a benefice with cure of souls, as distinct from cathedral preferment. [Ferraris; Beyerlinck, i. 950; André].

BENEFIT OF CLERGY. A mediæval custom, by which accused persons who proved themselves to be "clerks" by reading Latin, could claim to be tried by the court of the Bishop instead of by the court of the King. It was a privilege originally belonging only to those who were actually in holy orders, but it was gradually extended to persons in the minor orders, and to every one who could read a verse of the Latin Bible. The privilege was thus grossly abused, and became a great impediment to justice, as well as a great scandal and burden

to the Church. It was restricted by Reformation Statutes of 1531, 1536, and 1541, and the actual clergy were thenceforward subject to secular tribunals. But the Benefit of Clergy was retained in a modified form for the benefit of the laity, and was only abolished in 1827, by Stat. 7 & 8 Geo. IV., cap. 28. [Gibson's *Codex*, xlix. 5; Blackstone's *Comm.* iv. 28; Blunt's *History of the Reformation*, 1514-1549, p. 406.]

BETHPHANY. A primitive name for the festival best known in the West as the Epiphany. Durandus says—"In codicibus antiquis hæc dies Epiphaniorum pluraliter intitulatur, et ideo tripliciter et nominatur, scilicit Epiphania, Theophania, et Bethphania." The latter name of the festival seems to have been little used; but it is, of course, significant of our Lord's Manifestation by His first miracle *in the house* at Cana of Galilee. [Epiphany].

BIBLE. [*τὰ βιβλία, scil. θεῖα*]. This name for the Holy Scriptures can be traced back as far as the time of St. Chrysostom [*Hom.* ix. *in Ep. ad Coloss.*], and was commonly used by the Greeks of the fourth century, as that of *Bibliotheca Divina* or *Sacra* was by St. Jerome [*Ep.* vi. *ad Flor.*] and the Latins. The Greek name passed through the Latin into the English language, and has been used in its present form for about six hundred years. [Testament. Scripture. Canon.]

BIDDING OF PRAYERS, corrupted into Bidding Prayer. The old English word "bidding" had two senses—[1] that of *mandatum*, and [2] that of *oratio* [*Prompt. parvul.* s. v.]. The old word "bedes" also bore the sense of *things counted*, and of *prayers*. The old expression "bidding of bedes" thus carries the sense of [1] *directing prayers to be made*, [2] of *praying prayers*, and [3] of counting the beads of the rosary; the first being the most ancient, and the last the most modern. It is in the ancient sense that the modern term "Bidding Prayer" is to be understood.

This "bidding" or monition to prayer is a very ancient custom, being enjoined in the early Liturgies under the name of Προσφωνήσεις or "Allocutiones," when the deacon said, "Let us pray," "Let us pray earnestly," "Let us pray on yet further and further," "Let us pray with intense zeal." Our forms of Bidding Prayer also originated in the "Ectene" of the Eastern Church. In the Church of England a form is still enjoined in the 55th canon, which substantially agrees with that used in mediæval times. It is used before sermons which are not preceded by Divine service, as University sermons, and also before the morning sermon in Cathedral churches.[1]

BIGAMY. In modern language this term means the marriage of a second wife while the first is still living; but in early Church writers it is used (with Digamy) for the marriage of a second wife after the death of the first. The canons of several Councils [Agde, A.D. 506; Carthage, A.D. 398] make second marriages, when contracted after baptism, an impediment to holy orders; the rule being founded on the words of St. Paul in Tit. i. 6. Some local synods extended this rule even to persons who had contracted second marriages before they became Christians [Valence, A.D. 374]; and this is the practice supported by St. Ambrose in his 82nd epistle. On the other hand, there were those who interpreted St. Paul's words of bigamy, or polygamy, in the modern sense, as did St. Chrysostom and Theodoret in their homilies on the passage; and in Spain, at least, the bishops freely ordained men who had been twice married. [Innocent. Ep. xxii. c. 1]. Theodoret also [Ep. 110, *ad Domum*] gives several examples of such ordinations of digamists by the Bishop of Antioch; and it is evident that the rules of different dioceses varied greatly on this subject before the introduction of clerical celibacy. [Celibacy.]

BISHOP. A name derived from the Greek ἐπίσκοπος, an overseer,[2] appropriated in the early ages, and according to modern usage, to the highest order of the Christian ministry. Bishop or overseer, it is manifest, does not necessarily or exclusively denote the episcopal office as distinguished from that of presbyters or deacons: presbyters have also the oversight of the people committed to their charge, and deacons also a kind of overseership. Hence the word ἐπίσκοπος is not limited in the New Testament to the highest order of the ministry, but also denotes the presbyterate or priesthood, which, taking the word literally, may be called an episcopate.[3] This might naturally be expected from the inherent vagueness of the term, and would also be likely to occur at an early period, before it was necessary or possible to designate by a peculiar word or term each of the three orders. Thus "presbyter" means an elder, a term often of respect as well as of office, and the Apostle St. John calls himself a presbyter or elder, without derogating from his Apostolic office, or giving any occasion for mistaking his meaning. But this almost unavoidable vagueness of language has led, in modern times, to the most unwarrantable and even absurd conclusions. We read in Scripture of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and as it is unquestionable that bishop and presbyter are often at least used interchangeably for the same office, it is inferred that there only existed in the Apostolic age bishops or presbyters (different names for the same office) and deacons. Hence it would follow that episcopacy is not of Apostolic or Divine institution, but a form of government subsequently introduced by the Church, and it would rest on ecclesiastical as distinguished from Apostolic or Divine

[1] Coxe on *Forms of Bidding Prayer*, with Introduction and Notes. 1840.

[2] This word is derived from the LXX. and means generally a superintendent whether civil or religious. Thus in Num. iv. 16, Eleazar is called *ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ ἱερέως*. In Isaiah [lx. 17], in reference to Christianity we read *δώσω τοὺς ἐπίσκοπους ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*. The same word is also used of a superintendent in civil matters [Neh. xi. 9, 14, 22].

[3] To shew how little reliance can be placed upon a mere word as denoting an office, we may remark that the Apostles call themselves presbyters [1 Pet. v. 1; 2 John i.] and deacons [Eph. iii. 7; 2 Cor. iii. 6].

sanction. In proof of these assertions and inferences, it is asserted that the Epistles of the New Testament afford no evidence or even probability that there was an episcopacy in the churches which the Apostles planted. Thus in St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians no reference is made to their bishop, though it might reasonably have been expected, as their Church was in an unsettled state, and very corrupt as regards doctrine and morals [1 Cor. i. 11-13, iii. 3, 4, v. 1, 11, xv. 12; 2 Cor. ii. 17, xii. 20, 21]. In the Epistle to the Philippians the salutation of the Apostle is addressed to the bishops, *i.e.* to the presbyters, and deacons. When the Apostle summons together the presbyters of the Church at Ephesus, he also calls them bishops [Acts xx. 17, 28]. But this vague or undeterminate use of the word only shews that ἐπίσκοπος was not at first appropriated to the highest order, but was often, or rather ordinarily, used of presbyters; a fact which has no bearing on the real point in dispute, *i.e.* whether the episcopal office existed from the beginning in the Church. We have ample evidence that the Apostles themselves were the first bishops of the churches they planted; nor, as will be afterwards shewn, could any other arrangement have been reasonably expected. On referring to the Epistles we cannot mistake the exercise of an episcopal jurisdiction. Thus St. Paul, as we have seen, gives a solemn charge to the presbyters of the Church of Ephesus, and surely it is not of importance whether he call them presbyters or bishops. Throughout his Epistles, not only pastoral instruction is given to the churches, but he admonishes them with supreme authority, censuring errors in faith and practice, as one set over them in the Lord. The Apostles did not immediately after our Lord's ascension ordain bishops, having been themselves appointed the supreme governors of the Church. And even where many converts were made and churches founded, the ordination of presbyters and deacons, aided by their own superintendence, was ordinarily sufficient. The Apostles themselves, some have suggested, did not at first know that their own order was to be perpetuated by an episcopacy in the Church, a truth perhaps only revealed to them when the time of their departure drew near, which has been assigned as a reason for its late appointment. However this may be, there is another reason why the ordination of bishops could not have been expected at the beginning of the Apostolic ministry: they are the successors of the Apostles, and, as the word implies, could not be expected to be governors of the Church at the same time with them.

When the time of their death approached the Apostles appointed successors in the episcopal office. Thus we read that St. Paul ordained Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete. He gives them in his Epistles directions for the ordination of priests and deacons, and for the due performance of their episcopal office, bidding them charge presbyters with authority, and to "lay hands suddenly on no man" [1 Tim. i. 3, iii. 1-13, v. 22; 2 Tim. ii. 14; Tit. i. 5-10].

During the lifetime of the Apostles, St. Ignatius was made bishop of Antioch and St. Polycarp of Smyrna,[1] and in the *Apostolical Constitutions* we read of many others whom the Apostles appointed bishops of churches.[2]

Thus bishops succeeded the Apostles in the government of the Church, and as being their successors are possessed of the same power of jurisdiction, which is indispensable to their office, and for giving mission to inferior ministers [Jurisdiction]. St. Irenæus speaks of "bishops to whom the Apostles delivered the churches;"[3] and St. Cyprian, "that the Lord chose Apostles, that is bishops;"[4] and again, "for this, very especially, we do and ought to labour that we strive to hold fast as much as we can the unity appointed by the Lord, and delivered through the Apostles to us their successors;"[5] and St. Jerome, "with us bishops occupy the place of Apostles,"[6] and "bishops are successors of the Apostles."[7]

The episcopal order being, thus, of Divine institution, and unchangeable, the Fathers unanimously teach that it is essential to the constitution of the Christian Church. St. Ignatius says, "My soul be for theirs who obey bishop, presbyters, deacons; . . . without these there is no Church"[8] (οὐκ ἐκκλησία καλεῖται). "The mark of the body of Christ," says St. Irenæus, "is according to the succession of bishops to whom the Apostles delivered the Church which is in every place;"[9] and St. Cyprian tells us that "the Church is in the bishop and the bishop is in the Church, and that he who is not with the bishop is not in the Church."[10] Hence St. Augustine and St. Optatus appeal to the succession of bishops in the Roman Church as proving that the Donatists were separated from the communion of the Catholic Church (præcisos a vite). The Donatists were asked to shew the succession *of their* bishops from the apostolic age, and by their inability to meet the challenge, were, we may say, self-condemned,—manifestly proved to be in a state of schism.[11]

It was disputed in the primitive Church (the controversy being revived at the Reformation and continued to the present day) whether the episcopal order be distinct from that of the presbyterate, a bishop being *primus inter pares*, the first among presbyters, only officially their superior,

[1] *Martyrium*, sec. 11. The meaning of ἐπίσκοπος cannot here be misunderstood, as St. Ignatius speaks of the three orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon. St. Polycarp was ordained bishop of Smyrna [Tertullian, *De Præscrip.* sec. 31, says by St. John], as we are told in the Encyclical Epistle on his martyrdom.

[2] Lib. vii. c. 46.

[3] *Adv. Hæres.* lib. v. c. 20.

[4] Epist. 65, *ad Rogatianum.*

[5] Ibid. Epist. 45, *ad Cornelium.*

[6] *Ad Marcellam*, Epist. 54.

[7] Ibid. Epist. 46, *ad Evangelum.*

[8] *Ad Polycarp*, sec. 6; *ad Trall.* sec. 3.

[9] Γνῶσις ἀληθὴς, ἡ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διδαχὴ, καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σύστημα κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου: et character corporis Christi secundum successiones Episcoporum quibus illi (*scil.* Apostoli) eam quæ in unoquoque loco est Ecclesiam tradiderunt. *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iv. c. 8.

[10] *Ad Pupianum*, Epist. 66, sec. 8.

[11] St. Optatus, *de Schismate*, lib. ii. c. 3; St. August *Psalmus contra partem Donati*, tom. ix.

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though of the same order; or, on the other hand, whether episcopacy, essentially distinct from the priesthood, be really a different and higher order. Now that the latter theory is undoubtedly true has been already partly proved, and the mere fact that ordination is the exclusive prerogative of the bishop, and cannot under any circumstances be delegated to a presbyter, is alone sufficient to prove the fact. Let us even suppose that a presbyter has an equal right with the bishop to baptize, celebrate the Holy Eucharist, and to give the seal of the Holy Spirit in confirmation,[1] the fact remains that the power and right of ordination exclusively belong to the bishop; hence an apostolical *or* episcopal succession *only* has been everywhere preserved in the Church.

The heretic Aërius [A.D. 376] first denied that the bishop was of a superior order to the presbyter, asserting that they are of the same order, honour, and dignity. He thus argues: "The bishop lays on hands, so does the presbyter, the bishop baptizes and celebrates the Divine offices (οἰκονομίαν τῆς λατρείας ποιεῖ), so likewise the presbyter; the bishop sits on a throne, so also a presbyter." He alleges also, in support of his theory, that St. Paul uses the words presbyter and bishop interchangeably, and hence infers that they are of one and the same order. His erroneous opinion as regards orders, and on other important points, was condemned as being contrary to the usage and universal tradition of the Church.[2]

Modern writers, in maintaining the parity of the two orders, principally rely upon the authority or sanction of St. Jerome. He says "that the presbyter is the same as the bishop, and that churches were originally governed by the united counsel of presbyters; but on disputes arising, as at Corinth [1 Cor. i. 12], it was decreed throughout the world that one chosen from the presbyters (of each church) should be placed over others with superior authority, that thus the cause of schism might be removed." And again: "That presbyters should acknowledge themselves subject to him (the bishop), placed over them by the usage of the Church (ex ecclesiæ consuetudine), and that bishops should know that it is more by custom (consuetudine) than by the Lord's actual appointment (dispositionis Dominicæ veritate) that they are superior (majores) to presbyters, and that they ought to rule the Church in common with them."[3] Another passage has been quoted from St. Jerome to prove that the priests of Alexandria at first ordained their own bishop, just as soldiers might appoint a commander, or deacons choose from among themselves an archdeacon.[4] St. Jerome only says that the priests of Alexandria nominated or elected their bishop without stating whether subsequent ordination was required. Various attempts have been made to explain away principles so laid down, but not very successfully. His statements, which seem explicit and unmistakeable, are opposed to Catholic tradition and the unanimous teaching of other Fathers. The theory that episcopacy was suggested as the general rule of the Church by the schisms of the Corinthian Church is not mentioned by any other writer, and is also very improbable, since, were such the case, we might have expected that Corinth would have been the first episcopal see, which assuredly it was not. It may be true that the priests of Alexandria elected their bishop, but St. Jerome's illustrations, especially that of the deacons and archdeacon, lead to the supposition that he believed, that, beyond nomination, nothing further was required.[5]

But leaving this Father's peculiar and unsatisfactory theories, let us next inquire into the mode of election, and the ordination of bishops in the primitive Church. Though the episcopal order be only one and the same, whether its jurisdiction be over a large city or a country village (ejusdem meriti et ejusdem est sacerdotii), yet undoubtedly in early times, in a certain sense, there were degrees as regards dignity and pre-eminence in the episcopate. The episcopal order may be arranged

[1] St. Jerome [Epist. 46, *ad Evangelum*,] and St. Chrysostom [*Homil.* xi. *in* 1 *Timoth.*] say that "a priest can do all that a bishop does," with the exception of ordination; and a modern learned writer maintains that a priest, from the inherent rights of his order, can baptize, celebrate the Holy Eucharist, and give the seal of the Holy Spirit in confirmation [Palmer's *Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. p. 282]. A few words must here be added on this *alleged* right of a priest to administer confirmation. In the Western Church confirmation was always, in ancient and modern times, administered by the bishop, nor is there, probably, one instance on record of its delegation to a priest. In the Eastern Church, though now usually, as in early ages, priests confirm after baptism, yet it is *only* with chrism which has been consecrated by the bishop, and is thus really, *and is so regarded* as, confirmation by the bishop. Mouravieff, late procurator of the holy governing Synod of Russia, thus speaks of the Eastern usage: "Again let us admire the wisdom of the orthodox Church in allowing, as she does, to every priest when he has baptized an infant, to communicate to that infant at the same time the gifts of the Holy Ghost by anointing it with holy chrism. And as this chrism is always consecrated by a bishop, the result is, that the rule of the Church by which only a supreme pastor must confirm receives its full effect, the priest being here only the intermediary of the bishop" [Dr. Neale's *Voices of the Church*, p. 56, 1859].

[2] St. Epiphan., *Advers. Hæreses*, lib. iii. [*Hæres.* lv. sive lxxv.]; St. August., *de Hæresibus*, liii.

[3] *Comment. in Epist. ad Titum*, c. 1, v. 5.

[4] Nam et Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat; aut Diaconi eligant de se, quem industrium noverint et archidiaconum vocent. [*Ad Evangelum*, epist. 146, sec. 1.]

[5] Morinus mentions three opinions or theories on the episcopal order—[1] that of Aërius, that a bishop and a presbyter are of one and the same order, universally condemned as heterodox; [2] that bishops are superior to presbyters by ecclesiastical usage or appointment only, which was the opinion of St. Jerome and of many subsequent writers, who allege his authority, and mainly repeat his arguments, and also of many of the schoolmen; [3] that bishops by Divine institution are superior to and of a higher order than presbyters. This latter theory Morinus shews is both accordant with Scripture and with the unanimous teaching of the early Church. He also suggests the *probable* reasons why St. Jerome proposed a new theory, and points out his rhetorical and exaggerated language in its defence. [*De Sacris Ordinationibus*, exercitat. iii. c. 3, 1695.]

into four classes—[1] Patriarchs, that is the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, or New Rome, who had ultimate jurisdiction within their several patriarchates, and even over bishops, not authorizing them to interfere with ordinary episcopal authority and rights, but only in cases of gross misgovernment, or of alleged or suspected heresy; [2] metropolitans or the bishop of the chief or mother Church of the province; [3] archbishops, or the first or presiding bishop of national churches; [4] ordinary bishops. It has been said that patriarchs under certain circumstances interfered with episcopal rights, which was true also of metropolitans and archbishops; but it must be further added, that in the early Church every bishop considered it a bounden duty to interfere when the purity of the faith was endangered. Then the catholic Church became as it were *his* diocese: heresy was not a mere *local* evil, but corrupted the body of Christ, which was one, the members united and sympathizing together. Thus, in the Apostle's words, if one member suffered, the other members suffered with it, or if one member were honoured, all the members rejoiced with it.

When a see was vacant, the bishop was chosen according to common usage by the clergy and people of the diocese. St. Cyprian mentions the suffrages of the people (populi suffragium), and the consent of fellow bishops (co-episcoporum) or the bishops of the province.[1] Referring to the *Apostolical Constitutions*,[2] we also find that the bishop was to be chosen by all the people (ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ λάου ἐκλελεγμένον): "And when he is designated and approved, let the people, assembling with the presbytery and bishops who are present on the Lord's day, give their consent, and let the chief of the bishops (πρόκριτος τῶν λοιπῶν) ask the presbyters and people whether they desire him for their ruler." The question was put three times, with inquiries into the good life and conversation of the bishop elect, then a sign of assent from all[3] is demanded, and the ordination follows. Further proof of the right of the clergy and people of a diocese to elect their bishop is unnecessary, as the fact is generally admitted. Suicer[4] has shewn by ample quotations that the same usage prevailed during twelve hundred years. The bishop was usually chosen from the clergy of his church, as implied by the suffrages of the clergy and people, which intimate a previous knowledge of his life and character, and ordinarily without such knowledge would have been a mere form; exceptions, however, to this rule were frequently made.[5] The consent of neighbouring bishops was also required on his nomination or election; he was ordinarily consecrated by three bishops.[6] In the *Apostolical Canons* we read, "by two or three bishops," and in the fourth canon of the Council of Nice, "that a bishop should be appointed by all the bishops of the province (ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ), or at least that three should meet together in one place, those who are absent giving their suffrages and their assent in writing, and that then the ordination should be performed." It is added "that the confirming of what is done in each province belongs to the metropolitan." In the first Council of Arles [A.D. 314], seven bishops are required to assist at the ordination of a bishop, or at least three.[7] The hands of the ordaining bishop and of his assistants were laid upon the head of the bishop elect, and the book of the Gospels opened was placed upon his head and neck.[8] The essential Matter of ordination is the imposition of the bishop's hands, and the Form prayer, whether expressed indicatively or imperatively.[9] Some writers have considered as a part of the Matter, such usages as putting the opened book of the Gospels on the head and neck, the unction, or giving him the book closed with injunction to preach the Gospel, or the pastoral staff and ring;[10]

[1] Quando ipsa (plebs) maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes vel indignos recusandi, . . . ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente vel detegantur malorum crimina vel bonorum merita prædicentur ut sit ordinatio justa et legitima quæ omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata, . . . ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui propositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdam provinciæ proximi quique conveniant et episcopus delegatur plebe præsente quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit [Epist. 67, *ad Stephanum*].

[2] Lib. viii. c. 4.

[3] Probably by raising their hands. Cotelerius, in his note on this passage, refers to the Epistle of Synesius: *σύνθημα τῆς χειροτονίας.*

[4] Thesaurus Eccl. *sub voc. ἐπίσκοπος*, et *vid.* Drouven, *De re Sacramentaria*, lib. viii. sec. 11.

[5] Bingham, *Orig.* lib. ii. A bishop was also required before ordination to pass through and discharge the offices of reader, deacon, and priest, ordination *per saltum* being forbidden by the Council of Sardica [A.D. 347], though exceptions were frequently made in cases of merit or especial fitness for the office.

[6] *Apostol. Constitut.* lib. iii. c. 20.

[7] Canon xx.

[8] The deacons holding the Holy Gospels opened upon the head of him who is to be ordained [*Apost. Constitut.* lib. vii. c. 4], or two bishops, according to the fourth Council of Carthage [A.D. 398], c. 2.

[9] In the Western Church we have the imperative form which was not in use in the early ages of the Church, "accipe Spiritum Sanctum," whilst in the Eastern Church the form is indicative, as, "Do Thou, O Lord, confirm him by the grace of Thy Holy Spirit," but though verbally differing, the form in these two Churches is essentially the same. The Church, in the latter case, with assured faith, prays in the name of our Lord [John xiv. 13, 14] for that Gift which He imparted to the Apostles [John xx. 21-23], and promised implicitly at least to their successors.

[10] In the Western Church, according to the *Roman Pontifical*, the consecrator places the book of the Gospels opened, with the aid of assistant bishops, upon the head and neck of the bishop-elect; then follows imposition of the bishop's hands, (the consecrator and his assistants) with the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost:" the head and both hands of the bishop being anointed, and the pastoral staff and ring given to him. The consecrator, with the assistance of the other bishops, then takes the book of the Gospels from the head and shoulders of the bishop, and gives it closed into his hand, and says, "Take the Gospel, go preach to the people," &c. The bishop consecrated then receives the kiss of peace, a mitre is placed on his head, and a ring on his hand. In the Eastern Church, the bishop-elect, after making a profession of his faith, is led to the altar, and kneels before the consecrator and his assistants; the book of the Gospels opened is laid on his head and neck, and held there by two bishops; he is thrice signed with the cross on the

but, as learned theologians of the Church of Rome have proved, none of them are to be considered as essential to valid ordination.[1]

It has been a subject of dispute whether consecration by one bishop is invalid: though uncanonical, it cannot be regarded as being null and void, and as such to be repeated. The well-known case of Evagrius proves this; though consecrated by one bishop only, Paulinus, the validity of his ordination was admitted both in the East and West. More than one ordaining bishop is required, and the sanction of neighbouring bishops, that proof may be afforded of unity and brotherhood with the bishop ordained; they virtually attest by their presence and consent to his consecration, his orthodoxy, and fitness for the office. It is also evident that by three consecrating bishops rather than one, the fullest assurance is given of the transmission of orders from an Apostolic origin.

In the *Apostolical Constitutions*, fifty is mentioned as the age for a bishop's ordination; in some churches thirty years, as being the age when our Lord began His ministry. But age was not deemed essential; exceptions were frequently made in cases of especial fitness; thus St. Athanasius is said to have been consecrated at the age of twenty-five.

BLASPHEMY. The general sense of *βλασφημία*, as evil speaking against any person, has been somewhat restricted in the ecclesiastical use of the word; and blasphemy must be understood to mean, primarily, words wilfully thought, spoken or written, to the dishonour of God. Several classes of such blasphemy may be pointed out, and though the subject is repulsive to a reverent mind, it cannot be passed over in a work like the present.

[1.] Blasphemy, then, may be by direct reviling of God. Illustrations of such a fearful crime are found in the words of Job's wife, "Curse God, and die" [Job ii. 9]; in those of whom St. James says, "Do not they blaspheme that worthy Name by the which ye are called?" [James ii. 7]; and in St. John's prophetic revelation of the wickedness which will accompany the last judgment, when some will blaspheme God and His Name in impenitent rage [Rev. xvi. 9, 11, 21].

[2.] It may also consist in wilfully and knowingly attributing to God qualities which He is incapable of possessing, such as injustice or mortality.

[3.] And, conversely, in wilfully and knowingly denying His proper attributes, such as justice, or love.

[4.] It may also consist in reviling or denying God's work, especially His spiritual work. Of this kind is "the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost" [Matt. xii. 31, 32]. To this sin belongs a guilt beyond that belonging to any other, our Lord declaring that it shall not be forgiven, "neither in this world, neither in the world to come." The particular instance of it which drew out this fearful revelation from Him was that of the Pharisees attributing His miracles to the power of Satan instead of the power of God. But even when visible miracles are not wrought, it is possible to make so near an approach to the same kind of blasphemy, that there may be great fear it is identical with it. Thus the Holy Ghost regenerates the soul in baptism, and confers the gifts of the ministry in ordination, and for any one to deny wilfully and knowingly that he or other baptized persons have been regenerated, or that the gift of the Holy Ghost has been bestowed on him or others by ordination, is certainly, in some degree, to commit this sin. It is so in a still higher degree when the work of the Holy Ghost is repudiated by act as well as by word, as by the iteration of baptism or of ordination. Wilful despair of salvation has also been considered by the best theologians as a sin of the same character, since there are no limits to the power, mercy, and love of God, except those set by the sinner himself.

[5.] Blasphemy against God may be also comprehended in evil speaking against His creatures, as against human beings, the holy angels, and even the fallen angels. This is illustrated by a passage in St. Jude, "Likewise these filthy dreamers speak evil of dignities [δόξας δὲ *βλασφημοῦσιν*]. But Michael, the archangel, when contending with the Devil . . . durst not bring against him a railing accusation" [οὐκ ἐτόλμησε *κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας*]. The force of

head for the benediction of the Holy Trinity, then follows imposition of the bishop's hands, and a prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit.

[1] Thus Drouven: "In eo namque ritu materia episcopatus posita est quem solum præscribit Scripturæ et traditionis auctoritas: atqui solum manuum impositio in episcopi ordinatione Scripturæ et traditionis auctoritate præscribitur. Non aliter a Græcis et Latinis olim episcoporum consecratio quam *χειροτονία* sive manuum impositio vocabatur: in hoc ergo ritu totam ordinationis materiam contineri, communis doctrina erat." [*De re Sacramentaria*, lib. viii. c. 8.]

Morinus also shews that the usages in the text are not essential. Let us take them in order—[1] putting the Gospel on the head and neck. The Fathers, he says, never speak of this usage as essential to episcopal ordination, but only of putting on hands [cum causam et rationem episcopatus alligant]. Again, he shews that this usage was not from the beginning in use in all churches, as in Alexandria, France, Spain, Italy, but was only gradually introduced. He thinks, therefore, that it is not *probable* that it is essential to valid ordination [admodum probabile mihi est ad ordinationis episcopalis substantiam non pertinere]. But Drouven uses more explicit and decisive language, clearly shewing that the usage is *not* essential. "The Apostles," as he says, "ordained bishops before the Gospels were written, and, afterwards, many ages elapsed before we hear of this usage; it is not even mentioned by Isidore of Spain [died A.D. 636], though he has carefully investigated and minutely describes the usages or ceremonies of episcopal ordination" [*De re Sacramentaria*, lib. viii. c. 8]. The unction of the bishop-elect, the same writer shews, is not mentioned in the Greek Euchology, and was never in use in the Eastern Church, and thus, as her rite of ordination is universally considered as valid by the Western Church, unction cannot be deemed essential even by Roman theologians. The custom of giving the Gospel into the hand of the bishop, and the pastoral staff and ring, also cannot be deemed indispensable to valid ordination, as being unknown for six or seven centuries, and also for another reason,—*before* they are given the person consecrated, hitherto called "elect," is termed bishop: he is thus considered duly ordained, previously to his receiving what we may call the insignia of his office.

which passage is, that if an archangel dared not to speak evil of the devil, how dare a man do so against angelic dignities, and thus blaspheme the majesty of God whose creatures and servants they are. Thus execrations, imprecations, and all kinds of "profane swearing" have the nature of blasphemy.

The law of England is very strict in defining this sin as a public crime; the Statute 9 & 10 Gulielm. III. c. 32, "an Act for the more effectual suppressing of Blasphemy and Profaneness," enacting penalties upon any who in "writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking" shall deny one of the Persons in the Holy Trinity to be God, shall maintain there are more gods than One, deny the truth of the Christian religion, or the Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures. [Stephens' *Ecc. Statutes*, i. 667.]

BLOOD. [I.] *Its sacred character.* From the beginning to the end of the Holy Scriptures there are indications that a sacred character belongs to blood, whether the blood of animals or of mankind. God speaks to Cain of Abel's blood crying to Him from the ground, and of the earth having opened to receive it [Gen. iv. 10, 11; cf. Heb. xii. 24]. In giving a law to mankind after the Deluge, there is a commandment against using the blood of animals for food, and one respecting murder and suicide, in which the blood of the person killed is that which God declares Himself to require at the hands of the slayer [Gen. ix. 4-6]. In the law given to the Jews, the law given to mankind at large was re-enacted, "Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people" [Lev. vii. 26, 27]. "No soul of you shall eat blood; . . . he shall even pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust" [Lev. xvii. 12, 13]. "Only be sure that thou eat not the blood: . . . thou shalt not eat it, thou shalt pour it upon the earth like water" [Deut. xii. 23, 24]. In much later times the force of this precept was still recognised as binding, and its transgression a sin [1 Sam. xiv. 32, 33] against which God declares His anger [Ezek. xxxiii. 25]. And even in the Christian Church, although the sacrifices of animals were discontinued, the precept respecting blood as an article of food was re-enacted, and made binding on Gentile Christians as well as on those who were of Jewish birth [Acts xv. 20, 29, xxi. 25]. That the precept was observed after all the earlier associations between Judaism and Christianity had passed away, is also shewn by the words of Tertullian, who refutes the charge made against the Christians of having human blood at their feasts, by declaring that they abstain even from the blood of animals, and hold unlawful the eating of "sausages made with blood." [Tertul. *Apologet.* ix.]

[II.] *Association of it with life.* This sacred character of blood appears to arise from an essential physiological relation between it and life and the soul. Thus in the Noachian precept respecting murder, the Divine expression is "Your blood of your lives," and respecting the flesh of animals, "the life thereof, which is the blood thereof" [Gen. ix. 4, 5]. Ages after, words of a similar import were emphatically spoken by God to the Jews, "For the life of the flesh is in the blood." "It is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof; . . . for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof" [Lev. xvii. 11, 14]. "The blood is the life, and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh" [Deut. xii. 23]. To which direct declarations of Divine Omniscience may be added the *usus loquendi* of Holy Scripture in respect to death, which is continually associated with the shedding of blood, and the pouring out of blood, as if the typical expression for the loss of life was the loss of blood: and also with the "pouring out of the soul," the "offering of the soul," and other similar expressions (especially in the LXX.), as if there was an identity between the soul and the blood, which is the life. This is the more striking, as there is never any such association between blood and *spirit*.

Although, therefore, it is not possible to assign a local *habitat* to animal life, we may reasonably suppose that as it is generally associated with the whole body of the living person, so it is particularly associated with the blood. Perhaps we may venture to adopt the expression that, as the body is the *shrine* of life, so the blood is its *vehicle*.

[III.] *The use of blood in sacrifice.* This subject is treated of under the article Atonement. It need only be repeated here that the Divine Word is very distinct on this point, "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul" [Lev. xvii. 11].

[IV.] *The Blood of our Lord.* But beyond such considerations as belong to blood in its relation to the life of animals and the salvation of man, it must also be remembered that it is especially associated with the redeeming and sanctifying work of our Lord.

a] For, in the first place, the shedding of the blood of Christ is the typical act which marks the offering up of His life as a propitiatory and redeeming sacrifice: "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood" [Rom. iii. 25]; "Having made peace by the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things to Himself" [Col. i. 20]; "In whom we have redemption through His blood" [Eph. i. 7; Col. i. 14]; "The Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood" [Acts xx. 28]. Nor is this view of the propitiatory effect of Christ's blood shedding restricted to the act; for that effect is clearly represented as continuous: "By His own blood He entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" [Heb. ix. 12]; and there He is seen as one "clothed with a vesture dipped in blood" [Rev. xix. 13], and is continually praised in the memorial hymn of His passion: "Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood" [Rev. v. 9].

b] In the second place, the blood of Christ is

Scripturally represented as having a present relation, as a *cleansing power*, to the spiritual nature of mankind: "How much more shall the blood of Christ . . . purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God" [Heb. ix. 14]; "Elect, according to the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ" [1 Pet. i. 2]; "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin" [1 John i. 7], even that blood, which, like His holy Body is transfigured by its union with Divine Personality, so that the robes of the saints may be washed therein, and "made white" by its all cleansing power [Rev. vii. 14].

c] And thirdly, the same blood of our Lord is set forth as having a present relation of *life-giving* power to the spiritual nature of mankind in all those passages which refer to His body and blood as the means of sacramental life: "This is My Blood," said our Lord, as well as "This is My Body" [Matt. xxvi. 28, &c.]. "The cup of blessing which we bless," said St. Paul, "is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ" [1 Cor. x. 16]. And our Lord, again, in His clear prophetic words, "Whoso eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood, hath eternal life: . . . for My Flesh is meat indeed, and My Blood is drink indeed" [John vi. 54, 55].

BODY, MYSTICAL. The union between Christ and Christians is of so real a nature, that the Church is called by St. Paul the Body of Christ—"for His Body's sake, which is the Church" [Col. i. 24]; "The Church, which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all" [Eph. i. 23]; "For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ" [Eph. iv. 12]; "Now ye are the Body of Christ, and members in particular" [1 Cor. xii. 27]; "For we are members of His Body, of His Flesh, and of His bones" [Eph. v. 30]. The truth of the Apostle's words, "This is a great mystery," is so self-evident, that it is customary in speaking of the Church as Christ's Body to call it His "*Mystical* Body," as being a state of union and co-existence between Christ and Christians, which is to be believed rather than explained. Nevertheless, the truth revealed in Holy Scripture and involved in this expression is that the spiritual life of Christians is the life of Christ. He is sacramentally communicated to and united with them, so that the Church is "the fulness," *i.e.* the complement "of Him that filleth all in all" [Chrysos. *in Eph.* i. 24]. Hence the Church is not only a congeries of material bodies and immaterial souls, it is also such a congeries united into one mystical Body by the extension to and penetration of all by the living and life-giving Christ.

BODY, NATURAL. The theological aspect of the human body, in its relation to sin and holiness, will be found in another article [Asceticism]. It is only necessary here to consider the theological aspect of its original and of its existing material condition.

[I.] *Its Creation.* The only knowledge which we possess respecting the creation of the human body is that which is derived from Holy Scripture. Scientific induction can carry the inquiry into its origin only as far as one or more protoplasts, and beyond that point we are dependent on revelation, the testimony of which is substantially contained in Gen. i. 26, 27; ii. 7, 21-23; v. 1, 2. These several passages tell us that God created man "in the image of God;" that He "formed man of the dust of the ground," causing him to become a living soul by breathing into his nostrils the breath of life; that He created human nature in two sexes; and that the first woman was formed from the substance of the first man.

From this account it is evident that the human body was not created out of nothing, but from a pre-existing substance. This is also re-stated in the subsequent words of God, "till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" [Gen. iii. 19]. Some further evidence to the same purport is also found in the book of Job, "Remember, I beseech Thee, that Thou hast made me as the clay; and wilt Thou bring me into dust again?" [Job x. 9]; and also by the reference of the prophet Jeremiah and St. Paul to the potter's work with clay when speaking of the creation of man by God [Jer. xviii. 6; Rom. ix. 20, 21]. We must not, however, look on such a mode of creation from any anthropomorphic point of view. The continuous processes of natural action are ever transforming inorganic substances into plants; but our Lord's will was enough instantaneously to transform the inorganic substance of water into the organic substance of wine. The first is an illustration of the intermediate process by which comminuted mineral matter is always being changed into bone, muscle, blood, &c.; the second, of that Divine force by which intermediate processes are overleaped and superseded, and the simplest forms of matter changed into the most complex. In the creation of the human body, then, we are not to imagine the Creator as one standing before a mass of clay and moulding it into a man; but with the eye of faith to regard Him as acting by His will upon the inert matter, so that it became at once an organized being, instead of by a long course of intermediate processes, and by assimilation.

It is to be observed, as regards the creation of the first woman, that it was of a more intermediate character than that of the first man. The substance of the woman's body was taken from the substance of the man's; and whereas life was conveyed to the body of man by a direct communication of it from God, it appears (from the absence of anything to that effect in the narrative) not to have been so conveyed to the body of woman, but by a derivation of it from the life given to man. Thus "the woman" seems to have been "of the man" [1 Cor. xi. 12] as entirely as the child is "of" its parents: the material substance and the life of the one organized living being coming from the material substance and life of another, instead of coming from the primal matter of the earth and the original Fountain of life.

[II.] *The Fall* influenced the body of man as well as his soul. It was originally created with

a capacity for immortality, which capacity was to become a possession and reality by its participation of some food spoken of as the "tree of life," and of which traditions survived even outside of Revelation, in the "ambrosia" and "nectar" of the Grecian mythology. It appears as if even the *capacity* for immortality was destroyed by the Fall; but whether this were so or not, it is certain that the *means* of immortality ceased to be within its reach, for man was no longer permitted to put forth his hand and take of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever [Gen. iii. 22], but was driven out from its neighbourhood, and prevented from returning thither by supernatural hindrances [Gen. iii. 24].

There was probably a loss of corporeal beauty and vigour consequent upon the Fall. "Thou shalt die" was a sentence that extended itself over the whole course of each man's life,—"dying, thou shalt die." For death is the climax of a more or less prolonged disorganization of the body, and disease is death in its more or less interrupted or unimpeded stages of disorganization: "As soon as we were born we began to draw to our end" [Wisd. v. 13]. Nor does it seem probable that so momentous a change in the final capacity of the body should be unaccompanied by any proximate change in beauty and vigour, even leaving out of the account that loss of the Image of God which may have involved the loss of a bodily perfection that was not again to be found until God Himself became Incarnate.

A degeneration of the natural body seems therefore to have been one inevitable result of the Fall of man, but no data exist by means of which we can form any estimate as to the extent to which such a degeneration took place. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the work of the Incarnation (which extends to the body so far, at least, as to give it capacities for holy living and for future resurrection) may have elevated our corporeal nature above the condition into which it was thus brought by the Fall, and in some measure have repaired the ensuing degeneration. But disease and death still maintain their hold over it, and perfection will be re-attained, not in the natural body which retains the capacity for dying, but in the SPIRITUAL BODY, to which the capacity for immortality will be restored.

BODY, SPIRITUAL. In 1 Cor. xv. 44, St. Paul writes respecting the external and organic part of our nature, that in death "it is sown a natural body," but that in the resurrection, "it is raised a spiritual body:" and he emphasizes his words by adding, "There is a natural body" [σῶμα ψυχικόν] "and there is a spiritual body" [σῶμα πνευματικόν]. The language of the chapter in which these words occur is very precise and the argument close and exact, and there is no room for imagining either that the expression "spiritual body" is rhetorical, or that it contains any real contradiction of terms. Taking it in its literal sense the emphatic declaration of the Apostle is an assertion that our nature will, in the resurrection, have something corresponding to its present external and organic body, but of a much more attenuated and spiritual substance. Angelic beings appear to have bodies of such a nature [ANGELS]: and the Body of our Lord appears to have undergone a change in its Resurrection which made it the archetype of risen human bodies. [RESURRECTION.]

It is evident that the organic nature of the human body is in a large degree adapted for a state of existence which there is every reason to think will not form part of future resurrection life. The functions connected with food, and with the reproduction of the species, are commonly, and with good reason, supposed to belong to this life only: and it is a reasonable corollary that the organic systems framed for the operation of those functions will either [1] form no part of the nature which does not any longer require them, or [2] be in an undeveloped condition analogous to that of rudimentary limbs in the lower animals. On the other hand, the functions connected with thought and expression of thought may be expected to be highly developed in a life, the intellectual sphere and capacities of which will be so much more expanded than those of the present life. And thus, without venturing further into speculation, it may not unreasonably be conjectured that the "spiritual body" will be a reproduction of such portions of our bodily nature as are associated with the operations of mind, as distinguished from those which are associated with the operations of matter. But the complete definition and distinction of these several portions is beyond the power of physiological science.

BREVIARY. The late English form of the Latin name given in continental countries to the book containing the daily services of the Church. The ancient Latin equivalent in the Church of England was PORTIFORIUM, which was translated by *Portuis* or *Portess*. The word Breviarium is of considerable antiquity, for it was in common use in the time of Micrologus, whose commentary on Divine Service was written about A.D. 1180. It is supposed to have been formed from *Breve Orarium*, and it may have been introduced when St. Benedict condensed and shortened the daily offices for his rule, that is, in the sixth century [Grancolas, p. 5, ed. 1734]. The Breviary is a collection of the Psalms, Lessons, Prayers and Hymns which form "the Hours," that is the daily offices of Divine Service as distinct from the Liturgy. There is a much greater variety of Breviaries than of Missals in the Western Church, but they are reducible to four principal classes, viz., the Roman, the Gallican, the Mozarabic, and the Anglican. There was formerly also a great variety of Monastic Breviaries, derived from that constructed for his order by St. Benedict. For detailed accounts of the various Breviaries the reader is referred to the volume on LITURGIES, which forms part of this series. The fullest and most satisfactory historical work on the Breviary is the *Commentarius Historicus in Romanum Breviarium* of Grancolas, printed in French in the year 1728, and in this Latin translation (probably by the original author) in A.D. 1734.

BRIEF. An official document issued by the Pope; and generally with reference to matters of temporary importance, rather than, as *Bulls*, for those of a permanent character. Briefs begin with the name of the Pope by whom they are issued, *e.g.*, "Pius Papa IX.," are signed by the Cardinal Secretary of State, and are dated from the *Nativity*. They are written in modern characters, on fine parchment; and are sealed with the Pope's signet-ring called the "Seal of the Fisherman," from its design, which is that of St. Peter drawing his net to land. [BULL. CHIROGRAPH.]

BRIEF, ROYAL. [ALMS.]

BUDDHISM. A system partly religious and philosophical, but mainly social and philanthropical, which emerged from the bosom of Indian Brahmanism, according to Chinese authorities, about B.C. 1000, according to Indian about B.C. 600.

[I.] *Antecedents.* In the fifteenth or sixteenth century B.C., the Brahmans, a branch of the white Aryans, migrated from the north-west into Hindustan, where they found a more numerous race of coloured and more barbarous aborigines. Amongst the immigrants the sacerdotal families, and the royal or noble class, were already distinct from the people at large; and the fixed position of inferiority in which the aborigines stood to the immigrants as a whole extended gradually in its measure to the inferior class of the latter. The result was the most rigid system of caste which the world has ever known: the priests and nobles forming a coalition to oppress the two inferior castes, with an inhumanity unparalleled in history. Intermarriage was forbidden, and the perpetuity of the caste distinctions carefully inculcated.

Parallel with the social inferiority of the two lower castes grew up a religious one. The polytheistic nature-worship of the Brahmans, in their original seats, gradually gave way, among the more educated classes, to an exceedingly vivid notion of one Infinite and Eternal Spirit, in comparison with whose perfections the individual life of man seemed mean and miserable. To be rid of personality, the form and condition of earthly existence, was thus the supreme object of desire. From the lower people, however, to whom life was (not merely theoretically) a scene of misery, this doctrine of a Supreme Spirit, in whom the individual might look to lose himself and find rest, was carefully concealed: they still believed in the gods and demons, and in an endless series of states of existence through which the soul was continually migrating.

[II.] *Buddha's reform* mainly consisted 1, in a slight modification of the doctrine of absorption; 2, in the extension to all the people of that which had hitherto been the monopoly of the instructed; and 3, in a philanthropical revolution founded upon the principle of the equality of all men.

a] *His life* falls into four periods. Born of a royal family in the east of Hindustan, he lived for the first twenty-nine years in the luxury and magnificence of his father's court. At the end of that time he "awakened" (Buddha = "the awakened") to the transitoriness and unreality of earthly existence, and went forth as a beggar to study in the schools of the Brahman priests. Dissatisfied with their doctrines, he withdrew into the forests for seven years to meditate, at the end of which he began a life of preaching, mortification, and philanthropy, which continued for forty-eight years, until his death in B.C. 543.

b] The *doctrine of Buddha* is a development of the following four principles:—1, Every kind of existence is transitory and painful; 2, all existence is the result of passion in some previous form of existence; therefore 3, the extinction of passion is the one means to escape from existence and from the misery which is inseparable from it; hence 4, all obstacles to this extinction of existence must be eliminated.

By existence is meant that separation from the general Being of the world which is involved in individual life and in the opposition of the subject which thinks, and the object which is thought about; by extinction of existence is meant, not so much annihilation, as the becoming one with Nature, in which that form of consciousness which separates subject and object is done away. This extinction Buddha called "the blowing out of the lamp" (*Nirvâna*), which does not necessarily imply the annihilation of consciousness altogether, but only of a finite form of consciousness, which may be as the light of a lamp to the light of day. Of God he does not seem to have spoken, nor to have identified Nirvâna with the Brahmanic absorption into the Divine essence. Of the gods of the people he says that they are, like men, subject to the law of Metempsychosis, or transmigration through an endless series of states of existence, and are therefore unworthy to be worshipped, because they are unable to deliver. Hence it would be incorrect to call Buddha either a theist or an atheist: he simply describes a state of absolute repose as an escape from the popular Metempsychosis, which is susceptible either of a theistic or an atheistic interpretation, but which he did not himself refer in any way to the idea of God.

This Nirvâna may be attained by all. "As there is no difference between the body of a prince and that of a beggar, so there is none between their spirits. Every man alike is capable of coming to a knowledge of the truth, and to work out his own emancipation, if he but *will* to do so."

The means to this are the extinction of passion, the surrender of the dearest wishes, of property, of the barest necessities, even of life itself, for the sake of others.

All hindrances to this end, which each would try to remove from his own way, he must try to remove from the path of others. Of these the principal are the laws, rites, and institutions of Brahmanism. Secondly, no Buddhist may do harm to another, by which his attainment of perfection may be hindered. Kindness, compassion, gentleness, pity, love, toleration are to be shewn by Buddhists, not only to each other but to all. Thirdly, the planting of trees, digging of wells,

the building of public places of shelter and rest, and the general amelioration of the life of the people, complete the simple code of ethics.

c] *His institutions.* The practice of philanthropy, however, will not by itself lead to Nirvâna: whilst the higher asceticism is unattainable by the majority of men. This led Buddha to divide his community into two orders, the laity, who practised the former, and who, although not escaping the fate of Metempsychosis, might hope to attain some higher state of existence, in which the practice of asceticism would be more possible; and the clergy, who applied themselves wholly to working out their own emancipation, supported by alms and the contributions of the laity. The clerical order was open to all, even to women who were strong enough to practise the necessary mortifications; and from it any might recede who felt themselves too weak. The principal duties of the clergy were public preaching, open confession before the community, and the cenobitic life. In the course of time an ascending scale of degrees in perfection gave rise to an elaborate hierarchy culminating (in Thibet) in a kind of pope, the Grand Lama.

[III.] *The spread of Buddhism* was remarkably rapid. The nucleus of the community, which was destined to supplant the Brahmanic system of caste, was composed of persons from the lowest of the people, "the weary and heavy laden;" this was soon joined by some of the priests, glad to be relieved from the painful study of the Vedas, and by several members of the noble and royal caste, who seized the opportunity of relieving themselves from the oppressive tutelage of the priests. The new doctrine seems to have spread first—

a] *In the north-west of Hindustan,* where Brahmanism had never taken deep root. Crossing the border, it found favour with the descendants of Alexander and the Greek populations; through them it passed on to Alexandria, where it exercised an important influence upon the growth of Neo-Platonic philosophy. It left its mark, too, on Manichæism and some of the Gnostic schools.

b] *In Hindustan generally* about the third century B.C. This is known from the stone-inscriptions of King Piyadasi, which are found in the east, north and middle of the country, and which contain the chief rules of Buddhist morals. It began to decline about the seventh century A.D., and was soon driven, with fire and sword, out of the country in the eighth. A remnant, however, is still found in the south-west.

c] *In Ceylon* it took root very early; and the Cingalese sacred books are some of the most reliable authorities for the early history of the movement.

d] *In Inner Asia, China and Thibet,* Buddhism spread in the second century B.C., where it attained its most perfect hierarchical development in the eighth and ninth A.D.

From China it penetrated to *Japan,* from Ceylon (probably) into *Burmah* and *Siam, Java* and the *Indian Archipelago,* though at what date is uncertain. At present it forms the almost exclusive religion of between one-fifth and one-fourth of the whole human race.

[IV.] *Collateral Effects.* 1. As a kind of reformation, it reacted upon the old Brahmanic religion, which soon purified itself of human sacrifice and the more barbarous parts of its ceremonial; many obscenities of custom disappeared; and the old Polytheism partly gave way before a modification of the doctrine of the One Infinite Being. The festival of Juggernaut, during which all distinction of caste ceases, and Buddhist symbols are used, marks the necessity which the Brahmans were under of retaining some relics of Buddhism, as they were of classing Buddha himself among the Avatars of their god Vishnu. 2. Buddhism may be said to be the parent of Indian architecture, which, though based at first on Greek models, soon assumed a character of its own, as is seen in the enormous temples, especially the celebrated one on the west coast of India. Reverence for their founder, too, developed an historical sense and accuracy, which, *e.g.,* in the Cingalese historians, compares very favourably with that of the Brahmans. 3. The effect of the new religion upon the Mongols was that of turning into mild and peaceable people one of the most bloodthirsty races of Asia.

[V.] *Deterioration.* The utter absence of any other object of worship, and the reverence for his work of emancipation, soon led to the worship of Buddha himself, and to the obscuration of his name by an overgrowth of miracles and legends. The same causes led to the veneration of his relics; and the erection of reliquary towers is supposed by some to have given the first idea of church towers to Christian art.

[VI.] *Points of contact with Christianity.* The absence of any theological element in Buddhism distinguishes it *toto cælo* from Christianity. But there are many external points of similarity which a well-prepared missionary might turn to account. Like Christianity, Buddhism stood in opposition to a law and ceremonial which had become a hard taskmaster; like Christianity, too, it afforded a relief to the "weary and heavy laden," by calling away the mind to the spiritual world, and, on the other hand, by the doctrine of the brotherhood of all classes and nations of men. The philanthropy of the one is very like that of the other; and the moral ideal, gentleness, meekness, long-suffering, compassion, love, is common to both. A Roman Catholic missionary would also find analogies in the monastic orders, the celibacy and tonsure of the clergy, the use of rosaries, the veneration of relics, &c. It might also be possible for one well-versed in the Pauline method of evangelization [Acts xvii. 23] so to interpret both the doctrine of Nirvâna and the cultus of Buddha as to be able to build them up gradually into the Christian faith. [Consult Weber's *Indische Studien, Skizzen und Seifen;* Max Müller's *Chips,* &c., i. 9 and 10; St. Hilaire, *Le Bouddha.*]

BULL. The highest kind of official and authoritative document which is issued by the Pope. The name is derived from the "BULLA," or leaden

seal with which the document is authenticated. This is struck from a double die, which is kept in great secrecy at the Camellaria, and is attached to the document by a cord of hemp (or of silk in more important cases) in the manner in which seals were always attached in mediæval times. Bulls are engrossed on strong rough parchment, and always begin with the formula "[Pius IX.] Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, ad futuram," or "ad perpetuam rei memoriam." They are signed by the functionaries of the Papal Chancery, and are dated from the *Incarnation.* [CHIROGRAPH. BRIEF.]

BURIAL OF THE DEAD. In all nations, and from the earliest times, the burial of the dead has been attended with importance. On political as well as theological grounds this has been necessary. The interment of the body in the ground is the most ancient and most general, but not the universal practice. The cave of Machpelah is the first instance named of a special place for burial [Gen. xxiii. 4-9]. As this cave was purchased by Abraham for himself and his descendants, so it became a special direction with the dying patriarchs that they should be buried there. The solemn funeral of Jacob [Gen. l.] was conducted after the Egyptian manner. The body of Joseph also was embalmed and put in a coffin. The spicery and balm and myrrh carried by the Ishmaelites into Egypt was used for these embalmings. The place of burial was held sacred, and the graves of illustrious men or of dear friends were selected by the living as the scene of their own burial [1 Kings xiii. 31]. The passages in the Old Testament which have been thought to shew that the Jews occasionally burned dead bodies appear to refer only to the burning of spices on the bodies [1 Sam. xxxi. 12; 2 Chron. xvi. 14, xxi. 19; Jer. xxxiv. 5]. Nor has the rite of burning the dead ever been practised among Christians. The attempted revival of the practice in France, towards the end of the last century, met with little favour. The care bestowed by the ancient Jews on funereal rites shews the belief in a future resurrection, and in the immortality of the soul. It was a pious work to bury the dead, even of the enemy [Tob. i. 17; 2 Kings ix. 34; Ezek. xxxix. 14, 15]. And an unseemly burial was regarded as a great disgrace [Jer. viii. 2; xxii. 19; Eccles. vi. 3; 2 Macc. v. 10]. Frequent reference occurs in Holy Scripture to the burial customs of the heathen around [Deut. xiv. 1; Ps. cvi. 28; Lev. xix. 27, 28; Jer. xvi. 6-8]. Hired women to mourn seem always to have attended Jewish funerals [Jer. ix. 17, 18; Amos v. 16]. In the time of our Saviour we find the use of spices continued [Matt. xxvi. 12; John xix. 40]; and from the instances of the widow's son at Nain, Lazarus, and our Lord Himself, we may gather that coffins were not used. The care and attention bestowed upon the dead by the early Christians did not escape the notice of their heathen persecutors. They attempted to aggravate the last hours of the martyrs by threatening them with dishonourable burial. In many cases this was intended to prevent the honour paid to their memory and the meetings around their tombs. But Diocletian and Maximian tolerated the burial of martyrs.[1] From the earliest times burial near martyrs was accounted honourable, and Christians had their cemeteries separate from the Gentiles.[2] Some heretics, when in power, refused burial to the Catholics.

At first the dead were buried anywhere. The Christians conformed to the Pagan laws regarding extramural interments.[3] Monuments were erected by the highway. Baronius names forty-three burial-places in the suburbs of Rome,[4] and gives a description of one discovered in his time [c. A.D. 1578]. In the fourth century, laws and rulers being alike Christian, martyria were erected over these burial-places. In general the extension of the boundaries of a city would by degrees include those κοιμητήρια which had been at first outside. Gradually interments were allowed inside a church. The first Council of Braga [A.D. 563], allows men to be buried in churchyards; the first concession was to kings and emperors, who might be buried in the porch; and laymen were expressly forbidden to be buried in church at the Council of Tribur [A.D. 811]. This was permitted at the Council of Mentz [A.D. 813].[5] The earliest mention of consecration of cemeteries is by Gregory of Tours [A.D. c. 570]. As soon as persecutions ceased the Christians used hymns and psalmody at their funerals, and from Chrysostom we learn some that were so used.[6] They were chosen to express joy and thanksgiving; not sorrow, as of men without hope. Burials were always by day; but lighted torches were used. Some funeral orations over eminent persons are still extant. Flowers also were strewn over the grave. Martyrs were buried in ecclesiastical vestments. There has never been any alteration in the custom of placing the body on its back, and with the feet to the east. We find very early evidence of a set body of men who made the proper conduct of funerals their special care [see also Acts v. 6, viii. 2]. The κοπιάται, laborantes, fossarii, were orders who undertook the whole care of funerals, and, from the poor, required no payment. They worked for their living. Fees for burials were regarded at first as a kind of simony, but the custom of accepting them is of ancient date. Pope Gregory attempted to suppress the custom.[7] An epitaph given by Baronius [A.D. 618] has the amount paid for the sepulchre named: "solidos vi. depositus." In the ninth century, some claimed

[1] Bar. 302, xxx.

[2] Cypr. Ep. 67: quoted Bar. iii. 258, 4. Cyprian accuses Martialis of having buried his sons among the Gentiles:—Quibus plane significatur, Christianos a Gentilibus sepulchra discreta habere solitos, nefasque fuisse se illis post obitum commiscere a quibus viventes abhorruissent.

[3] *Laws of the Twelve Tables,* Cic. de Legg. ii. 58; quoted by Bingham.

[4] Bar. 226, ix.

[5] Nullus mortuus infra ecclesiam sepeliatur, nisi episcopi, aut abbates, aut digni presbyteri, aut fideles laici.

[6] Ps. xvi. xxiii. lix. Chrys. *Hom.* 4.

[7] Noveris nos illicitam antiquam consuetudinem a nostra ecclesia omnino vetuisse, nec cuiquam assensum præbere ut loca humandi corporis pretio adipisci. Greg. 7, ep. 4.

hereditary rights of interment in France, after the example of the Patriarchs. The Council of Meaux [A.D. 845] forbade it. Leo III. was the first to sanction it [c. A.D. 1230]. Some of our reformers wished to abolish the custom as a corruption.

The solemn rites at burials have often been wholly suspended at times of great epidemics. And not only so, but the bodies themselves have been interred immediately in any convenient place. It was so at Rome, A.D. 746. It was so in England, in the seventeenth century.[1] Burial with solemnity was refused to catechumens dying in voluntary neglect of Holy Baptism; to suicides, "biathanati;" to the excommunicated; and to those executed for their crimes, who were regarded as contributing to their own deaths. A similar discipline in the Church of England forbids the rites of Christian burial to be used over "any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves."

Burial Offices have always partaken of a twofold character; first, a solemn committal of the body into the keeping of God; and, secondly, prayer and praise, in which the deceased is recognised as still a member of Christ's Church. With the first have been associated many minor customs, such as the use of incense, flowers, and holy water, the true object of which is that of symbolizing the quasi-consecration of the dead bodies of Christians as sacred to God. With the second, all that array of psalm, hymn, and anthem, by which are expressed not only the sadness of the mourner, but the faith both of the living and the departed that the grave and gate of death lead to the peace of Paradise and the glory of a joyful resurrection. Hence Christian burials have the nature of thanksgivings not less than that of sorrow; and the highest act of thanksgiving, the offering of the Holy Eucharist, is frequently used as part of the Office (if, indeed, the Burial Office is not essentially part of an Eucharistic one) in token of the relations which still exist between the departed and the living, the departed and Christ. Such offices were anciently used on other days as well as on the day of burial, the "month's-mind" and the "year's-mind" representing memorial services which were known even to the primitive Church. "Lay this body anywhere," said Monica to her son St. Augustine, "let not the care for that any way disquiet you; this only I request, that, wherever you are, you will remember me at the altar of the Lord" [Aug. *Conf.* ix. 11].

One of the superstitions of the Puritans was that of omitting all religious services at the burial of the dead, and some Protestant sects still lay their dead silently in unconsecrated ground. "They would have no minister to bury their dead, but the corpse to be brought to the grave, and there put in by the clerk, or some other honest neighbour, and so back again without any more ado" [Cosin's *Works*, v. 168]. Such a superstitious disuse of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, is well combated by Hooker, with whose words [*Ecc. Polit.* V. 75, iv.] this article may conclude: "But whatsoever the Jew's custom was before the days of our Saviour Christ, hath it once at any time been heard of, that either Church or Christian man of sound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, indecent, unfit for Christianity, till these miserable days, wherein, under the colour of removing superstitious abuses, the most effectual means both to testify and to strengthen true religion are plucked at, and in some places pulled up by the very roots? Take away this, which was ordained to shew at burials the peculiar hope of the Church of God concerning the dead, and in the manner of those dumb funerals, what one thing is there whereby the world may perceive we are Christian men?" [PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD. Greswell' *on the Burial Office*, 2 vols, 1836. Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer.*]

[1] At Eyam, in Derbyshire, where the plague was very severe, are still to be seen graves in the middle of a field far distant from the church. In the register of Peterborough parish church we find interments in very unusual places, as "the fenwash," "the wood grounds," "the pest-house," a "close," an "orchard," and sometimes in "their yard." This was in 1666. The letter "P" is often placed against plague burials in the registers.

C

CABBALA. The Cabbala, or mystical theosophy of Judaism, means "that which has been received," the term being derived from "cabal," to receive. It is the correlative of "masora," tradition, from "masar," to deliver. The Masora was freely delivered by the Rabbi to his pupils; the Cabbala was a "disciplina arcani," and the utmost reserve was to be observed in communicating a knowledge of it. It was received therefore by a few only who were termed Mekubbalim. This reserve may account for the otherwise strange fact that the existence of the Cabbala was generally unknown to the learned till the Middle Ages. Yet the Tr. Chagiga of the Talmud repeatedly notices some such system of apocryptic mysticism. A book "Jetsira" is mentioned in either Talmud; and a commentary on the existing work has come down to us from the tenth century. The Jetsira therefore, and in substance the Zohar, are probably intended where the Mishna lays it down that the history of Genesis may not be explained to two persons at once; the "Chariot," *i.e.* the throne of Ezekiel's vision, not even to one, unless he be a man of approved wisdom, to whom a summary of the chapters may be imparted [Chagiga, § 1]. Allusion is here made to the two most ancient Cabbalistic works, Genesis, or the history of the physical creation, and the "Chariot," or metaphysics and mystical theology. The first is the book known as the Jetsira, the compilation of which is ascribed to Rabbi Akiba, [A.D. 120], and the second is the Book Zohar, of which Rabbi Simon ben Jochai, of the same period, is the reputed author; Zohar meaning "brightness" [Dan. xii. 3]. Of Akiba it is said [Chagiga, § 2] that of four doctors who entered Paradise, *i.e.* gained an intimate knowledge of the Cabbala, one died for his temerity, a second lost his reason, a third "committed ravages in the plantations," *i.e.* became a rationalist; while Akiba alone entered in peace and came forth in safety.

It is said that Rabbi Hanina wrought miracles by means of the Book Jetsira, some form of which therefore existed in the reign of Trajan, when that Rabbi lived. More ancient Cabbalistic works were known to the compilers of the Talmud which have not come down to us, and which were written in the time of Herod the Great. The Jetsira also mentions more ancient Cabbalistic authorities. Like the Mishna it is divided into six sections.

Doubts have been raised with respect to the antiquity of the Zohar, the sequel of Jetsira, and the principal work of Cabbalistic authority. It comprises the greater Zohar, which, as a mystical commentary on the book Genesis, has but little in reference to the text; and the lesser Zohar, formed of the Sifra de Zeniutha, or Book of Mysteries; the Idra Rabba, or Great Assembly, in which Simon ben Jochai indoctrinates his ten disciples; and the Idra Sota, or Lesser Assembly, where the surviving seven are gathered around the deathbed of their instructor. There are also fifteen minor fragments, completing the number eighteen. The Zohar has been ascribed to Moses of Leon, a Spanish Jew of the thirteenth century. Variety of style however, and the disjointed character of its contents, shew that it has been the growth of ages. The language generally indicates the vernacular dialect of Palestine of the two first centuries, with more or less of Syriac colouring in particular portions. It is not written in the Arabized dialect of rabbinical literature, neither is it tinged with the Aristotelian philosophy of Islam. Altogether, internal evidence leads to the conclusion that it was compiled in the Tanaite period; probably, as already said, by Simon ben Jochai, A.D. 125, who embodied ancient Cabbala, which by subsequent interpolation have reached nearly two thousand pages octavo. Both the Jetsira and Zohar are alluded to by Maimonides [*Moreh Nev.*, pr.].

The Cabbala was of foreign growth. The Babylonian exile determined the intellectual as well as the religious bearings of the Jewish people. Seed was then cast upon the waters that may yet bear its crop in emancipation from spiritual bondage. Hillel's mode of dealing with precepts that had been rendered impossible by lapse of time and change of circumstances is capable of indefinite extension. [See HILLEL.] The Cabbala, as will be shown, supplied elements to Gnosticism in the second century; and it is only fair to suppose that the unsettled condition of Judaism at that period caused many Jews to join the Gnostic party, who afterwards became Christians. The theosophy of the Cabbala, as a corrective of Talmudism, served in the middle of the last century to bridge over the abyss that separates Judaism from Christianity; and some thousands of Jews passed over it as Zoharites to adopt the faith of Christ. The Cabbala contains many points of Trinitarian analogy, strange to the general spirit of Judaism, that may facilitate a yet more extensive transfer of allegiance at some

future date, that shall truly be as "life from the dead" [Rom. xi. 15].

The origin of the Cabbala has been satisfactorily traced back by Franck [*La Cabbale*, 353-390] to Babylon. It is therefore antecedent to Talmudism, with which however it has flowed on in parallel course; many of the most eminent doctors of the Talmud having been adepts at the same time in Cabbalistic lore. But there are points of antagonism between the religious constitutions of the former and the theosophy of the latter system. The anthropomorphism of the Old Testament often becomes downright irreverence in the Talmud. The Cabbala attempts a corrective of such views. As Pythagoras, deriving his principles from Babylon [Beausobre, *H. Manich.* i. 31; Franck, *La Cabbale*, p. 356], guarded against material notions of the Divine Substance by veiling it under arithmetical abstractions; so the Cabbalistic theology is based on a numerical system that can have nothing anthropomorphic about it. The units up to ten, and the twenty-two letters, each of which in Hebrew is a numerical symbol, form the thirty-two "marvellous tracts of wisdom" on which the Cabbala is built. This number of twenty-two may be observed to be composed of the mystical elements, $3 + 7 + 12$; *i.e.* the triad + (the triad + tetrad) + (the triad × tetrad). On the sum of thirty-two the Infinite "hath founded His Name," and by its virtue man has power to control and arrest the course of nature. The ten Sephiroth are as the fingers; five correlatives of five, and bound together by the mean of unity. Thus the properties of numbers, always curious, have a Divine relation in this system; words also whose letters sum equal products are mutual equivalents. Metatron, another name for the personified Wisdom of the Deity, and so called as being in closest union with the Supreme Throne [*μετὰ θρόνον*, Franck, 60], is identified [Sanh. 38 b.] with the Divine Name Shadai; the letters of either word summing by Gematria (*geometrice*) 314, which also numbers Ruach K., the Holy Spirit.

The words of the Law veil the inner meaning. The mystical doctrine is the living body, of which the text is the outer garment. The letter א occurring six times in the first and in the last verse of the Old Testament, shews that the world's duration will be six thousand years. The first word, B'reshith, sums 913, and the same number is found in "B'thorah yatsar," "by the Law He formed;" therefore the Law existed before all, and by it all things were created. The letters in the two first words of Genesis, B'reshith bara, sum 1116, therefore, since the same product is found in "B'rosh hashanah nibrâ" = "in the beginning of the year was created," the creation of the world dates from the autumnal equinox. A more remarkable exegesis of Gematria is the identification of "Shiloh" with the Messiah, since "Jabô Shiloh" [Gen. xlix. 10] and "Messiah" alike sum 358. The Absolute, Ein Soph, is numerically identical with. Aûr, light, both summing 207.

Again the letters had a mystical relation by the permutation termed Ath-Bash [את-בש], whereby the first and last letters of the alphabet are interchanged, the second and penultimate, the third and ante-penultimate, and so forth by regular progression till the middle terms are reached. The system is termed "Temura" or Permutation, and was doubtless invented as the means of carrying on secret correspondence in times of difficulty. The Targum makes use of it as an hermeneutical mean. Thus the name Sheshach [Jer. xxv. and li. 41] is rendered Babel, the second letter of the alphabet, Beth, replacing the penultimate Shin, and the two middle letters being interchanged according to rule. "The heart of them that rise up against me" [Leb Kami, Jer. li. 1] is resolved into "Chasdim," the Chaldæans, the exiled prophet not caring to speak out plainly. It is remarkable that Jerome received this latter interpretation from his rabbinical instructor [*Comm. in Jer.*], and Rashi knew no other meaning for the words.

It may be noted here that the Temura was adopted by the Gnostic Marcus, who identified the various portions of the human body in Aletheia with the elements of the alphabet. The head is *α* and *ω*, the neck *β* and *ψ*, &c. [Iren. i. 134, Ed. Cambr.]. Many such points of analogy between the Cabbala and Gnosticism may be seen in the Cod. Nazar. [Ed. Norberg.] By another Temura the alphabet is divided into two halves, the first being commutable with the twelfth letter, the second with the thirteenth, and so on. Thus Tabeel [Isa. vii. 6] is identified with Ramlâ, king of Israel. "Notarikon" was another Cabbalistic device, whereby a mystical meaning was obtained from the initial letters of words, as by a notary's abbreviations. So a metempsychosis of souls being a tenet of the Cabbala, since Adam is formed of the initials of Adam, David, Messiah, therefore the soul of Adam was transfused into David, and was destined to be the soul of the Messiah. The first word of Genesis denotes the entire material universe, as giving the initials of "He created the Firmament, the Earth, the Heaven, the Sea, the Abyss." Christians have copied this industrious trifling, and have found in the same word the initials of "Ben, Ruach, Ab, Sheloshah yechidah thamah," "Son, Spirit, Father; the three a perfect unity." Let it be observed, however, that the same mystical expansion is noted in the Idra Sota [c. 8], where "Binah," or understanding, the second of the Sephiroth, is identified by its component letters with "i," the masculine termination, "ah," feminine termination, and "Ben," *i.e.* "father, mother, and son." The spirit is always a feminine noun in Aramaic dialects. Hence it is the "prima fœmina" of Gnosticism. [See Note i. 223, Irenæus, Cambr. ed.] The initials of the words [Deut. xxx. 12] "who shall go up for us to heaven," give the Cabbalistic response, "Milah," circumcision. The word Maccabee seems to be doubly Cabbalistic. It is formed by "Notarikon" from the initials of "Mi Camoka Belohim Jehovah," "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?" By "Gematria" also it supplies a dynastic appellative for the Senate [2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27] or

Elders [1 Macc. i. 26, xii. 6, v. 16, xiv. 9], the Sanhedrim or governing body after the Captivity, which was a revival of the Seventy Elders [Num. xi. 25; compare 2 Chron. xix. 8-11], with the addition of a "Prince" President and "Father of the House of Judicature," or V. President; the representatives of Moses and Aaron [Talm. Sotah, 24, a]. The numerical value of the letters מכבי exactly sums this constituent body of seventy-two members. [SANHEDRIM.]

These matters, however, only touch the surface of the Cabbala. The Septuagint translators occasionally betray a knowledge of the Cabbala. Thus they evade the declaration of the Hebrew text that the elders saw the Supreme Being [Exod. xxiv. 9. 10], by saying they saw the place [τόπον, Makôm] of His appearance. The "train" of His robe [Isa. vi. 1] is rendered "His glory." If Moses spoke with the Eternal "face to face," the LXX. adds that it was ἐν εἴδει [Numb. xii. 8]. The Lord of Hosts, as having too close a resemblance to the Ἄρης of Greek mythology, becomes the Lord God of spiritual powers, δυνάμεων. The most remarkable Messianic prophecy in the Book of Psalms is made square with Cabbalistic principle, where the generation of the Word is described as antecedent to that of the heavenly bodies, ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησα σέ [Psa. cx. 3]. In speaking of the creation of man it is not said, according to the Hebrew original [Gen. i. 27], "male and female created he them," but αὐτον, "him;" in accordance with the "arrhenothele" character of the ideal man of the Cabbala. So the Talmud, "when the Almighty created the first Adam, he made him androgynous." The formation of the world is not spoken of as an act of "creation," but as a manifestation to the senses, κατάδειξις, the Cabbala being essentially pantheistic and teaching the Spinozist doctrine that unity is the universe, and the universe unity, "Eins ist alles; und Alles ist eins." Matter is no second principle.

Again, where the Hebrew text [Deut. xxxii. 8] says that Jehovah "set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel," the LXX. has "of the angels of God," and the variation is explained by the Cabbala, which makes seventy to be the number of the nations on earth, each stock having its tutelary angel, while the Lord Himself is the guardian of Israel, as the Son of Sirach says [Ecclus. xvii. 17]. This book throughout is largely indebted to the Cabbala, and more particularly in its personification of the Divine Wisdom as the first evolved of the Sephiroth, the Philonic Logos [xxiv. 3], personally present as Jehovah of old in the "cloudy pillar" [*ib.* 4]; the intermediate Will between the Supreme Being and the world of matter; the Supreme Being having evolved the Word, and the Word the visible creation. If inferences thus supplied may be followed, the starting-point of the Cabbala would seem to be somewhere antecedent to the LXX. translation, and to the time of the Son of Sirach. It had taken hold of the Jewish mind before the birth of our Lord. The Targum of Onkelos, in its avoidance of anthropomorphic statement, by substituting the Word for the impersonation of Jehovah; in its mysticism; and in its application of the Temura as a mean of exegesis, indicates Cabbalistic principle [Franck, 67]. The Jewish exorcists [Acts xix. 14], sons of Sceva, an high priest, practised in all probability the occult arts of the Cabbala.

Philo exhibits full traces of Cabbalistic principle [Franck, *Cabb.* iii. 3]. The Gnosticism of the two first centuries is only a theosophical development of it in the systems of Simon Magus [Hippol. *Philosophum*, vi. 18], Menander, Cerinthus, in answer to whom St. John wrote his Gospel [Hieron. *in Joh.*], Carpocrates, the Ophites [Hippol. *Phil.* v. 6, 7], and the Marcosians, the two latter being most evident plagiarisms from the Cabbala [Iren., lib. i.]. There are such strong points of resemblance between the Avesta and the Jewish Cabbala, as to confirm the opinion that the latter had its rise in Babylon during the Captivity; Zoroaster having been engaged in remodelling the Persian religion at Babylon during the last ten or twenty years of the exile [D'A. Duperron, *Vie de Zoroastre*, ii. 67]. And as the Zend resembles in its structure the Sanscrit, so the Zoroastrian notions themselves may be the reproductions of thought that grew up in the Punjab, or were imported thither from central Asia in the earliest days. [*Z. Av.*, Spiegel; D'Anquetil Duperron; Kleuken; Westergaard, Copenhagen.]

The Zoroastrian system supposed a first principle of "eternal duration" [Zeruane Akerene] or "boundless space" to have existed in neutral solitude, and to have contained within itself the germ of antagonizing principles, light and darkness. Ormuzd and Ahriman, light and shade, good and evil, were first evolved. Ormuzd, seated on a throne of primal light, and, as some sects said, in human form,[1] put forth the creative Word, Honover, whereby the worlds were made, and which was to the emanative source as soul is to body [*Zend Av.* ii. 138, 415, Duperron]. This Word is the mediator between the Absolute and created substance, emanating from the Eternal, containing within itself the source and type of all perfections, with power to reproduce them in other beings. It is spirit and it is body—spirit as being the very soul of Ormuzd, and body as manifesting to the senses the law and substance of the universe. Compare now the first creative impulse of the Cabbalistic theory. Here the first inscrutable Principle is the Ancient of Ancients, Mystery of Mysteries, the Indefinite, the Bythus of the Gnostic system, that can only be expressed by the interrogative "Mî," who? First, when the creative act was determined, Adam Cadmon came forth, the ideal form of man, created after the Divine image, the very substance of the ten attributes, or Sephiroth, from which the universe was evolved. As in the Persian system, he is all glorious with light; his robe is of dazzling whiteness; the pure rays for ever streaming from his head give light to 400,000 worlds, which he called into existence from his throne or "chariot"

[1] Hyde, *de Vet. Rel. Pers.* p. 298.

(Mercaba = δίφρος). Every day 13,000 new worlds spring into existence as emanations from his intelligence. That the idea of Infinity connecting him with the Ein Soph may be represented in the Creator of the material world, he is termed the Tall of Aspect, in length equal to 3,700,000 worlds. Thus the Cabbala, in its desire to correct the anthropomorphism of Jewish thought, has only created a more gigantic form of it. As in the Persian system Ormuzd shared in every Divine attribute, and was the source of the material world, so in the Cabbala Adam Cadmon embodied in himself all the Divine Sephiroth, numerations or attributes of the Supreme, and was the eternal source without which the worlds could never have been created. The Cabbala even says that many worlds had preceded our own, but as being antecedent to the A. Cadmon they could not subsist, and came to nothing. They were as the sparks that the smith strikes out from the hot iron—procosmic worlds, that could have no lasting subsistence, because the Ancient of Ancients had not yet clad Himself in form. The Master Workman was not yet at the anvil. This Adam Cadmon is the human impersonation of Aletheia in the Marcosian system of Gnosticism [Iren. ed. Cambr. i. 134]; also the Adamas of the Barbelonite [*ib.* 224], and of the Ophite [Hippol. *Philos.* v. 6-8, x. 9]. The creed both of the Cabbala and of its original is equally pantheistic. The Word is, in fact, the universe.

The cosmogony of the Cabbala is briefly as follows:—The ten first numerals symbolize the ideal universe, and the wisdom of which it is the reflex image. "The Sephiroth are ten only," the Cabbala says with marked precision, "and not nine; ten, and not eleven." The absolute is Zero, from whence unity is evolved as the creative spirit; the binary number is summed by unity, and the idea of all things to be hereafter brought into being. Three is water, four, fire; and the remaining six symbolize form, as the six faces of the cube—east, west, north, and south, zenith and nadir. All, however, is in the abstract as yet, representing creation "in posse." The ten first numerals thus express the form and substance of things, flowing forth perpetually from the throne of the Most High, and giving concrete expression to the ideal forms of Divine wisdom. But the efflux becomes despiritualized and gross in proportion to its distance from the first principle, till in matter it is as the sunken dregs of emanative substance. The results of creation are varied infinitely, as the words that express them are capable of infinite variation. The letters of the alphabet symbolize creation "in esse." The Absolute having willed, the act of creation became defined in ten attributes, or Sephiroth, numerations, affecting each other mutually, as rays of light, streaming through variously coloured crystal, interpenetrate each other, or as numerals may be made to enter into indefinite combinations. Collectively they represent the ideal form of the Deity, the Adam Cadmon as revealed to Ezekiel and Daniel in their prophetic visions. Hence the various elements of the Sephiroth are also compared with the parts of the human body, and were turned, as it was thought, to practical account in charming away local diseases and morbid affections. It may be added that whereas the notion of a Trinity in unity perpetually recurs in the Zohar, so here the human brain, consisting of two lobes with cerebellum, represents the Deity.

These Sephiroth, each of which is identified with one of the ten Scripture names of the Deity, are arranged in the following order:—

	1	
3	.	2
5	.	4
	6	
8	.	7
	9	
	10	

They are the "decem nomina mystica" to which Jerome refers [*Ep.* cxxxvi. *ad Marcell.*, and *Qu. Hebr. in Gen.*]

1. Named the Crown, the equivalent of Ehieh, [I AM]; also Arich Appayim, μακροπρόσωπος, Infinity personified: from whence the rest are evolved, viz.—2. Wisdom, Jah; and 3. Understanding, Jehovah. These three form the first Cabbalistic triad; and represented the seat of intelligence, the head in the human anatomy. Also, viewing man as a triple compound of spirit, soul, and vital power, it is as the spirit of man. The next triad is formed by 4. Mercy, El, and its antithesis, 5. Justice, Elohim, bound together in 6. Moral Beauty, Shaddai. This triad is as the upper body, and expresses the soul conscious of right and wrong. The lower or physical triad is, 7. Eternity, Jehovah Sabaôth, 8. Majesty, Elohê Sabaôth, and 9. Basement, El Chaî, co-ordinate with the lower man. The 10th. Sovereignty, Adonai, collects all the above in one, and expresses the ideal realization of the works of creation, as the "fire infolding itself" [Ezek. i. 4]; it represents also the vital energy of the soul of man.

These ten Sephiroth form the emanative world [Olam Atsiluth]; but still two other worlds are interposed between the Absolute and the material creation; the world of creation [B'riâh] *i.e.* of spiritual essence, called also the Throne, "out of the midst of the fire" [Ezek. *ibid.*] the Divine principle of which is named Sandalphon, συνάδελφος, the mundane soul or demiurge of other systems; the third world of natural powers and forces is under the superintendence of Metatron, and corresponds with the four living creatures of Ezekiel's vision. Either world is built up on the mystical decad, and through both of them the primal light shines with a broken beam in consequence of increased remoteness. The fourth, or material world, is represented by the wheels of Ezekiel's vision. It is the husk or shell of the world of spirits, the fuel of Divine light; for the Creator and His creation are compared to a burning lamp divisible into three distinct parts; the fuel or wick, the cone of darker light formed by imperfect combustion, and the tapering flame of white light of more ethereal character; yet all

these are combined in one. Like the preceding, it is the aggregate result of the ten Sephiroth, but the Divine light has almost become darkness; "it smoulders as a coal in which there is no longer fire." As in the Platonic theory, every thing that should ever exist stood eternally present in the Divine Intelligence in archetypal form; and the completely Gnostic notion is added that the lower world is made in likeness of the heavenly. All that exists in the upper world is reflected here below; yet ideal form and mundane substance are one. As counterparts of things Divine, the mundane Sephiric elements are—1. Tohu, without form; 2. Bohu, void; 3. Darkness; and 4-10 the seven portals of the senses—eyes, ears, nostrils and mouth; the angel of death, Sammael, being the presiding genius. Hence it is seen that the Cabbala neither teaches, with ancient philosophy, that the world was formed of pre-existent matter, nor with the Mosaic account, that it was created out of nothing. "Ex nihilo nihil" was essentially the creed of the Cabbalist; so Basilides declared that the non-existent world was created by the non-Existent [Hippolyt. *Phil.* x. 14]; for the Absolute and Infinite, abstracted and apart from every attribute, is to human intelligence as "nil." It was a Gnostic notion also that the Deity was non-existent, *μήδε ὅλως ὄντα τι.* [Iren. i. 108, Camb.] The zero from whence the Sephiroth are evolved is the Deity. The universe is the efflux of the Deity, as effect is the outward manifestation of cause. It is the mantle in which He clothes Himself; the visible glory wherein He is revealed, the Sephiroth being interposed between the Mystery of Mysteries and the visible creation. But subject, mean, and object are substantially one. The Supreme and His creation are at once number, numerant, and numbered [*Jetsira*, i.]; as Aristotle said, *ταυτὸ νοῦς καὶ νοητόν* [*Met.* xii. 7], and the Neo-Platonics and Plotinus, *οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ νοῦ τὰ νοητά.* Spinoza reproduced the Cabbalistic theory when he styled the Deity the "immanent Cause of the universe, indwelling, and one with the extended substance." [Wachter, *Spinos. in Jud.*] Before the evolution of the Sephiroth, "Ein Soph" was simply "Ein," negation; or, "Mi," who? Hegel has adopted the notion, "Dieses reine Seyn ist nun die reine Abstraction, damit das Absolut-Negativ, welches, gleichfalls unmittelbar genommen, das Nichts ist." [*Encycl. d. Sc. Phil.*, sec. 86, 87.] The interrogative "Mi?" by the act of creation, became Elohim, as it is written, "*Who* hath created *these things*" [Isa. xl. 26], the Hebrew equivalents for the italicized words giving the letters of Elohim. The Deity, therefore, is the negation of all that man can deem intelligible; and out of this relatively negative substance the world was evolved, the theory of the Zohar being pure Pantheism. Consistently with this it denies that evolved substance can ever be annihilated. The breath we exhale still exists; man's words, and his very voice continue their resonance. Death is only a return to the Divine principle from whence the soul is an efflux. It is "God's kiss," as it is beautifully said, whereby union is restored between the Supreme and His children.

There are many points of analogy in the psychology of the Cabbala and of the Persian system, as shewn in the ancient traditions of Persia [D'Anquetil Duperron, *Acad. d. Inscr.* xxxvii. 646-8.] According to the Cabbala, man belonging to the higher world of intelligence, and at the same time to the lower world of sense, is a type of the universe, and was named Microcosmus. For as the universe is one with the Deity, being an outward expression of the Divine substance, so body and soul form the individual Microcosm. Man made in the image of God, is in this respect the reflex image of the Adam Cadmon. The Divine similitude consists in the triple nature of his spiritual being; composed of the intellectual or dextral soul (Neshama); the soul morally sensible (Ruach); and the soul of vital energy or sinistral principle (Nephesh), that never can inherit Paradise. They emanate from the triad of central Sephiroth 1, 6, and 10, of which they are the terrestrial co-ordinates. In these Sephiroth every human soul has had its pre-existence; and in conjugate relation male and female, which relation is severed for awhile on birth, but restored by marriage. Similarly Philo speaks of the prototypal man as formed *κατ' εἰκόνα, ἰδέα τις, οὔτε ἄῤῥην οὔτε θῆλυ* [*π. τ. κοσμοπ.*] a notion, however, that he may have derived from Plato's androgyne [*Sympos.*]. The idea that is so often represented in funereal sculpture was an essential part of Cabbalistic psychology, and the individuality of each man, called by more modern Cabbalists, Echidah, in bodily form, eternally pre-existent, was supposed to be united with the first fœtal germ of humanity, and to impress upon it its definite form and character; which union was severed again under the hand of death. [*Zoh.* iii. 107.] The Brahminical notion of the penal character of life on earth was not unknown to the compiler of the Zohar, and the souls of men on being sent to animate human beings remonstrate with the Source of all, and represent the condition of misery to which they are about to be consigned apart from heaven. The idea is reproduced from the Zend Avesta, where the Ferouer, or ideal types of all intelligent beings, raise the same complaint, and are assured that it is their mission to destroy the seed of Ahriman, and inherit an eternity of joy. These Ferouer represent not only individuals but nations, like the tutelary angels of the Cabbala. The metensomatosis of souls, Gilgula [*Zohar*, pt. ii. fol. 99], was a part of the Cabbalistic creed, and marks another point of contact with Gnosticism; the same way of accounting for the apparent anomalies of Divine government having been adopted by Simon Magus [Iren. *Cambr. Ed.* i. p. 192]; Carpocrates, [*ib.* 207, note 4], and the Ophites, [240]. Empedocles, Pythagoras, and Plato obtained the notion apparently from the same Eastern source. Pindar also says that the soul can only be admitted to the isles of the blessed after three several states of probation have been passed [*Ol.* ii. 123]. And the idea was not

altogether rejected by the philosophical spirit in primitive times [*Hieronym. ad Demetr.*; Origen, π. ἀρχῶν, c. 7, *adv. Celsum*, iii.; Huet, *Origeniana.* Metempsychosis. Original Sin]. According to the Cabbala, when each soul has had its allotted trial, the restoration of all things will take place, and discord will be harmonized in the unity of the Divine Substance. The purification of every soul will in due time be accomplished; even Sammael, the Satan of Scripture, will regain his first estate. He "will lose," as it is stated, the first syllable of his name "Samma," venom, and the second syllable common to all angelic names alone will remain. The notion is Babylonian. Sammael is the counterpart of Ahriman, the Prince of Darkness. At the consummation of all things, Ahriman will accept the Avesta, and establish its authority among the lost. On the one side Ormuzd and the seven primary spirits, and on the other Ahriman, with a like number of his emissaries, will do sacrifice to the Absolute Zeruane Akerene [*Zend Av.* iii. 415]. Man, before the Fall, had a body composed "e principi limo," not of the vile earth of which we are formed. So the Gnostic Justin said that the angels of Elohim collected virgin earth for man's formation [Hippol. *Philos.* v. 26; Iren. i. 235, ed. Cantab.]. Adam, according to the Zohar, was liable to none of our wants, and moved by none of our desires, and he was endued with a super-angelic wisdom as with a robe of light, which he lost on the Fall, and he was then clothed with the skin of brute, that is, he was invested with our present body of sense. Cabbalists of later days have held that the souls of all mankind were bound up in the soul of Adam, and that our first parent's sin was the sin of the whole race. The first man's disobedience brought death into the world, affecting the whole of nature as well as the race of man. The freedom of will in fallen man is asserted; the pre-existence of souls and a foreknowledge of their destiny not involving the slightest tinge of predestination. The ethnology of the Cabbala is in substance that of the Avesta. In this latter system the earth is divided into seven districts, bounded by the waters poured forth from the beginning in seven rivers. The natives differ from each other generically, and in various degrees exhibit the deformities that illustrate the chronicles of the Middle Ages. In the Cabbala we trace the same theory; only these districts instead of being collateral are concentric, and are contained one within the other as the coats of a bulb. It expressly denies the unity of the race of man; for how should Adam have transferred himself to every region of the earth, so as to people it with human beings? [See Reuchlin, *Knorr Cabbala Denudata, Wachter Spinosismus in Judenthum*, Amst. 1699; Basnage, *H. d. Juifs*, vol. iii.; Brücker, *H. Cr. Ph.* ii.; Tennemann, *H. Ph.*; Kleuker, *Emanationslehre*, Riga, 1786; Tholuck, *de Ortu Cabbalæ*, 1837; Franck, *La Kabbale*, is of all the best; Freystadt, *Ph. Cabb.*, and papers in Fürst's *Orient.* vi. x. and xii.; Herzog, *Real Encyclop.* art. *Kabbala.*]

CALENDAR. [1.] A table of the order of days in the year. [2.] A catalogue of saints affixed to the days on which they are commemorated. The earliest of these ecclesiastical calendars can be traced back to almost primitive times, one of A.D. 336 being printed in Bouchier's *Commentary on the Paschal Cycle*, and another of the Church of Carthage, A.D. 483, in the *Anaʹlecta* of Mabillon. They are plainly derived from the Diptychs [*q. v.*], on which the names of the martyrs were recorded: and subsequent additions, such as the columns of Golden Numbers and Sunday Letters, have been made for the convenience of calculating ecclesiastical seasons. The Calendar of the English Church can be traced back to the eighth century, the time of the Venerable Bede [Martene, *Vet. Script.* vi. 635]. After receiving many additions (chiefly before the twelfth century), it was more or less tampered with by incompetent authorities between A.D. 1536 and A.D. 1561. At the last date it was brought into the condition in which it still exists, except that St. Alban, St. Enurchus, and the Venerable Bede were added to it in 1661. Blunt's *Annot. Book of Common Prayer* [pp. 36, 61] gives a full comparison of the old and modern English, the Roman, and the Eastern Calendars.

CALL. [Vocation.]

CALVINISM. A system so called from Calvin,[1] the Genevan Reformer [1509-1564], who revived, with modifications, the doctrine on Predestination which originated with St. Augustine in the fifth century, and was afterwards, though never authoritatively sanctioned in the Western Church,[2]

[1] The best modern account of the Reformer is given in Dyer's *Life* [*ed.* 1850]. The author avoids the indiscriminate adulation and mere hero-worship of biographers of the Genevan school, and also the unfairness and virulence of Roman Catholic writers.

[2] Shortly after the death of St. Augustine, St. Prosper and St. Hilary, the patrons of his novel theory on Predestination, appealed to Pope Celestine [A.D. 431], complaining that there were priests at Marseilles who publicly taught erroneous doctrines, which the bishops of Gaul had been remiss in visiting with due censure. The Pope, on being thus appealed to, merely confirmed the ecclesiastical decrees of his predecessors, and of the councils which had been held against the Pelagian heresy, but refused to pronounce an opinion on other abstruse questions (obviously referring to Predestination) which had arisen during the controversy. He says, "Profundiores vero difficilioresque partes incurrentium quæstionum, quas latius pertractarunt qui hæreticis resisterunt, sicut non audemus contemnere, ita non necesse habemus astruere" [*Epistola ad Galliarum Episcopos*, c. xiii.]. The novelty of St. Augustine's theory was proved from his unsuccessful attempts to reply to the objection "that it was contrary to the teaching of the Fathers and the belief of the Church." See his treatises *De Prædestinat. Sanctorum* and *De Dono Perseverantiæ* [*Opera*, tom. x. Migné]; also the letters of St. Prosper and St. Hilary to St. Augustine on the same subject [*Epistol. inter Augustinias*, ccxv. ccxxvi.], and St. Prosper's *Responsiones ad capitula calumniantium Gallorum* [St. August. tom. x. Appendix]. St. Augustine virtually acknowledges that his theory was not of primitive origin, or the received and catholic teaching of the Church. Thus he admits that before the Pelagian controversy he had taught another and totally opposed doctrine, but that afterwards, by his researches, he had discovered in Scripture the true meaning of election, "Nondum diligentius quæsiveram,

held to some extent at least, and especially by the Schoolmen, (as St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance), in the Middle Ages.

The teaching of Calvin on Predestination may be summed up in what are called the FIVE POINTS, a name given to the peculiarities of his system. These are:—Election (and non-election or reprobation); redemption; the bondage of the will; grace; final perseverance. His teaching on these subjects will appear from a statement of his theory on Predestination. He maintained that God not only foresaw, but from eternity decreed the fall of Adam and the total corruption of his posterity by sin;[1] all from birth inherit his fallen nature with its hereditary bond of sin and guilt, and are in a state of utter alienation from God; freewill to Godward is totally lost; man in his natural state can do nothing but sin, and that continually.[2] God is pleased, for wise reasons inscrutable to ourselves and independent of the foreseen merits of the objects of His mercy, to elect some from the fallen race to salvation.[3] They are made willing by His grace, which is irresistible or necessarily effectual, to obey the Gospel call, are regenerated by His Spirit, and live in holiness and obedience to His will, and cannot finally fall from a state of grace. The rest of mankind God predestines to eternal destruction, not on account of foreseen sin, though it may aggravate their doom, but in fulfilment of His sovereign purpose or decree.[4] He leaves them in their fallen state without effectual grace, deprived of which they must necessarily perish, as examples of His hatred against sin and for the manifestation of His glory.[5]

Calvin's theory thus asserts that man in his unregenerate state is deprived of free will, and that God's grace bestowed upon the elect is irresistible, necessarily securing their salvation. His theory required him to add that Christ died for the elect only, since it was at least *prima facie* improbable that if God from eternity predestined the elect only to salvation, Christ should have shed His blood for all men. He admits, indeed, that in a certain sense Christ may be said to have died for all men,[6] but the saving benefits of His death he supposed by God's decree were limited to the elect only.

Such is the theory of Calvin—a revival, as before remarked, with certain modifications, of the Predestination theories of St. Augustine, whose works the Reformer frequently cites, and to whose authority he mainly appeals. In order to understand the Calvinistic theory, and to ascertain whether or in what degree it has primitive or patristic sanction, we must investigate this previous teaching of St. Augustine.

He undoubtedly taught the doctrines of election and reprobation revived by Calvin, though there was an important difference in their system. But St. Augustine did *not* teach that God had predestined or decreed the fall of Adam, and the consequent corruption and ruin of his posterity by sin, and thus he escapes the charge of making God the author of sin. The foundation of his system, like that of Calvin, rests on a theory of original sin—that all mankind became, on account of Adam's transgression, a mass of sin and perdition (massa perditionis), or, as he says, a condemned batch (conspersio damnata), and thus that all free will to good was extinct or annihilated.[7] To this "fallen mass," the posterity of Adam, the guilt and penalty of his transgression was conveyed by generation, and inseparably and inherently belonged; and from this hereditary bond of guilt and condemnation none could be delivered but by the grace of Christ,[8] which

nec adhuc inveneram qualis sit electio gratiæ de qua dicit Apostolus, Rom. xi. 5" [*De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, c. iii. sec. 7]. "St. Augustine's theory respecting original sin and grace never became the doctrine of the Church" [Moehler *on Symbolism*, vol. ii. p. 64, Robertson's transl.]. Dr. Dollinger also speaks of St. Augustine's views "on the necessity of sinning and the irresistible operations of Divine grace as not in perfect conformity with the tradition of the Church" [*Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 44, Cox's transl.].

[1] Nec absurdum videri debet quod dico: "Deum non modo primi hominis casum et in eo posterorum ruinam prævidisse, sed arbitrio quoque suo dispensasse" [*Inst.* lib. ii. c. 1, sec. 9].

[2] Thus he says of infants, "Imo tota eorum natura quoddam est peccati semen, . . . hæc perversitas nunquam in nobis cessat sed novos assidue fructus parit" [*Inst.* lib. ii. c. 1, sec. 8].

[3] A statement of Calvin's teaching on election and reprobation is given in *Instit.* lib. ii. c. 3, secs. 10, 11, lib. iii. c. 21. *Comment. in Rom.* c. ix. 11-23.

[4] "Si non possumus rationem assignare cur suos misericordia dignetur, nisi quoniam ita illi placet; neque etiam in aliis reprobandis aliud habebimus nisi ejus voluntatem" [*Inst.* lib. iii. c. 22, sec. 11]. "Quos ergo Deus præterit, reprobat, neque alia de causa, nisi quod ab hæreditate quam filiis suis prædestinat, illos vult excludere" [*Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 23, sec. 1]. Calvin admits, in a certain sense, that the eternal condemnation of the reprobate may be assigned to sin; but he truly adds, in accordance with his system, that their continuance in sin was really to be attributed to God's decree, by which effectual grace was withheld from them, which could *only* bring them to repentance and salvation. [See *Inst.* lib. iii. c. 24, sec. 14.]

[5] He thus speaks of the reprobate:—"Quos ergo in vitæ contumeliam et mortis exitium creavit ut iræ suæ organa forent et severitatis exempla; eos ut in finem suum perveniant, nunc audiendi verbi sui facultate privat, nunc ejus prædicatione magis excæcat et obstupefacit. . . . Ecce vocem ad eos dirigit sed ut magis obsurdescant: lucem accendit sed ut reddantur cæciores; doctrinam profert sed qua magis obstupescant; remedium adhibet sed ne sanentur. . . . Neque hoc quoque controverti potest, quos Deus illuminatos non vult, illis doctrinam suam ænigmatibus involutam tradere, ne quid inde proficiant, nisi ut in majorem hebetudinem tradantur" [*Inst.* lib. iii. c. 24, secs. 12, 13].

[6] Thus, in his *Commentary on* 1 *Tim.* ii. 6:—"Pro omnibus inquam orare Spiritus præcepit, quia unus noster Mediator omnes ad se admittat sicut morte sua omnes reconciliavit Patri." Elsewhere he allows the opinion of the Schoolmen that Christ died *sufficiently* for all men, but *effectually* for the elect only, though he denies that it is sanctioned or confirmed by the passage quoted in proof [1 John ii. 2]—"Sufficienter pro toto mundo passum esse Christum sed pro electis tantum efficaciter. Vulgo hæc solutio in scholis obtinuit. Ergo quamquam verum esse illud dictum fateor: nego tamen præsenti loco quadrare."

[7] See an account of St. Augustine's teaching on original sin by Wiggers: *Historical Presentation of Augustinism and Pelagianism*, p. 88, transl. by Emerson [1840].

[8] Quotquot enim ex hac stirpe gratia Dei liberantur, a damnatione utique liberantur qua jam tenentur obstricti: istos a reatu hereditario et proprio, illius Agni sanguis absolvit" [*De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, secs. 10, 11]. St. Augustine, as Wiggers shews, denied the universality

grace was given by the new birth in holy Baptism—all the baptized being by the sacrament regenerated—placed in a state of grace and salvation.

He further taught that God from eternity predestined a certain number from man's fallen race to salvation—a number not to be increased or lessened[1]—not from a foresight of faith and obedience, but merely according to His own good pleasure and sovereign will,[2] and that He predestined the rest of mankind to destruction as belonging to the fallen race of Adam (euntibus omnibus ex uno in condemnationem), and if of adult age, in punishment also for their own sins.[3] God, as was said, according to his theory, gave to *all* the baptized (*i.e.* to the elect and non-elect) the gifts of regeneration, and some of the non-elect at least lived for a time in holiness and obedience to His will. But there was another gift which St. Augustine believed was absolutely necessary for salvation which was denied to the non-elect—the gift of perseverance (donum perseverantiæ). Deprived of this they would inevitably fall from baptismal grace, and perish in sin.[4] Thus no one, according to this theory, and as St. Augustine also expressly taught, could assuredly know whether he belonged to the number of the predestinate. He might really for a time live in holiness and obedience to God's will, and afterwards finally fall from grace—not being by God's decree predestined to salvation, and being thus deprived of the gift of perseverance. Calvin differed from St. Augustine on this point. He thought that the elect, from the testimony of God's Spirit, and the fruits of His work, a life of holy obedience, might be assured of their salvation[5]—that is, that they might have a modified but not an absolute assurance, since he admitted that the signs of grace were *often* deceptive; and he draws a characteristic picture of the horrors which beset the man who doubts of his election.[6]

Thus, *the* especial difference between Augustinism and Calvinism was, that according to the former system, God was not in any degree chargeable with the sin of Adam and of his posterity. The other important difference related to the grace of Holy Baptism, St. Augustine believing in the real bestowal of *sacramental* grace, or that all the baptized in and through baptism were regenerated. Calvin did not believe that grace in any real sense was bestowed on the non-elect. If given at all, it is represented as the shadow, rather than the substance of a Divine gift;[7] or a deceptive, or illusive grace intended to render them inexcusable. Effectual grace leading to salvation (he really recognised no other) was given only to the elect: hence he limits the grace of regeneration or adoption to the elect amongst the baptized.[8]

When Calvin proposed his theory of election, he fully acknowledged its fearful and terrible nature,[9] that God should have predestined the fall of Adam and its awful consequence of eternal death to the greater part of his posterity, who by God's decree were predestined to eternal perdition. This doctrine is not only a very fearful one, but it is opposed to some portions of Holy Scripture, as, *e.g.*, God's willing the salvation of all men (πάντας θέλει σωθῆναι) [1 Tim. ii. 4], and to the doctrine of universal redemption, or what might fairly, or would usually at least, be inferred from this doctrine; and also to the fact that this condemnation of the wicked is never assigned to a Divine decree, but to their wilful refusal of the offers of grace and salvation (as in Acts xiii. 46). [Election.] Whatever may be said of the doctrine of election, or God's choosing a portion of man's lost race to salvation, the decree of reprobation must certainly seem

of redemption: "God sent His Son into the world not to redeem the whole sinful race of man, but only the elect. By this Mediator God shewed that *those* whom He redeems by His blood He makes from being evil to be eternally good" [*De Correp. et Grat.* sec. 11]. The following passage is peculiarly clear, and is taken from the first book *On Adulterous Marriages* [c. 15], a work written about the year A.D. 419, and not directed against the Pelagians: "Every one that has been redeemed by the blood of Christ is a man, though not every one that is a man has been redeemed by the blood of Christ." Hence the words in John x. 26, "Ye believe not, because ye are not of My sheep," according to Hom. xlviii. on John's Gospel, mean as much as this, "Ye believe not because ye are not bought for eternal life by My blood." "No one perishes of those for whom Christ died" [*Epist.* 169, c. 1]. Nay, according to his theory Augustine would have no mediator between God and the human race, but only a mediator between God and the elect: "Christ redeemed the sinners who were to be justified" (justificandos peccatores) [*De Trinitate*, lib. iv. c. 13: Wiggers, pp. 254, 255].

[1] "Hæc de his loquor qui prædestinati sunt in regnum Dei, quorum ita certus est numerus, ut nec addatur illis quisquam, nec minuatur ex eis" [*De Correptione et Gratia*, c. 13].

[2] "Cur autem istum potius quam illum liberet—inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus et investigabiles viæ ejus" [Rom. xi. 35]. [*De Prædestinatione Sanct.* c. 8. See also *de Civitate*, lib. xiv. c. 26.]

[3] *De Correp. et Grat.* c. xiii. et Tract. xlviii. *in Joannis Evangel.*: "*non estis ex ovibus meis*" [c. x. 26]. "Quomodo ergo istis dixit *non estis est ovibus meis*—quia videbat eos ad sempiternum interitum prædestinatos, non ad vitam æternam sui sanguinis pretio comparatos. '*Pater meus quod dedit mihi majus est omnibus*' [ver. 29]. Quid potest lupus, quid potest fur et latro? Non perdunt nisi ad interitum prædestinatos."

[4] Mirandum est quidem, multumque mirandum quod filiis suis quibusdam quos Deus regeneravit in Christo, quibus fidem spem, dilectionem dedit non dat perseverantiam? [*De Cor. et Grat.* c. viii. sec. 18]. "Ex duobus autem piis, cur huic donetur perseverantia usque ad finem, et huic non donetur inscrutabiliora sunt judicia Dei" [*De Dono Perseverantiæ*, c. ix.].

[5] In his *Antidote to the Council of Trent*, see Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 135, 136 [Calvin. Soc. transl.].

[6] *Inst.* lib. iii. c. 24, sec. 4.

[7] Dominus ut magis convictos et inexcusabiles reddat insinuat in eorum (reproborum) mentes quatenus sine adoptionis spiritu gustari potest ejus bonitas. . . . Reprobi nunquam sensum gratiæ nisi confusum percipiunt, ut umbram potius apprehendunt quam solidum corpus . . . nec vero nego quin hucusque eorum mentes irradiet Deus, ut ejus gratiam agnoscant; sed sensum illorum a peculiari testimento quod reddit suis electis ita distinguit ut ad solidum effectum et fruitionem non perveniunt. [*Inst.* lib. iii. c. 2, sec. 11.]

[8] Multi signum recipiunt qui tamen gratiæ non fiunt participes; quia signum omnibus est commune, hoc est bonis indifferenter et malis; Spiritus autem non nisi electis confertur, atque signum ut diximus sine Spiritu est inefficax. [*Com. in Ephes.* v. 26.]

[9] Horribile decretum fateor [*Inst.* lib. iii. c. 23, sec. 7]

to an unbiassed mind contrary to the meaning of many portions of Scripture, compelling us to understand them in a forced and unnatural sense; and it is also inconsistent with the character of our heavenly Father there revealed.

This was clearly perceived when the Predestinarian theory was first introduced; the objections against St. Augustine's theory were chiefly based on its contrariety to the doctrine of universal redemption, and of God's "willing" the salvation of all men. After Calvin's revival of the Augustinian theory, similar objections were soon proposed, and some of his followers attempted so to preach election, as to deny the corresponding doctrine of non-election or reprobation. This attempt was most strenuously opposed by the Reformer. "Many," he says, "so preach election as to deny that any is reprobated, but very ignorantly and childishly (nimis inscite et pueriliter), since election itself would not stand unless opposed to reprobation."[1]

The attempt to separate these dogmas, so emphatically condemned by Calvin, has also been made in modern times, and may be said to characterize the form of Calvinism known as semi-Calvinism. Now that the doctrine of Calvinistic election may *in a certain sense* be held, without admitting a corresponding decree of reprobation, is unquestionable. A theory has been proposed, which is termed (from a well-known divine of the seventeenth century, with whom it originated) *Baxterianism*, which may be thus stated. Some persons, Baxter supposed in accordance with Calvin's theory, were elected by a Divine decree, without foresight of their character, to salvation; but upon all others to whom the Gospel was preached, "common grace" (that is as distinguished from effectual or saving grace, given to the elect only), was bestowed, which they might so far improve as at last to attain salvation. Thus, in their case, salvation was conditional, depending on their faithful use of grace. But the objections against this theory are manifest: that if men can be saved by their own free will with the assistance of God's ordinary grace, there would have been no need whatever of a decree of election for the salvation of any one; neither is it probable that God in the case of some persons would make the service of their own free will indispensable to salvation, and yet in the case of others supersede its need altogether by a decree of election.[2] Besides which is the fatal objection to this theory—the decree of Calvinistic election, is solely founded on the alleged fact, that man is by nature in a state of total corruption, destitute of free will, and *thus cannot be saved*, except by God's irresistible or necessarily effectual grace. Hence the Baxterian theory is impossible, and would manifestly be subversive of the Calvinistic system. It cannot, indeed, be held by any one who admits the first principles, the very foundation of Calvin's theory

[1] *Inst.* lib. iii. c. 23, sec. 1.

[2] Thus Calvin argues: "Fortuito alios adipisci, vel sua industria acquirere quod sola electio paucis confert, plus quam insulse dicetur." [*Ibid.*]

—his doctrine of original sin and the total corruption of human nature.

This theory is probably little known and has few supporters at the present day. Moderate or semi-Calvinists now as much as possible avoid the subject of reprobation altogether, or speak of it as preterition, *i.e.* being passed by or not elected to salvation, but as this means that the non-elect are left in their fallen state, in which, destitute of God's effectual grace, they *must* necessarily perish, the doctrine remains in the same state as before, with merely the change or *softening* of an obnoxious word: election and non-election are connected as before, and are equally inseparable. Hence the objections against the latter doctrine, which some Calvinists openly admit to be unscriptural;[3] while others, by keeping the doctrine as much as possible out of sight,[4] virtually shew that election itself, according to the Calvinistic theory, is untenable, or cannot consistently or scripturally be maintained.

An account may now be given of the history and progress of Calvinism. During the Reformer's life, his opinions were widely diffused throughout Europe. Some of the English Reformers,[5] and Somerset the Protector, during the reign of Edward VI., corresponded with him.[6]

[3] See Art. on Reprobation in Dr. Henderson's edition of Buck's *Theological Dictionary* [1833]. The writer says the word "reprobation" has been applied "to that decree or resolve which God is supposed to have taken from all eternity to punish sinners who shall die in impenitence, in which sense it is opposed to election. But the word is never used in this sense in Scripture, nor does the Scripture teach any such doctrine as that of a reprobatory decree, how clearly soever it refers us to this doctrine of election."

[4] Thus Scott in his reply to Bishop Tomline's *Refutation*—"But we find nowhere in Scripture so particular an account given concerning the non-elect (as concerning the elect). God would do them no wrong, but would not exert omnipotent power in new creating them to holiness, but determined to have them to walk in their own ways. It was a negative decree, a determination not effectually to interfere" [vol. ii. p. 159]. There is unquestionably, so far as we can perceive, *no* difference between Calvin's *positive* and Scott's *negative* decree. The doctrine of reprobation, as held by the two writers, is *really* though not *verbally* identical.

[5] The reader must not suppose from what is stated that the Reformers—those to whom this name is especially given in our Church (as Cranmer and Ridley)—adopted Calvin's views on Predestination, or that such views are reconcilable with the formularies of the English Church. The reformers mentioned held undoubtedly *a* view of Predestination, but, as will be shewn, it was not the Calvinistic tenet. It would be easy to prove from their writings, and the explicit teaching of the Prayer-Book which they compiled, that they held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration—that *all* infants by baptism are engrafted into the Church and made God's children by adoption and grace. Now this doctrine was not only expressly rejected by Calvin, but is *necessarily* inconsistent with his system, since he believed that to the elect only amongst the baptized was given the grace of regeneration or adoption. We cannot doubt, therefore, that Cranmer, Ridley, and probably others amongst the reformers, held the Augustinian view of predestination, which is fully reconcilable with the doctrine of baptismal grace.

[6] See *Letters of Calvin* translated by Bonnet [1857]. The following are quoted from the second volume:—To Protector Somerset [1548], to Lady Anne Seymour [1549], to Somerset [1550], to Edward VI. [1551], to Somerset [1551], two letters to Cranmer [1552], to Edward VI. and Cranmer [1553].

At the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the returned exiles, most of whom had embraced his opinions, were promoted to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical dignities, and Calvinistic teaching generally prevailed. A contemporary writer states that Calvin's *Institutes* were generally in the hands of the clergy, and might be considered their text-book of theology.[1] Towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign a reaction against Calvinistic doctrine took place, and sounder teaching on predestination and grace prevailed.[2] The Calvinistic system was chiefly disseminated in Scotland by Knox [A.D. 1559-1571], the friend of Calvin; and it soon became, as it is still, the established faith. "Calvinism," says a recent writer, "still more inimical to Rome than were the doctrines of Luther, had from Geneva, its centre and stronghold, spread itself in all directions in Western Europe. In the neighbouring provinces of Germany it had in a great degree supplanted Lutheranism, and it had even penetrated into Hungary and Poland; it was predominant in Scotland, and had leavened the doctrines of the English Church. In France it had divided the population into two hostile camps."[3]

But this rapid progress of Calvinism, as the same writer observes, was only temporary. After the Council of Trent and the moral reformation which ensued, the Church of Rome recovered a large portion of her lost ground. It would be absurd, *e.g.*, to speak of France in modern times, as divided into "two hostile camps," Catholic and Calvinistic. The Calvinistic party have long ago dwindled into a feeble and totally insignificant minority. Nor would the remarks of this writer respecting Austria in any degree hold good at the present day. On account of the prevalence of Lutheran and Calvinistic opinion, he says, "not one thirtieth of the population remained faithful to the Roman Church:" as regards the present population of Austria the Roman Catholics exceed in number Protestants of all denominations nearly in the proportion of ten and one.[4]

We have stated that predestinarian teaching originated with St. Augustine. For some unknown reason the controversy thence arising excited little attention in the East. The new theory had been indeed *virtually*, though not controversially, and in all its bearings, condemned by the teaching of the Greek Fathers, obviously irreconcilable with it.[5] In the seventeenth century the doctrine of the Eastern Church was fully and authoritatively declared; and the peculiar system of Calvin was expressly condemned as opposed to her belief from the earliest period. The following is a brief statement of the circumstances which led to this public confession. Cyrillus Lucaris, a native of Crete, having in his travels through Europe embraced Calvinistic opinions, whilst outwardly professing the orthodox creed of the Greek Church, was chosen the patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople. He then published a confession of faith, or one was published under his name, in which Calvinistic opinions were distinctly avowed; and the teaching of the Eastern Church on other points was represented as being in accordance with the Lutheran standard. On this confession becoming known, two synods were held at Constantinople in which Cyril was anathematized, and it is even said that he denied upon oath that he was the writer of the heretodox creed. His opinions were more fully examined in the Council of Jerusalem, held a few years afterwards [A.D. 1672], in which he is accused of the grossest dissimulation and wickedness. He had publicly taught, it is said, the orthodox views of the Greek Church whilst patriarch of Alexandria and Constantinople (which the Council clearly shews by extracts from his sermons), and then in a secret and insidious manner published a confession of faith, in which doctrines wholly contrary were maintained. His confession is, as the Council states, signed by none but himself, and could have no claim to authenticity, not having been transcribed into the public records of the Church, which ought to have been the case with his own confession of faith as patriarch. If published synodically, the signatures of the bishops and others present who sanctioned it would have been affixed. Any discussion respecting Cyril's life, history, or his cruel end (he was strangled on an accusation of treason) does not come within our consideration. His spurious confession was most emphatically repudiated by the Council, which set forth in opposition the teaching of the Eastern Church on the controversy. The Council indignantly denies that light and darkness, or Christ and Belial, have any more concord than the "heresiarch Calvin" and the Eastern Church. They condemn the Calvinistic system as calumniating God, who is the Father of all, as opposed to the teaching of Scripture, that man has free will, and is to receive the reward of his actions; as making God the author of sin; and as being partial in His dealings, preferring one to another, though He tells us that He "wills all men to be saved." It is added that free will is the most assured dogma of the Catholic Church, and the opinion of Calvin is condemned, that man is saved by faith alone without works.[6]

[1] Atque is liber [*Institutio Christianæ Religionis*] in tanto apud nostros hodie in Anglia novi Evangelii satrapas pretio est, ut vix quemquam ecclesiasticæ functioni proficiant, qui non hunc librum habeat et studiose evolvat. Copi [*scil.* Harpsfield], *Dialogi*, p. 824. Antwerp, 1566.

[2] Heylin's *Quinquarticular History*, part iii. c. 21, 22.

[3] Dyer's *History of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 392 [1861].

[4] In 1851 there were in round numbers in the Austrian empire twenty-five and a half millions of Roman Catholics, and of Greeks in union with Rome three and a half millions; the Protestants of all denominations being rather more than three millions [Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, i. 569].

[5] Cassian of Marseilles [A.D. 360-435], who introduced the Monastic system into the West, may be considered as embodying the theology of the Eastern Church in its bearing on Augustinian Predestination, being a disciple of St. Chrysostom, by whom he was ordained deacon. He shews, though uncontroversially, the *reality* of man's free will, the resistibility of Divine grace (though his views on the necessity of preventing grace are sometimes erroneous), and the universality of God's love to His creatures—in other words, indirectly refutes the newly devised dogmas of St. Augustine. [See *Ad Collatorem*, c. xiii. 11-18, *Opera*, 1722.]

[6] See *Decreta* iii. x. xiii. xiv. [Kimmel, *Libri Symbolici Orientalis Ecclesiæ*, Jenæ, 1843].

The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent may next be referred to [A.D. 1545-1563] in their bearing on this subject. The doctrine of Predestination was not formally considered by the Council, though Calvinistic opinions on the subject, as in the canons on justification, are condemned. The only direct reference to Predestination is contained in one of these canons: "That no one so long as he is in this mortal life ought so far to presume, as regards the secret mystery of Divine Predestination, as to determine for certain that he is in the number of the predestinate, as if it were true that he who is justified either cannot sin any more, or if he do sin, that he ought to promise himself an assured repentance; for, except by special revelation, it cannot be known whom God hath chosen unto Himself."[1] This is merely a repetition of the statement of St. Augustine; it undoubtedly implies that the predestinate cannot perish, but states nothing respecting the cause of Predestination, the real point of dispute. There were two parties at the Council of Trent, the Dominicans, who held the doctrine of St. Thomas, or Augustinian predestination; and others, as the Jesuits, an order recently formed by St. Ignatius Loyola [A.D. 1534], who believed that Divine grace was resistible, and that the cause of election was man's foreseen obedience and perseverance. Luther and Melanchthon at first held the doctrine of Predestination according to the rigorous theory of Calvin, but Melanchthon's views were soon modified,[2] and the doctrine of Predestination and grace, as finally developed, or held by the Lutheran body, was not deemed erroneous by the Council of Trent. Heylin says: "The Fathers there assembled found nothing in the Augsburg Confession, and other symbols of faith, worthy of blame."[3] The canons on justification, and the anathemas, were solely directed against the reformed or Calvinistic teaching.

At the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the controversy on Arminianism began, of which an account has been already given [ARMINIANISM]. The Arminians were condemned by the Council of Dort, which faithfully represents Calvin's teaching. Archbishop Whitgift attempted, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and of her successor, to impose nine Articles on the Church of England as an authoritative exposition of the Seventeenth, called "Lambeth Articles," from the name of the archiepiscopal palace, but the attempt was frustrated.[4]

We have alluded to the different opinions on Predestination held by the Fathers of the Council of Trent, which by the Council were left unsettled. A controversy was soon raised on the subject by Baius or Bajus, a professor of Louvain, who may be considered the precursor of Jansenius. Eighteen propositions taken from his lectures and writings were condemned by the Sorbonne [A.D. 1560]; afterwards Pius V. issued a bull [A.D. 1567] censuring seventy-six dogmas of Baius, which the writer was compelled to retract. His opinions afterwards were mainly adopted by the Jansenists. The controversy with the latter originated in a work written by Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, in the Netherlands, and published after his death, in 1640, under the title of *Augustinus*. In this work he proposes to state the doctrines of St. Augustine on the depravity of man, and the nature and influence of Divine grace; the doctrines which, according to Jansenius, St. Augustine delivered and taught in the name of the Church. The work soon after its publication was condemned by Pope Urban VIII. [A.D. 1642]; and afterwards by a bull of Innocent X. [A.D. 1653.] Five propositions were extracted from Jansenius' work, which were condemned in these words. The first proposition was: "That there are some commands of God which righteous and good men are absolutely unable to obey, though disposed to do it, and that God does not give them so much grace that they are able to observe them;" the bull says of this, "We declare it to be rash, impious, blasphemous, worthy of anathema and heretical, and as such we condemn it." The second proposition was that "no man in this corrupt state of nature *can* resist Divine grace operating upon the soul." The third proposition, that "in order to a man's being praise or blameworthy before God, he need not be exempt from *necessity*, but only from coercion." Of these two propositions, the bull says, "We declare them heretical, and as such condemn them." Of the fourth proposition: "that the semi-Pelagians erred greatly by supposing that the human will has the power both of admitting and of rejecting the operation of internal preventing grace;" the bull declares that "it is false and heretical, and as such we condemn it." The fifth proposition: "That whoever affirms that Jesus Christ made expiation by His sufferings and death for the sins of all mankind is a semi-Pelagian," is thus censured: "We declare it impious, blasphemous, contumacious and derogating from Divine love, and heretical, and as such we condemn it." [JANSENISTS.]

The several propositions condemned embody the main details of the Predestinarian theory, which is thus *implicitly* condemned by the papal bull, since it would be impossible to assent to the condemnation of the "five propositions," and still

[1] *Sessio*, vi. c. xiii.; see also c. xiii. on the "gift of perseverance." "Let no one herein (the Council says) promise himself anything as certain with an absolute certainty, though all to place and repose a most firm hope in God's help. For God, unless men be themselves wanting to His grace, *as He has begun the good work so will He perfect it, working* (in them) *to will and to accomplish.* Nevertheless, let those who *think themselves to stand, take heed lest they fall*," &c. [Waterworth's transl.]

[2] Comp. the original edition of *Loci Theologici* [A.D. 1521] with subsequent recensions of the same work. First, Melanchthon says, "Si ad prædestinationem referas humanam voluntatem, nec in externis, nec in internis operibus ulla est libertas, sed *eveniunt omnia juxta destinationem divinam.*" Afterwards this opinion was considerably modified in editions published during the lifetime of the author, and in his last recension was certainly rejected. See Augusti's reprint of the first edition of *Loci Theologici* [Leipsic, 1821], in which the alterations made in subsequent editions are given in an appendix.

[3] *Quinquarticular History*, c. 4.

[4] *Ibid.* part iii. c. 21.

to hold in their entirety either the Augustinian or the Calvinistic system.

Speaking generally of Calvinism, in modern times, it must be said to have usually developed into Arianism, Socinianism, or kindred heresies, as we may see from the present state of Geneva, its birthplace;[1] also from the prevalence of Socinianism in the old Puritan Churches established in the seventeenth century in America. In the disputes on Lady Hewley's charity, which occurred a few years ago, it was shewn that Presbyterian ministers in England had generally perverted the orthodox doctrines on the Holy Trinity, and taught Arianism or Socinianism. Calvinism at the present day is probably in its purest doctrinal state (that is, in nearest accordance with the teaching of its author) in the Presbyterian Establishment and the Free Church (so called) of Scotland. Their symbol of faith is still the Assembly's Catechism, which is essentially the same as that of the Synod of Dort, and represents the genuine teaching of Calvin.[2]

CALVINISTIC CONFESSIONS. The earliest of these documents was the Confession of Basle, or the Helvetic Confession. It was first composed A.D. 1530, and re-constructed A.D. 1536, and A.D. 1566. With the latter, Bullinger's name is epecially associated. The Tetrapolitan Confession was so named as being subscribed by the four cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, in 1531; and was probably composed by Bucer. The Gallican Confession was composed by Beza, and was presented to Charles IX. as that of the French Protestants, A.D. 1561. The Belgic Confession originated in the same year was approved by a Protestant Synod in 1579, and finally confirmed by the Synod of Dort, in 1619. The Scottish Confession was composed by the usurping "Assembly of Divines" at Westminster in 1647, and established in Scotland in 1690 by Act of Parliament. [Calvinism. Niemeyer's *Collect. Confess.*]

CANDLEMAS. An ancient name for the feast of the Purification, February 2. It perpetuates the memory of a very ancient custom, that of walking in procession, carrying tapers and singing hymns. This was probably the first festival set apart in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as it is referred to by St. Cyril of Alexandria, and is provided for by Collect, Epistle and Gospel in the Comes of St. Jerome, and the Sacramentary of St. Gregory. In the Eastern Church it is called the Hypapante of our Lord Jesus Christ, the *meeting* of our Lord with Simeon and Anna in the Temple being the event kept in view. It is placed at forty days' distance from Christmas, that being the interval ordained by the Jewish law between the birth of the child and the purification of the mother. The ceremony from which the popular name of the day was derived is spoken of in the Homilies of Alcuin [A.D. 790], and of St. Bernard [A.D. 1153], but is probably much more ancient than either.

CANON. A Greek term, κανών, for any *rule* or law passed by a conciliar assembly, for the regulation of doctrine or discipline in the Church Catholic, or in a particular branch of it. The word is used in a cognate sense several times in the New Testament, and the Apostolic epistle in Acts xv. 23-29 is practically a Canon. It is used in the decree of the Council of Nicæa [16, 17, 19], and the historian Socrates [A.D. 439] distinctly speaks of it as a term commonly received in its present meaning, when he writes, "Then the bishops assembled in synod, having drawn up in writing some documents which are commonly called Canons, returned to their respective sees" [Socrat. *Hist.* i. 13]. The Canons passed at the General Councils form a body of law for the whole Church. Those of some other Councils and Synods are almost as generally received; but the Canons passed by Provincial Synods are only binding on the particular province represented. [Convocation. Council. Synod.]

CANON. [Liturgy.]

CANON LAW. [Law.]

CANON OF SCRIPTURE. The Hebrew word קָנֶה, the Greek κανών, the Latin *canna*, are of the same stock, and signify *a measuring reed;* and hence, as used by Aristotle, a *testing rule* in Ethics. Among the Alexandrine grammarians, collections of the old Greek authors were called κανόνες, as being *models* of excellence, *classics.* Thus the word was ready for the use to which it has been from a very early date applied by the Church, viz., to denote the *rule* of faith and practice; and the Divine code of faith and practice is what is meant by the "Canon of Scripture."[3]

The Canon of the Old Testament, which was the only sacred collection of books in the hands of the first Christians, had been closed long before the birth of Christ, and as such was received from the Jewish by the Christian Church. On the testimony of the Jews, therefore, the Canon of the Old Testament rests.

Among the Jews, both of Palestine and of Egypt, there were to be found other writings which claimed to be the composition of the earlier Prophets. Such were the books of Wisdom (ascribed to Solomon) and of Baruch [cf. Jer.

[1] "Calvin died in 1564. The discipline of his Church can scarcely be said to have survived him. In the seventeenth century, Geneva was distinguished only by its open profession of infidelity, till at length the Trinity, the Atonement and the Incarnation of the Son of God were prohibited by authority as subjects of public instruction." [Barter's *Tracts*, p. 252, 1851.]

[2] There is probably a little difference on "Supralapsarianism," *i.e.*, whether God *decreed* the fall of Adam. Calvin, we have seen, asserted this dogma: it is only said in the Assembly's Catechism, c. vi., the sin of our first parents "God was pleased according to His wise and holy counsel to permit, having purposed to order it to His own glory."

[3] In St. Irenæus we find the expressions, "fundamentum et columna fidei nostræ" [*Hær.* iii. 1]; "regula veritatis" [iii. 11; iv. 35]. In Clement of Alexandria, εὐαγγελικῷ κανόνι [*Strom.* iii. ed. Sylb. p. 453]. In Eusebius, κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα [*H. E.* vi. 25]. The Council of Laodicea (held between A.D. 343 and 381) decreed in its celebrated canon:—"Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης [*Can.* 59, ap. Mansi, t. ii. p. 574].

Canon of Scripture

xxxvi.]; such pieces also as the story of Susannah [LXX. Dan. xiii.], the Epistle of Jeremiah [LXX. Baruch vi.], &c. To these latter writings the Jews of Palestine ascribed no value,—not even to those among them which were originally written in Hebrew (or Chaldee), such as Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees, but which have come to us only through a Greek translation, probably from the Jews of Egypt.[1] Although prized more highly by the Alexandrine Jews, there is no proof that they received these—the so-called Apocryphal books—into the Canon. Philo Judæus, who must have been well acquainted with them, never quotes them, although his references to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament are numerous [see *infra*].

The first Christians were acquainted with the Old Testament only (or for the most part) through the LXX. version, which, on the faith of the narrative as to its miraculous origin, was commonly held to be inspired.[2] It was soon perceived that the Word of God had been mingled with human additions in the collection which the so-called "Septuagint" version represented as the authentic composition of the writers of the Old Testament;[3] and accordingly, from a very early period, efforts were made to ascertain with accuracy what were those "oracles of God" of which the Jews alone were the Divinely-appointed guardians and witnesses [Rom. iii. 2]. One of the first attempts to settle this matter seems to have been caused by a question proposed by a certain Onesimus to his brother Melito, Bishop of Sardis [A.D. 170]. The reply of Melito, who had travelled to Palestine in order to obtain information, is preserved by Eusebius [*H. E.* iv. 26]; and the result of his investigations proves that the Jewish Church received as Canonical Scripture those Books only which the Anglican Church [Art. vi.] regards as the components of the Old Testament. The Jewish Canon is, in like manner, given us by Origen.[4]

The early notices of the Old Testament Canon are necessarily vague. Isaiah [xxxiv. 16] speaks of "the Book of the Lord;" Zechariah [vii. 12] refers to the Law and "the former prophets" as co-ordinate authorities; Daniel [ix. 2] appeals to "the books," and among them to "Jeremiah the Prophet," in a manner which seems to mark the prophetic writings as already collected into a volume. Popular belief—and there is every reason to accept it as accurate—has assigned to Ezra and the "Great Synagogue," the office of making this collection, as part of their divinely appointed task of organizing the Jewish Church.[5]

We read in 2 Macc. ii. 13, how Nehemiah "founding a *library* (*βιβλιοθήκην*, *i.e.* a *collection* of books) *gathered together* the acts of the Kings, and the Prophets, and of David." The writer had just stated that Jeremiah had preserved the Law; and here the remainder of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament are said to have been selected by Nehemiah from the different Jewish writings.[6] Passing from the Old Testament itself to the scanty remains of Hebrew literature, the most ancient reference to the Old Testament collection of writings, as a whole, is to be found in the prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus [circ. 130 B.C.], which makes mention of the division of the different Books into the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms [see article on the OLD TESTAMENT]. The works of Philo Judæus [A.D. 41] and of Josephus also afford important testimony. Philo's references to the Books of Moses are numerous; and, in addition to the Pentateuch, he expressly quotes Joshua, Samuel ("the Kings"), Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ezra, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Zechariah.[7] But the famous passage in the treatise of Josephus against Apion [i. 6-8] supplies the earliest *direct* evidence as to the entire Hebrew Canon. Having elsewhere quoted and applied almost every Book of the Old Testament, Josephus here counts up *twenty-two* Books in all, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. He specifies the *five* Books of Moses; *thirteen* of the "Prophets after Moses"—the *prophetic* history, as his view respecting the Book of Esther led him to suppose, continuing to Artaxerxes (? Longimanus)—[*i.e.* 1. Joshua; 2. Judges and Ruth; 3. 2 Books of Samuel; 4. 2 Books of Kings; 5. 2 Books of Chronicles; 6. Ezra and Nehemiah; 7. Esther; 8. Isaiah; 9. Jeremiah and Lamentations; 10. Ezekiel; 11. Daniel; 12. the twelve minor Prophets;[8] 13. Job]; and *four* "which contain hymns and directions for life" [*i.e.* Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon],—in all thirty-nine Books. The unvarying consent of the Jewish Church down to the present day upholds this conclusion.

[1] See *Prol. to Ecclus.* Also St. Jerome, *Præff. in Tob.; et ad l. Judith; Prolog. Galat.*

[2] According to the statement of Aristeas, repeated by Josephus [*Ant.* xii. 2], and much exaggerated by later writers [*e.g.*, Philo Judæus, *De Vita Mosis*], this translation was made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, at the instance of Demetrius Phalereus, by seventy-two learned Jews who were invited for the purpose from Palestine. Each, it was said, separately received the Books of Moses to render into Greek; and each of the seventy-two translators produced a version in all respects identical with each of the other versions [see H. Hody, *De Bibl. Text Originalibus*]. To this, translations of the other Books were from time to time added.

[3] See *e.g.*, the epistle addressed to Origen by Julius Africanus [A.D. 220], ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* vol. ii. p. 226.

[4] *Comm. in Ps.* i. This catalogue of the books of the Old Testament is repeated by Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 25.

[5] See Hävernick, *Einleitung*, i. 1, 39.

[6] The Canon of the Samaritans contains only the five Books of Moses.

[7] See a paper by Professor Lightfoot in *The Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, March 1856, p. 119; Lee *On Inspiration*, app. F. p. 480. Philo [*De Vit. Contempl.*] refers also to the Old Testament as a whole, where he too seems to mention the threefold division of its Books—*νόμους, καὶ λόγια θεοπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν, καὶ ὕμνους*—to which, however, he adds, *καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναύξονται.*

[8] According to the threefold division into "the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms" [OLD TESTAMENT], "the Prophets" were divided into (1) the *former* (ראשונים), viz., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings; and (2) the *later* (אחרונים), or those properly styled *Prophets*. The Books of this second division were again divided into "the great" (גדולים), viz., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel; and "the less" (קטנים), viz., the twelve minor Prophets—see De Wette, *Einleit.* s. 10.

Canon of Scripture

For the determination of the Canon of the New Testament, appeal may be made with confidence to the result expressed in the definition of St. Athanasius, as given in his famous "Festal" or "Paschal" epistle. He there enumerates the Canonical writings [κανονιζόμενα], viz. the *four* Gospels, the Acts, *fourteen* Pauline,[1] and *seven* Catholic Epistles, together with the Apocalypse. This was the decision of an age which was necessarily an age of criticism. It was the great object of the attack upon Christianity under Diocletian [A.D. 303] to effect the complete destruction of the writings which contained the doctrines of the Christian religion. "Give up your sacred Books or die" was the alternative proposed by the persecutor; and severe ecclesiastical censures were subsequently directed against those who had delivered up—the so-called *Traditores*—the Books of Scripture to the heathen. It became, consequently, an anxious question—"What are our sacred Books?" Thus the determination of the canon of Scripture was a matter of great practical moment; and Eusebius has carefully collected the doubts and the proofs which formed the materials of the discussion. According to the distinction which resulted from this inquiry, the Books of the New Testament were divided into ὁμολογούμενα ("universally acknowledged") and ἀντιλεγόμενα ("spoken against")—the latter class comprising *five* of the shorter Epistles, viz. 2 and 3 St. John, 2 St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, the Apocalypse, and the Epistle to the Hebrews.[2] The Church of Rome, as in the Old Testament so in the New, distinguishes between the Books which it styles "proto-canonici," and "deutero-canonici." The Anglican Church, in the case of the Old Testament, receives as authoritative and Canonical only the former class, regarding the "deutero-canonici" as apocryphal. In the case of the New Testament, the Anglican Church declares [Art. vi.]: "All the Books of the New Testament, *as they are commonly received*, we do receive, and account them Canonical." The Books styled "deutero-canonici" by the Church of Rome, are, as above, Hebrews, St. James, 2 and 3 St. John, 2 St. Peter, St. Jude, the Apocalypse; and also, to quote Perrone,[3] "[1] Posteriores versiculi cap. xvi. S. Marci, nempe a ver. 9 ad finem; [2] historia sudoris Christi sanguinei quæ legitur ap. S. Lucam, cap. xxii. 43, 44; [3] historia mulieris adulteræ, Joan. viii. 2-12." This distinction of the Books of the New Testament into "libri proto-canonici" and "deutero-canonici," Tholuck accepts on the part of the Lutherans—see his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews [*Einleitung*, chap. vi.].[4]

The earliest extant catalogue of the Books of the New Testament is preserved in a composition by an anonymous writer, apparently translated from Greek, and yet of Roman origin. This composition, which is mutilated at the beginning and at the end, was first published by Muratori in 1740, from a MS. preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Bunsen conjectures, with much probability, that Hegesippus [circ. A.D. 170] was the author. [See *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, i. 126.] The "Fragment" opens with the statement that St. Luke's is the *third*, and St. John's the *fourth* Gospel—the lost beginning doubtless mentioning those of St. Matthew and St. Mark. Of the rest of the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews, 2 St. Peter, and St. James alone are wanting: whether the lost conclusion mentioned these Epistles it is impossible to affirm. It is usually held that, even before any catalogue of the Canonical Books of the New Testament was put forth by the Church, a list was announced by the heretic Marcion of Pontus [circ. A.D. 140] which consisted of a Gospel—τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, (which, however, was but a mutilated recension of St. Luke), and *ten* Epistles of St. Paul—ὁ Ἀπόστολος; for Marcion rejected the three pastoral Epistles, and, as his system required, the Epistle to the Hebrews. Tischendorf pronounces the opinion that Marcion occupies "an important place in the history of the New Testament Canon" to be erroneous. [See his tract *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* s. 25.]

Equivalent to a catalogue of the Books of Scripture is an ancient translation. Such a translation we have in the Peshito, *i.e.* the *simple* or *faithful* version, as the Syriac is called. This, if not the oldest, is one of the oldest versions of both the Old and the New Testament. So early as A.D. 170 ὁ Σύρος is cited by Melito [Mill, *Proleg.* sec. 1239]; and this same version is read at the present day by the various Nestorian sects. The Peshito omits the Apocalypse, and *four* of the Catholic epistles, viz. 2 St. Peter, 2 and 3 St. John, and St. Jude.[5]

Of no less weight is the concurrent testimony of three writers, St. Irenæus, St. Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, who lived in different countries at the close of the second century, and who quote as Scripture the following Books—the *four* Gospels, the Acts, *thirteen* Epistles of St. Paul, 1 St. Peter, 1 St. John, and the Apocalypse. Here it is to be further noted—[1] that of St. Paul's *fourteen* epistles, St. Irenæus and Clement do not quote that to Philemon, although they were, doubtless, acquainted with it; [2] that it is the Epistle to the Hebrews which

[1] Thus ascribing the Epistle to the Hebrews to St. Paul.

[2] These latter Books, Eusebius distinctly states, were publicly read *in most of the churches* [ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις] like the rest of the New Testament; and he observes that the Apocalypse, if thought fit, [εἴγε φανείη] may be classed among the Books "universally acknowledged" [*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25]. He would also ascribe the Epistle to the Hebrews to St. Paul [see *H. E.* iii. 3; vi. 20], although he notices the doubts of some. Eusebius mentions another class of writings, which he styles νόθα, *e.g.* the "Acts of Paul," the "Revelation of Peter;" but he does not adhere consistently to the terms of this classification. On this confusion, see Hug, *Einleitung*, i. s. 80.

[3] *Prælect. Theol.* t. ii. pars 2, p. 12.

[4] The Greek Church adopts the Canon of St. Athanasius, thus agreeing with the Anglican Church throughout—see "The Larger Catechism of the Russian Church," translated by R. W. Blackmore, B.A.

[5] The "Philoxenian" Syriac contains all the New Testament except the Apocalypse. It takes its name from Xenaias or Philoxenus, Monophysite Bishop of Hierapolis, A.D. 488.

Tertullian excludes from the *fourteen* Pauline,[1] ascribing it to Barnabas [*De Pudic.* c. 20]; [3] that St. Irenæus [*Adv. Hær.* i. 16; iii. 16] quotes 2 St. John, 7, 8, 11; and that Clement also refers to it [*Strom.* ii. ed. Sylb. p. 389]—both 2 and 3 St. John being included in the "Fragment" of Muratori, and being mentioned by Origen and Dionysius Alex. [ap. Euseb. vi. 25; vii. 25]; [4] that Clement [*Strom.* iii. p. 431; *Pædag.* iii. 239] and Tertullian [*De Habitu fœm.* c. 3] quote the Epistle of St. Jude,—Origen also writing: "Petrus etiam *duabus* epistolarum suarum personat tubis, Jacobus quoque, et *Judas*" [*Hom.* vii. *in Jos.* ii.]; and, again, Ἰούδας ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν. . . . πεπληρωμένην τῶν τῆς οὐρανίου χάριτος ἐρωμένων λόγων [*in Matt.* iii. cf. *De Princip.* iii. 2]; [5] that the Epistle of St. James is quoted argumentatively by St. Clement of Rome [1 *ad Cor.* c. 10]; by St. Irenæus, [*Adv. Hær.* iv. 16]; by Origen, [*In Joann.* t. xix. 4]; [6] the early evidence for the authenticity of St. Jude's epistle has been given above; and in it St. Jude himself [17, 18] supplies evidence for 2 St. Peter, whose words he thus quotes: "But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they told you there should be mockers," &c., where 2 St. Peter iii. 3 is manifestly referred to: indeed the general resemblance of the two epistles is unquestionable. Origen (see [4]) quotes 2 St. Peter by name: "Et iterum Petrus dicet, *consortes* inquit, *facti estis Divinæ naturæ*" [2 Pet. i. 4]; *Hom.* iv. *in Levit. Opp.* t. ii. p. 200; so also in his *Comm. in Joann. Opp.* t. iv. p. 135. In the Apology addressed [circ. A.D. 170] to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus by Melito of Sardis, published in Syriac by Dr. Cureton, 2 St. Peter iii. 10-12 is referred to. [7] One of the many references to the Apocalypse by St. Irenæus is noteworthy:—He records that some of his contemporaries, who had themselves seen John, "the Lord's disciple," were wont to state with reference to a disputed reading [viz. the "number of the beast," chap. xiii.] that the number 666 was the true reading, adding that they were supported by trustworthy *and ancient* copies.[2] The doubts as to the Canonical authority of the Apocalypse, which Eusebius has mentioned, are to be traced to the controversial zeal of Dionysius of Alexandria, who imagined that he could refute the Millennarianism of Nepos of Arsinoe by denying that the Apostle John was the author,—his arguments being founded solely on *internal* evidence [Criticism]. A similar motive, as we learn from a work on heresy by Philastrius, Bishop of Brescia, led *in the West* to the doubts as to the Epistle to the Hebrews [*Hær.* 89]. By questioning the Pauline authorship, it was supposed that the Novatianists (as also the Montanists) would be more easily silenced when deprived of the support of Heb. vi. 4, 5, claimed by them, for their tenet that sin committed after baptism could not be forgiven.[3] [See the article on the Canon in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible;* and Tischendorf's Tract on the date of the composition of the Gospels, entitled *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* Leipsic, 1865, translated also by the Tract Society.]

CANONS, AMMONIAN or EUSEBIAN. In the third century Ammonius of Alexandria proposed to construct a scheme which should exhibit at a glance the corresponding passages of the Gospels. Taking St. Matthew's Gospel as his standard, he arranged in parallel columns the sections which corresponded with the other three. The so-called Ammonian Sections, 1165 in number (viz. 355 for St. Matthew, 236 for St. Mark, 342 for St. Luke, 232 for St. John), are generally supposed to have been devised by Ammonius for the carrying out his system of Gospel-harmony. This opinion is questioned by Bishop Lloyd [*Nov. Test.* Oxon. 1827, Mon. p. vii.]. With the same object Eusebius devised his Ten Canons, among which the Ammonian Sections are divided, and which he describes in his epistle *ad Carpianum.* The first Canon sets forth seventy-one places in which all the *four* Evangelists have a narrative, discourse, or saying in common. The second, third, and fourth Canons exhibit the places common to the Gospels taken *three* by *three.* The fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth Canons, the places common to the Gospels taken *two* by *two.* The tenth, the places peculiar to each Evangelist. Beneath each Ammonian Section, written in the margin of the MS., is set down in coloured ink the number of the Eusebian Canon to which it refers. On searching for that Ammonian Section in its table or Canon, the parallel place or places in the other Gospels will be found: *e.g.*, at St. John xv. 20, we find, $\frac{\overline{\text{ΡΛΘ}}}{\Gamma}$; where ΡΛΘ (139) is the Ammonian Section of St. John, and Γ (3) the number of the Eusebian Canon. Referring to the third Eusebian table, we read MT. ⸗ Λ. $\overline{\nu\eta}$ ΙΩ. ρλθ—*i.e.* the first clause of St. John xv. 20, has as its parallels the 90th (⸗) section of St. Matthew [x. 24], and the 58th ($\overline{\nu\eta}$) of St. Luke [vi. 40]. [See *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament,* by F. H. Scrivener, M.A., p. 53.]

CANONS, APOSTOLICAL. These most ancient canons of the Church were evidently compiled from various sources. Councils were held in the early ages, of which no acts have come down to us. The Paschal controversy, Judaizing tendencies, heretical baptism, lapse, and other questions, gave frequent scope for synodal action. Tertullian says that in Greece the Churches often assembled to take joint action in matters of grave import [*de Jejun.* 13]. The same was the custom

[1] That the Pauline authorship was maintained in the Eastern Churches, *to which the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed,* is proved by the decree of the Synod of Antioch [A.D. 264], where Heb. xi. 26 is, with 1 and 2 Cor., ascribed to St. Paul.

[2] πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις. *Adv. Hær.* v. 30.

[3] Tertullian writes (he held Barnabas to be the author): "Monens itaque discipulos omissis omnibus initiis, ad perfectionem magis tendere, nec rursus fundamenta pœnitentiæ jacere ab operibus mortuorum: impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel illuminati sunt," &c. [*De Pudicitia,* c. 20.]

in Cappadocia, as we learn from Firmilian's letter to Cyprian [*Ep.* lxxv. Ed. Ox. p. 219]; and in Africa [*Cyp. ad Fort.* Ep. lvi. p. 116]. The more important canons thus framed were collected together at an early date, and the third century had scarcely opened before canons termed "apostolical" were in existence. Scaliger, Hammond, Gunning, and Bishop Pearson [*V. Ign.* i. 4] refer the Ap. Canons to this period, and B. Beveridge [*Jud. Can. Apost. Coteler.* i. and *Can. Prim. Eccl. Vindic.*] has conclusively proved the correctness of this view. This collection was known by various names, as the "Apostolical and Ecclesiastical Canons," "Ancient Canons," "Apostolical Doctrines and Traditions." They first obtained their name, perhaps, not as claiming to have been drawn up by the Apostles, but as declaring the discipline of the Apostolical Church confronted with heresy, as compiled by Apostolical men, the incumbents of Apostolical sees, and as announcing the synodal decisions of the Church built upon the Apostolic faith. Two collections of Apostolical Canons appear to have existed, both connected with the name of Clement of Rome. A shorter body of fifty canons was translated by Dionysius Exiguus, for Stephen, Bishop of Salona, at the close of the fifth century, and placed by him at the head of a codex containing the canons of the two first general Councils, the Chalcedonian, Ancyran, Sardican, African Canons, and several others; shewing that these canons were of received authority, though Dionysius himself threw doubts upon their genuineness. A second collection was made half a century later by Johannes Scholasticus, before his advancement to the Patriarchate of Constantinople [A.D. 565]. It was enlarged by thirty-five additional canons, compiled from local and provincial Councils, and from the Apostolical Constitutions, to which work it has ever since been annexed as an appendix. Johannes Scholasticus declared that these eighty-five canons were found in earlier Greek collections. The Greek copy of which Dionysius made use was of a different family from the copy of Johannes Scholasticus. MSS. depart from the original text by slow degrees; and material variations in the context as well as number of these canons as they first stand forth in antiquity, shew that they are the product of very primitive times.

These canons bear the stamp of primitive antiquity, and they contain nothing that is inconsistent with Church usages of the second century. They were at length superseded by the canons of General Councils, and fell into desuetude. The few expressions that these canons contain, referring their origin to the Apostles, may have been easily interpolated. The concluding paragraph [Can. lxxxv.] which sets forth the canonical books of Scripture, is probably of the fourth century, and ascribes the entire work to the Apostles. The entire number of eighty-five canons has always been received as authoritative by the Eastern Church since their reception by the Trullan Council, A.D. 792. The Church of Rome treats all as apocryphal, even the first fifty canons [Cabassutius, *Not. Conc.* iv.]; but they mostly bear marks of primitive date, as Drey has shown [Drey, *Neue Untersuch*]. Dionysius himself eliminated the Apostolical Canons from a subsequent collection made after Pope Hormisdas had declared them to be apocryphal, "quos non admisit universitas, ego quoque in hoc opere prætermisi" [Bickell, *Gesch. d. Kirchenrechts*, 75]. Yet they still retained some authority in the Western Church, and Humbert, legate of Leo IX., declared, A.D. 1054, that the Apostolical Canons "numerantur inter apocrypha, exceptis capitulis quinquaginta." Gratian, moreover, gave them a place in the decretals, which obtained for them by degrees the force of law.

The existence of some such code may be traced in the writings of early Fathers. Tertullian says, "We are forbidden to consort with heretics," and he probably had in his mind C. Ap. xlv. and lxv., which in effect do forbid it. He speaks of synodal action in the Churches of Greece [*de Jejun.* 13], and Canon xxxvii. enjoins every Church to hold semestral councils. Firmilian [*Ep. ad Cypr.* A.D. 233] declares that these meetings were a matter of necessity [sec. iii.], clearly implying some authoritative decree that bound the Church in the way of duty. The only ante-Nicene decree on the subject is Ca. Ap. xxxvii. A letter, published first by Maffei, A.D. 1738, in a Latin translation, and to be found in Routh's *Rel. Sacr.* [iii. 381], contains a complaint of Hesychius and other Egyptian bishops, addressed to Meletius, A.D. 304, with respect to his ordination of priests in a foreign diocese; it was a practice "aliena a more divino et regula ecclesiastica," and Meletius, as they said, was well aware that it was a "law of their fathers and forefathers that no bishop should ordain in other dioceses." The only extant law to which reference could be made is the thirty-sixth Apostolical Canon. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, in his epistle to Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, complains of the breach of ancient Church canon law, when Arius and Achillas, deprived of communion by himself [Theod. *H.E.* i. 4], were admitted to communion by other bishops. As there is no other primitive canon in existence bearing upon this subject we cannot doubt but that he had in his mind Can. Ap. xii. xiii. xvi. xxxii. The Council of Nice, without introducing much new matter, gave full synodal authority to such of these ancient canons as it adopted. [Beveridge, *C. Prim. E. Jud.* i. 4]; compare Can. Nic. i. = A. xxi.-xxiii.; N. ii. = A. lxxx.; N. iii. = A. xviii.; N. iv. = A. i. xxxiv.; N. v. = A. xxxii. xxxvii.; N. viii. = A. xvii. xxxv. lxii.; N. xvi. = A. xv.; N. xvii. = A. xliv.; N. xix. = A. xlvi. xlvii. Such terms as the "ecclesiastical canon," Can. Nic. ii.; the "canon," v. xv.; the "dogmata of the Catholic and Apostolical Church" viii., referring to similar canons in the Apostolical collection, must be held to be a virtual citation of them.

Still more satisfactory evidence of the high authority of these Canons is supplied by the Council of Antioch [A.D. 341]. There is a close parallel between the canons of this Council and certain of the Apostolical Canons. Drey indeed

pronounces for the higher antiquity of the former [*N. Untersuch.*, 406]; Bickell adopts the same view [*Gesch. d. K. Rechts*, p. 79]. Beveridge says, with equal decision, "At vero Antiochenos ex Apostolicis non e contra traductos esse probe constat;" and the contemporary evidence that he adduces is very convincing. Hefele says that the Council of Antioch may have copied from the Apostolical Canons, and that the point cannot be considered to have been settled by Drey. [Doch ist die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass umgekehrt das Antiochenische Concil aus unseren canonen geschöpft hätte, und wir müssen darum diesen Punckt als noch nicht erledigt betrachten. *Concilien Gesch.* i. 772]. Throughout Hefele agrees with Beveridge, and considers that Synods of the fourth and fifth centuries that appealed to older Apostolical Canons had this collection in view. [*Ibid.*] The canons of the Council of Antioch, i.-xxv., form a close parallel with the Ap. C. vii.-xvi. xxviii.-xl.; only, as being of later date, they are expressed with less simplicity, and they make clear expressions that spoke doubtfully in the older collection. The substitution of "Metropolitan," Can. Ant. ix., for "Chief Bishop," Can. Ap. xxxiv., is a very significant proof of the priority of the latter in point of time. When this Council cites the "Ancient Canon," C. ix., and then sets down the exact words of Ap. C. xxxiv., it not only identifies this latter with the "Ancient Canon," but explains it by the synonymous term in the Nicene code. When George of Cappadocia, with the help of the secular power, usurped the see of Alexandria [A.D. 356], he thereby violated Can. Ap. xxix. xxx., and set at nought the "ecclesiastical decrees" [Athanas.]. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, by refusing translation to the more important see of Antioch, acted in accordance with the Can. Ap. xiv., which prohibits translation, and was complimented by the Emperor Constantine for his obedience to the "Apostolic and Ecclesiastical canon." Basil [*ad Amphil.* Can. iii.] says, that simple deposition, without excommunication, is sufficient punishment for certain clerical offences; "for it is the old rule," *i.e.* as laid down in Can. Ap. xxv. Again, he says [*ib.* Can. xii.], the "Canon" disqualifies for the ministry those who have been twice married, his precedent being Can. Ap. xvii. When Athanasius was driven from his see [A.D. 341], the Emperor placed in it Gregory, who, without having discharged any kind of ministerial office, was raised at once to the episcopate, and consecrated at Antioch to the see of Alexandria. It was an infraction of the two Ap. Can. xxxv., lxxx., and the proceeding was at once denounced by Julius, Bishop of Rome, as "uncanonical." A provincial council held at Constantinople [A.D. 394], in the matter of the disputed see of Bostra, declared that a bishop could only be deposed by his co-provincials, or by a synodical decree, "as the Apostolical canons have decided," *i.e.* Can. Ap. lxxiv. At about the same time a council held at Carthage under Aurelius, declared that the "ancient form" should be maintained, and that three bishops should be required for episcopal consecration [Can. Ap. i.].

The Emperor Theodosius the Younger, in a law passed against the Nestorians [A.D. 435], speaks with severity of Irenæus, who, having been twice married, had been raised to the episcopate, "the Apostolical Canon" [xvii.] notwithstanding. The Council of Ephesus referred to these canons [cf. Can. Eph. viii. with C. Ap. xxxiv. xxxv.] The Council of Chalcedon also in framing Can. xxii. had in view C. Ap. xl.

These Canons refer to the ordination of bishops, priests and deacons; clerical obedience; freedom from secular cares; simony, usury, nepotism; fasts and festivals; a married clergy is recognised, and bishops are allowed to devise their property by will for the sake of wife and family; a second marriage is a disqualification for holy orders; a bishop may not be translated, a priest may not seek any other preferment, nor court the patronage of the great; a bishop may only be deposed after three citations; the Sacraments shall be rightly administered and duly honoured, neither may any offering be made on the altar but that of the Holy Eucharist, and corn and grapes in their season. The primitive form of baptism with triple immersion is given, which may not be repeated, and heretical baptism is pronounced invalid. The schisms and heresies of primitive times are indicated in various canons, as also the custom from whence these canons took their rise, viz., the celebration of half-yearly synods, after Easter and in October. Excommunication may only be reversed by the bishop who inflicted it; the clergy may not encroach upon the cure of others, nor read unauthorized writings in their public ministration. A list of the Canonical Scriptures is appended, which adds three books of Maccabees to the Old Testament, and Ecclesiasticus is recommended for catechetical use. The Book of Revelation is omitted in the New Testament canon, which otherwise contains all our present books, with the addition of two Epistles of Clement and the eight books of Apostolical Constitutions. The words δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος are a probable interpolation, and the same may be said of ἡμῶν in καὶ αἱ Πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων. The Constitutions, however, must be read with reserve, διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά. This last canon is the latest in the collection, and may be referred to the middle of the fifth century, when the last thirty-five canons were probably added. The whole number was then added to the Apostolical Constitutions, from whence also much of their subject-matter was derived. In this position they were found by John Scholasticus a century later. Most of the Greek copies contain an injunction to the bishops to observe them, which concludes with a prayer, as found in Cotelerius [*Patr. Ap.*]. The Emperor Justinian mentions these canons as a code of laws "delivered by the Apostles to the Church, and always maintained and expounded by holy men." [*Nov.* vi. Beveridge, *Jud. de C. Ap.* Coteler, *Patr. Ap.* i.; *Canones Prim. Eccl. Vindicata.* Drey, *N. Untersuch.* Hefele, vol. i. *Ap*

pendix. Cabassutius, *Not. Concil.* iv. Pearson, *Vindic. Ignat.* iv. Fr. Ballerini in *Leonis Op. ed. Quesnel,* and *Migné Patrolog.*]

CANONIZATION is the judgment pronounced by the Church on the state of a faithful person dying in the odour of sanctity, who in his lifetime had displayed striking proofs of virtue by miracles or other means. When a Christian died an altar was erected over his grave, at which the Eucharist was offered, and this was the earliest form of canonization; but bishops were very strict in requiring proofs of the truth of a martyrdom. According to St. Augustine [*Collat. Brevic.* iii. 11], the acts were sent to the metropolitan or primate, who, with the advice of the suffragans of his province, decided on their authenticity, which was indispensable when heresy also claimed its heroes [Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 14, viii. 10]; St. Jerome [*Com. in Ps.* cxv.] alludes to the necessity of exactness in such investigations.

The word itself is derived from the custom of inserting the names of saints in the canon of the mass, before martyrologies were composed. In the Greek Church the names of bishops who had governed their dioceses well, and others of the faithful, were inscribed in the holy diptychs, and recited after the Irene [Dionys. *de Eccles. Hier.* ix. 24], and Bona [*Rer. Liturg.* l. ii. c. xii. n. 1], calls this a kind of beatification. No cultus is allowed by the Roman Church to be offered to saints without the permission of the Pope, after a ceremonial beatification or canonization. The rules for this were prescribed by John XV., and Pope Celestine III. required the most searching inquiry to be made into the virtues and miracles of saints; whilst Gregory IX. declared in his bull "Cùm dicat" that virtues without miracles, or miracles without virtues, were insufficient to constitute grounds for canonization. Urban VIII. prohibited any cultus of saints previous to beatification. Bellarmine states that St. Swibert, Bishop of Verden by Leo III. [see, however, *Acta Sanctorum,* March 1, i. 81], and St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble [d. 1132], by Innocent II. [Fontanini's *Codex,* p. 11], were the first persons canonized according to the mode and ceremonial now observed. The earliest direct application to a Pope for the canonization of a saint was made to Clement VIII. in the case of Raymond de Pennafort, who died in 1275.

It appears from notices in the history of St. Martin of Tours [*De Vita Martini, Sulpitius Severus,* num. xi.], and the works of Optatus of Milevi [*de Schism. Donat.* lib. i. c. 19], that honours were sometimes paid by individuals or towns to one not an accredited saint or martyr; just as in the fourteenth century the term was "non vindicatus," unrecognised. The cultus of confessors being a more recent designation than that of martyrs, and a condition more difficult of a proof beyond contest, and therefore more liable to illusion, was still more strictly guarded. The Council of Cologne, cited by Ivo of Chartres, forbade any public mark of veneration to new saints made by the popular voice until they had received the sanction of the diocesan; and the decision of the Church was supported by the emperors, as in the Capitulars of Charlemagne, A.D. 801. Festivals in honour of the saints were ordained by the bishops, relics were consigned to the veneration of the faithful, translation of their bodies was made or sanctioned, and at length the right, or rather sanction, of canonization for general observance after the diocesan had initiated the matter, was claimed by the Pope. The precise date cannot be ascertained previous to the tenth century; but in the Council of Lateran, A.D. 993, John XV. inserted amongst the saints' names that of Udalric, Bishop of Augsburg, at the entreaty of Luitolph, one of his successors. Yet even after that date a long list of saints remains, of men universally honoured, although their names were consecrated only by individual prelates, with permission of the metropolitan and within the limits of a single diocese. Alexander III., about the year 1170, is believed to have first formally claimed the reservation of the rite to the Roman See, and Pope Innocent III. confirmed this in a bull dated April 3, 1200, although it was not acknowledged until a much later date. The last canonization made without any intervention of the Pope was that of St. Gualtier of Pontoise by the Archbishop of Rouen, A.D. 1153. In early times canonization in a Council was required, as for Udalric, who died A.D. 973, by John XV.; as by the French bishops of the province at the Council of Vienne, A.D. 993, when they invited the canonization of St. Stephen of Die by the hands of Gregory IX.; in that of Lateran [Fontanini's *Codex,* p. 1], of St. Gerard of Toul, who died A.D. 994, by Leo IX. in the Council of Rome [*Ibid.* p. 5]; and of St. Sturmius, Abbot of Fulda, who died A.D. 779, by Pope Innocent II. in the second Council of Lateran [*Ibid.* p. 13]. A general consistory of all bishops present at Rome is now convened, but the Pope alone pronounces canonization. The honours of canonized saints are seven; their names are inserted in the Calendar, and recited in litanies; invocations are addressed to them; churches and altars are dedicated under their title; their festival, *i.e.* the anniversary of their death, is observed; their pictures are decorated with a nimbus—the Italian aureole; and their relics are exposed for veneration and carried in procession.

When any person is proposed for canonization by a sovereign, a country, or an order, [1] the Pope entrusts the preliminary examination to a certain number of bishops, who make a report of the popular devotion towards the reputed saint, and of his life and miracles. This process, if favourable, is transmitted to a committee of cardinals and auditors of the Rota, and if they are agreed, an orator gives a biographical sketch, and recommends canonization. The Pope then prescribes prayer and fasting and alms-deeds, and convenes the consistory; [2] the episcopal order record their votes; [3] a procession of the Pope and clergy is followed by [4] an entreaty for canonization; [5] the litany is said, the Pope kneeling; [6] the second entreaty follows, the Pope being seated on his throne; [7] the Pope and bishops,

unmitred, address themselves to private prayer; [8] the last entreaty is made, the Pope declares the new saint; [9] the cardinal deacon recites the name in the Confiteor; [10] the Pope gives the benediction, and [11] celebrates mass. At the offertory [12] two large candles, two loaves, two small barrels of wine, three basket cages containing a pair of turtle doves, doves, and singing birds, are offered. [13] The Pope pronounces a plenary absolution; and [14] a solemn procession with banners and chanting is made to a church prepared in honour of the new saint, where thanksgiving is made. The wax tapers, presented by two persons especially interested in the canonization, represent the light of the virtuous actions of the saint, and are placed in a candlestick; the bread, which is in one loaf gilt and in the other silvered, both ensigned with the papal arms, and carried by the gentlemen of a cardinal priest, represents that the saint's food was the imitation of his Master; the barrels of wine, gilt and silvered, carried by gentlemen of a cardinal deacon, typify sanctifying grace; the doves in their gilded cage represent sweetness; the turtles are the symbol of fidelity, and the other birds of heavenly contemplation. Gregory XVI. added the ceremonial of benediction from the balcony of the Vatican; the use of carpets with armorial bearings and standards date from the canonization of St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, by Innocent IV., A.D. 1253. The Register of Archbishop Morton at Lambeth contains a most diffuse account of the order of canonization observed at the close of the fifteenth century. A large traverse, or enclosed platform of wood (parcus), was erected, with seats for cardinals and bishops, and a wooden altar, at which the Pope celebrated; every bay of the church was to blaze with tapers, at least eighty of four pounds in weight having to be used. Cardinal commissaries made the offerings: one presented two loaves, one covered with cloth of gold, the other with cloth of silver; a second brought four barrels of wine, full, and covered with cloth of gold; the third offered four tapers of ten pounds in weight; and the chief of the applicants for the canonization brought a painted canister or cage containing white doves, one of which was to be loosed. Seven tapers were to burn on the altar, two on the credence, and seven were carried in procession. Finally, the Pope received a cup with one hundred ducats.

Latimer called canonization "a judging of men before the Lord's judgment," and Sir Thomas More draws a nice distinction [*Dial. Works*, p. 190]. "Those that be not canonized ye may for the more part both pray for them and pray to them, as ye may pray for and to them that be alive. But one that is canonized ye may pray to him to pray for you, but ye may not pray for him. Of the canonized ye may reckon you sure." Crakanthorpe has ably argued on the subject of invocation of saints, which naturally flows from formal canonization [Cap. l. li. lii. *Def. Eccles. Anglic.*].

[Giusto Fontanini, Archbishop of Ancyra, *Codex Constitutionum quas summi pontifices ediderunt in solemni Canonizatione*, A.D. 993 *ad* 1729 (Romæ, 1729). *Collectio Bullarum et Constitutionum quas summi pontifices ediderunt*, etc. (Romæ, 1752). Emmanuel Azevedo, *Opera P. Benedicti* XIV., vols. i. to v. (Romæ, 1749). Castellino, *de Inquisitione miraculorum*, etc. André, *Cours du Droit Canonique*, 1844. Rocca, *de Canonizatione Sanctorum*. Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, liv. 59. xcv. 37. Beyerlinck, *Theatrum*, tom. ii. p. 68, iv. 125. Pascal, *de la Liturgie*, 227. Boissonnet, *des Ceremonies*, etc. 404. Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii. 636. *Cærem. Episc.* c. i. s. vi. Ducange, *Glossarium*, ii. 107. Maillane, *Dict. du Droit Canonique*.]

CANTICLE. A prose hymn taken from Holy Scripture chanted in Divine Service. In the Anglican rite the Canticles are sung after the first and second Lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer; and their leading ritual principle is that of associating the praise of the personal Word of God with the reading of the written Word of God.

CAPHARNAITISM. A term used to express the gross and material notion which was originally entertained by the people of Capernaum of our Lord's declaration respecting Sacramental feeding on His Body and Sacramental drinking of His Blood [John vi. 52, 59].

CAPITULARS. Codified forms of the French Civil Law. Those of Charlemagne and St. Louis are best known; and all that are extant are printed in the collection of Baluze. The term was applied in a limited sense to books of Diocesan Canons. [Law, Civil and Canon.]

CAPITULUM. The "little chapter," one or more verses of Holy Scripture said after the Psalms and before the Hymn in the several Hours of the Breviary.

CAPUT JEJUNII. An ancient name for the first day of Lent.

CARDINAL. A title of honour in the time of St. Gregory given to all the clergy of the city of Rome. In later times the title went with the rectorship of the churches of Rome, and these are still associated with it. The canonical number is now seventy, comprising six bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons. They form the council of the Pope, and act as his vicars at the altar and elsewhere.

CASUISTRY. The science of duty. The name is rudely formed from *casus*, as used in the expression *Casus Conscientiæ*, through "Casuist," the person who studies and decides on such cases. Every one who acts "conscientiously" must be in some degree a casuist on his own account: and the degree in which he will be so will depend partly on the circumstances of his life, partly on the keenness or dulness of his conscience, and partly on his intellectual capacity to decide as to his duty in particular instances. The laws of reason, the laws of society, the laws of the Church, and the principles (in the absence of direct laws) of the Gospel, are the chief authorities external to the intuition of conscience, by which the course of duty must be settled in such cases. For although in a simple life the

duties of life are simple, and the intuitions of conscience need little help, yet in a complex life, such as that which falls to the lot of men whose occupations are many and varied, duty becomes much less self-evident, and is to be ascertained in many cases only by a careful detailed balancing of right and wrong. "Every one hath not digested, when it is a sin to take something for money lent, or when not; when it is a fault to discover another's faults, or when not; when the affections of the soul in desiring or procuring increase of means, or honour, be a sin of covetousness or ambition, and when not; when the appetites of the body in eating, drinking, sleeping, and the pleasure that comes with sleep, be sins of gluttony, drunkenness, sloth, lust, and when not, and so in many circumstances of actions" [Herbert's *Works*, i. 128]. The science of duty, therefore, or "Casuistry," is the application of general laws respecting duty to particular cases. It is a science in which every well-trained Christian must necessarily have more or less practical, though it may be informal, knowledge; and of which much formal knowledge is required by those whose province it is to guard and guide the moral life of others.

Casuistry has been very much neglected by English theologians, especially in modern times. This is probably to be attributed to the disuse of confession since the Great Rebellion, which has given rise to habits of self-reliance that have led English people (for good or evil) to determine the right and wrong of their particular duties without much reasoning upon them, and without much reference to any guidance beyond the intuitions of conscience. Among the works of old English Divines, "cases of conscience" are, however, very common; and there are abundant indications that those which got into print were a very small proportion of those in which the laity sought and obtained the advice of their clergy. Great discredit has, in fact, been brought upon Casuistry by the over-minuteness with which it is pursued in the works of the Jesuits; and it cannot be denied that this over-minuteness has sometimes perverted Casuistry into an immoral tampering with the principles of right and wrong. [Jesuits.] But the old saying applies in this case as in many others, the abuse of a thing does not prove that it is evil: and as Casuistry in some vague form is practised by every conscientious person, so formal Casuistry is more or less a necessity among every community of moral beings who are living in the midst of complex social and business relations.

CATECHUMEN. The technical name in early ages for all who were being prepared to receive holy baptism. It is directly from the Greek word, κατηχούμενος, the participle of κατηχέω, "to sound a thing in one's ears, impress it upon one by word of mouth," and hence, in the passive, to be informed of a thing, to be instructed in the elements of religion.

In the Apostolic age, baptism was administered whenever desired. But in process of time, as the Church increased, a long course of moral training and dogmatic instruction was enjoined upon those who were preparing to receive the initiatory sacrament. To instruct these, catechists were appointed by the bishops, and special places set apart for their teaching. The candidates were admitted to be catechumens by a solemn form, with prayer, and the sign of the cross and the imposition of hands.

Catechumens were divided into three classes. The first, called Audientes, or hearers, were admitted simply to hear instruction in the Church; the second, or Genuflectentes, were allowed to join in some of the prayers; and the third, or Competentes, being fully prepared for baptism, only waited for its administration, which was generally confined to the Vigils of Easter and Pentecost, and, in the East, the Feast of the Epiphany.

The time of preparation for catechumens varied in different churches. The Apostolical Constitutions [viii. 32] prescribe three years, but provide for a shortening of the time, if needful, as regard must be had not to "the space of time, but to the fitness and manners of men." The Council of Illiberis [circ. A.D. 305-320] appoints two years as the season of instruction. If, however, there was any danger of death, baptism was at once administered.

It was a great principle with the early Church to conceal the higher doctrines or mysteries of the faith from all but the faithful, *i.e.* the baptized. This system was what is called the Disciplina Arcani, and was most strictly practised. The object was not only to stir up in the minds of the catechumens a great desire to share in the full teaching and privileges of the faithful, but also to avoid exposing the sacred rites and doctrines of the Church to the contempt of the heathen.

Hence catechumens were only taught what was necessary to fit them for baptism. St. Cyril expressly says that if the catechumen inquire of the preacher's meaning, the catechist is not to inform him, "for he is without" [*Præf. ad Catech. Illum.* p. 13]. And at the end of this preface is subjoined the note: "These catechetical discourses may be read by those that are to be baptized, or the faithful already baptized. But to catechumens, or such as are no Christians, thou mayest not impart them; for if thou dost, expect to give an account to God."[1]

In accordance with this system of discipline, the office for Holy Communion was divided into two main parts. The earlier part was called the "missa catechumenorum;" and at the close of the Gospel proclamation was made by the deacons, ὅσοι κατηχούμενοι προέλθετε[2] (those that are catechumens depart). Then came the "missa fidelium," to which the baptized alone were admitted. This division was maintained until the fifth century, when it gradually ceased in Christian countries, as being no longer necessary.

It does not appear that catechumens had often

[1] To this custom also refers the frequent expression of St. Chrysostom, ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι.

[2] See Canon xix. of the Council of Laodicea

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special duties in connection with the Church services. But Socrates [v. 22] mentions that, in the Church of Alexandria, they were permitted to be readers and singers.

Two of the canons of the Council of Nicæa have reference to catechumens. The second censures transgression of the rule of the Church, "in that men who had just come over to the faith from a Gentile life, and had been but for a little time catechumens, have been at once brought to the spiritual laver, and immediately after their baptism promoted to the episcopate or presbyterate." "It seems good that no such thing take place in future; for the catechumen needs time and a longer probation after baptism. For the Apostolic Scripture plainly says—'Not a neophyte, lest being puffed up he fall into condemnation and the snare of the devil.'" The fourteenth says: "Concerning the lapsed catechumens, it seems good to the great and holy synod that for three years they be hearers only, and afterwards pray with the catechumens."

The Sarum Manual contained an "Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum;" but this was for use prior to infant as well as to adult baptism. The ceremony took place at the door of the church, and various rites were performed; *e.g.* salt placed in the mouth, exorcism, signing with the cross, &c., the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Creed concluding the service. The child's right hand was then taken by the priest, who introduced him into the church as a complete catechumen. Then followed the "ritus baptizandi." It is easy to see the derivation of this from the more ancient practice. [Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, part. i. c. 8 and 9; *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*.]

CATHARI. This name was given to, or assumed by, several early sects of heretics, who claimed to be "Puritans" in comparison with the Church. But it is generally used with reference to the followers of Novatus of Carthage, who seceded from the Church about A.D. 251. Epiphanius says that these refused to communicate with the lapsed, and denied the possibility of pardon for sin committed after baptism. St. Augustine also, in the 38th chapter of his book on *Heresies*, speaks of them as "the Cathari, who proudly and hatefully so designated themselves, as if on account of their purity: they do not admit of second marriages, and refuse repentance, following one Novatus, a heretic, from whom also they are called Novatians." In mediæval times the sects of the ALBIGENSES and VAUDOIS were called Cathari, and the name has been reproduced in England under the form "Puritans."

CATHOLIC. The original and proper meaning of this word is universal, or scattered throughout the world (καθ' ὅλης τῆς γῆς). On this account certain of the epistles are called Catholic, or "general," as our version has it, because they are not addressed to any particular church or person. As applied to the Church, its original purpose was to distinguish the Christian Church, as designed to be co-extensive with humanity, from the Jewish, which was confined for the most part to the descendants of Jacob. But it was also used to distinguish those Christians who maintained what had been universally taught from the beginning from those who added to or detracted from the faith. [Ignat., *Ep. ad Smyrn.*; Pacian., *Ep.* i. *ad Sempronian.*; Euseb. iv. 15.] We thus obtain the phrase Catholic doctrine, by which is meant the doctrine of the Church as unanimously taught in all parts, as distinguished from additions or corruptions of a practical and personal origin. The test of Catholic doctrine, the maintenance of which distinguishes the Catholic Church in any place from heretical or schismatical communions, has been described as that which has been taught always, everywhere, and by all—the *quod semper, quod ubique, et quod ab omnibus* of Vincentius Lirinensis. Of this the main foundations are the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, of which the former, with slight variations, has come down to us from the most ancient times as a confession of faith, and the latter was finally proclaimed, nearly in its present state, at the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. This creed was at the time said to be conclusive on all points relating to the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and all additions were forbidden. The words "from the Son," however, in the third part, have been subsequently introduced in the West; and although the explanation of them has been admitted to be orthodox, their presence in the creed has caused the schism now existing between the Catholic Churches of the East and West. Roman theologians maintain that the Catholic Church is confined to the communion and obedience of the Pope: but this is denied by a large portion of the Christian world. This controversy turns entirely upon the question of the necessity of obedience to the Papal Supremacy being, or not, a part of Catholic doctrine, which is denied by the whole of the Eastern Church, by all churches in communion with the Church of England, and of course by all other classes of Christians. This, however, being in its substance a point of discipline only, though exalted into a doctrine by Romanists, is not considered to destroy the Catholicity of the Roman Church, or to make it wrong to communicate with her. Hence she is included, with all other churches, not heretical, in the term "Catholic Church" in the creeds, and in the same term in the "Prayer for all conditions of men" in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. But it is a wrong to other churches and to the truth to speak of her, as is popularly the case, as "the Catholic Church" and of her clergy alone as "Catholic priests."

CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY. It is certain that marriage was allowed during the Apostolic age. Some of the Apostles, as St. Peter, were married [Matt. viii. 14]; we read in the Acts of the Apostles, of Philip the deacon's seven daughters [xxi. 8, 9], and that Aquila preached the Gospel, accompanied with his wife Priscilla [xviii. 2]. St. Paul recognises the existence of a

married clergy, by giving directions to Timothy and Titus respecting their wives and the duties of married life[1] [1 Tim. iii. 1-13; Titus i. 6]. Accordingly it is not actually asserted by its advocates that the celibacy of the clergy is of divine institution, nor with the evidence of Scripture only before us would such an assertion be possible; but merely that it belongs to ecclesiastical usage or discipline, which may vary at different periods as the circumstances of the Church may require. Bellarmine[2] and others, however, have made assertions which, if true, would *virtually* render celibacy of Divine institution, or at least as having Divine sanction. They say that a person married was bound after ordination, by Apostolic tradition, to live separate from his wife: this Bellarmine asserts is implied by the word ἐγκρατῆ, which St. Paul, in his Epistle to Titus [i. 8], uses of a bishop, and which is rendered in the English version "temperate."[3] But there is no reason to think that this word is mistranslated in our version; nor if rendered, which is admissible, "continent," would it necessarily, or even probably, imply the necessity of celibacy.[4] We have the clearest, most unexceptionable proof that during the first three centuries this supposed Apostolic tradition was wholly unknown —proof not only of a married clergy in the Church, but of their living together in the relation of marriage. Thus, St. Polycarp speaks of Valens, a presbyter, and his wife. Eusebius relates that the judge entreated Phileas, Bishop of Thmuis, and others married in the Thebaid, to have compassion on their wives and children, by renouncing the faith, and thus saving themselves from suffering and martyrdom. The case of Novatus, which St. Cyprian mentions, is too clear to leave any doubt of the truth of our statement, for he struck his wife during her pregnancy, causing miscarriage. St. Gregory of Nazianzus was born during his father's episcopate, and other instances of a married clergy are given by Bingham.[5]

It may thus be asserted generally that during the first three centuries the marriage of the clergy was permitted; that is, the clergy who were married before ordination were not, on being admitted to the order of deacon,[6] priest, or bishop, required to live separate from their wives; but there is no instance, in the primitive Church, of the marriage of a priest or bishop. The first change, so far as we know, which was made in the usage of the Church was at the Council of Elliberis in Spain [A.D. 305], continence being enjoined, after their ordination, on bishops, priests, and deacons[7]—a canon, as we shall presently see, set aside by the Council of Nice. In one of the canons of the Council of Neocæsarea [A.D. 314], we read: "If a presbyter marry, let him be removed from his order" [canon 1]; and in one of the canons of Ancyra [A.D. 315], "that if any when made deacons said it was needful for them to marry [see 1 Cor. vii. 8], and should afterwards marry, they may continue in the ministry because this was permitted by the bishop. But should any at ordination be silent respecting this, thus undertaking to 'abide so,' *i.e.*, in continence, and afterwards marry, let him be removed from the ministry," literally, "cease from the diaconate."

After this followed the canons of the Council of Nice. A *new* law, as Socrates the ecclesiastical historian relates, was then proposed (νόμον νεαρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρειν) to compel the three orders of the ministry to live separate from their wives. This was opposed by Paphnutius, a bishop of one of the cities of Upper Thebes, an unmarried man of unblemished chastity and a confessor: he strongly recommended that the old tradition should be kept up (κατὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίας ἀρχαῖαν παράδοσιν), *i.e.* that none should be allowed to marry after ordination, but that those previously married should not be required to separate from their wives. This alleged usage or tradition of the Church is confirmed by the Apostolical Canon [c. xxvi.], that of those admitted to the clerical order unmarried, none but "readers or singers" should be allowed to marry: whilst by another canon the matrimonial union of the clergy with their wives is fully sanctioned: "If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon put away his wife under pretence of religion, let him be excommunicated, or if he persist, deposed" [c. v.]. And by the Council of Gangra in Paphlagonia [about A.D. 340], "If any man make a distinction (διακρίνοιτο παρά) between a married presbyter and another, so as not to partake of his oblation, let him be anathema."

Thus it is proved that the marriage of the clergy was allowed in the primitive Church, though with certain restrictions: marriage must precede ordination: bigamy, or being twice married after baptism, also incapacitated from holy orders.[8] Again, it cannot be doubted, from the testimony of Socrates, the historian, that many of

[1] St. John, also, in the Apocalypse, according to the best MSS., speaks of the wife of the angel, or bishop, of Thyatira, whom he calls by the opprobrious name of Jezebel [ii. 20]. "Thou sufferest thy wife Jezebel," &c. Τὴν γυναῖκα σοῦ is admitted into the text by Lachmann and Tischendorf.

[2] *De Clericis*, lib. i. c. 19. Bellarmine represents St. Jerome (*Comment.*, in loc.) as sanctioning his interpretation of ἐγκρατῆ, but the statement is untrue. St. Jerome, in explaining the verse, does not refer to this word. He strongly indeed, though on other grounds, recommends clerical continence.

[3] The meaning of the word is thus explained by St. Chrysostom—"'temperate:' he speaks not here of one who fasts, but of one who commands his passions, his tongue, his hands, his eyes; for this is 'temperance,' to be drawn aside by no passion." *Comment. on Titus*, i. 8 (Oxf. transl.).

[4] Suicer gives instances from the Fathers of the use of the word in reference to those living in marriage. *Thesaur. Eccles.*, in loc.

[5] *Antiquities*, book iv. ch. v. sec. 5.

[6] One of the Councils, we shall find, allows, under certain conditions, marriage after deacon's orders.

[7] Placuit in totum prohibere episcopis presbyteris et diaconis, vel omnibus clericis positis in ministerio, abstinere se a conjugibus suis et non generare filios; quicumque vero fecerit ab honore clericatus exterminetur, c. xxxiii.

[8] *Apostolical Canons*, c. xvii.; *Epiphan. adv. Hæres. contr. Cathar.* 39 *al.* 59; St. Ambrose, *De Officiis*, lib. i. c. l. sec. 247; St. Augustine, *De Bono Conjugali*, c xviii.

the married clergy lived in continence: no positive law existed, but it was done voluntarily and by mutual consent. Thus he says:[1] "I knew a custom when living in Thessaly; if a cleric in that country after taking orders should cohabit with his wife whom he had legally married before ordination, he would be degraded (ἀποκήρυκτος): all clergymen with wives, in the East, abstaining from each other's society, and also bishops, if they please—not doing this of necessity as by any law (οὐ μὴ ἀνάγκῃ νόμου τοῦτο ποιούντων), for many of them (bishops) in the time of their episcopate have had children by their lawful wives." This passage will enable us to explain statements which have been quoted from writers of the Eastern and Western Churches, who appear to represent clerical continence as being positively obligatory by the ordinary law of the Church; it would appear, from the account of Socrates, that in the East it was the ordinary custom, but, as the same writer states, it was not universal, nor was it enjoined by any ecclesiastical law. St. Epiphanius asserts[2] that, "unless any married man promises to abstain from the society of his wife, he cannot be admitted to the order of subdeacon, deacon, priest, or bishop," adding, that this is especially the case "where there are strict ecclesiastical canons." He admits that some of the clergy had children, but this he says was not according to the canon (οὐ παρὰ τὸν κανόνα) but through negligence, or in parishes where a sufficient number of clergy could not be had. The testimony of St. Ambrose[3] is the same, though he does not refer to any canon enjoining continence, but merely speaks of it as a well-known usage of the Church (cognoscitis). He admits, as St. Epiphanius, that the clergy in "remote places" (plerisque abditioribus locis) had children, and says that they defended themselves by "ancient usage."

It may be concluded from the passages quoted, and from previous statements, that clerical continence was now (in the fourth century) becoming the usage of the Church, though not binding on the clergy hitherto by positive law. This is unquestionable. St. Epiphanius cannot mean by "ecclesiastical canons" what the word would ordinarily signify; for if no such law existed in the Church, he can only refer to custom or usage, and probably such is his meaning. Continence, he says, is required, especially where there are strict ecclesiastical canons or law (μάλιστα ὅπου ἀκριβεῖς κανόνες οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοί).

The next stage is the decretal of Pope Siricius [A.D. 385], who first imposed celibacy on the Western Church by a positive law. It had before been a custom which had more or less prevailed, but it was now for the first time made obligatory upon the three orders of the ministry.[4] But even after the decretal of Pope Siricius, we find by one of the Councils of the Western Church [Concilium Toletanum, ii., A.D. 531], that

[1] Book v. c. xxii.
[2] *Advers. Hæres. contr. Catharos.*
[3] *De officiis Minist.* c. 1.
[4] Fleury, *Ecclesiast. History*, bk. xviii. c. 35.

if a candidate for orders professed his inability to observe continence, he was to be admitted to the diaconate, but not to the higher orders; and, afterwards, the following canon occurs in the first Council of Tours [i. Concil. Turonicum, A.D. 460]: "The clerk who is allowed to marry, (clericus cui nubendi datur licentia) must not marry a widow, or in such a case must take the lowest rank among the clergy" (ultimum officio clericali teneat locum). The decretal of Siricius could not have been generally known in the Western Church or received as of binding authority. Bishop Forbes, in his *Exposition of the Articles* [Art. xxxii.], has given an account of the corrupt state of the Church throughout the Middle Ages; of the canons of Councils, &c. passed for the repression of clerical incontinence or concubinage, and of its increasing prevalence in the Western Church till the period of the Reformation. In the eleventh century Pope Gregory VII., called Hildebrand, reimposed the law of Pope Siricius on clerical continence. Documents from contemporary history are quoted by Gieseler,[5] shewing that the law was either evaded or openly resisted, and so far from being effective only increased the existing moral corruption. There can be no doubt that the profligate lives of the clergy, as Protestant and Roman writers equally admit, was one chief cause which led to the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Some account must be added of the practice of the Eastern Church. The Council of Nice, as we have seen, had not required the clergy to separate from their wives. The next and most important canons on the subject will be found in the Quinisext Council, or Council in Trullo [A.D. 692], which has since regulated the custom in the Eastern Church. Fleury thus sums up its canons: "The clerks in holy orders are not allowed to marry after their ordination; the bishops are to live in a state of perfect continence whether they have been married or not; the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons who are married may cohabit with wives as usual, except at such times as they approach the holy mysteries."[6] Yet in Russia the practice has long been to *require* marriage as a *sine quâ non* for a benefice, though celibacy is equally necessary for the Episcopate.

The English Church at the Reformation threw off the enforced yoke of celibacy, which, as experience had proved, was the prolific source of innumerable evils and scandals. Permission to marry was given to the clergy in the first year of Edward VI. Nothing is known of the debates on the subject, as Burnet[7] says that the Registers of

[5] *Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 10, &c. (Clark's transl.)
[6] Fleury, *Eccles. Hist.* book xviii. c. 35.
[7] Burnet gives the opinion of Dr. Redmayne, who being sick did not attend Convocation—his opinion was brought under his hand—"'That though the Scripture exhorted priests to live chaste and out of the cares of the world; yet the laws forbidding them marriage were only the canons and constitutions of the Church, not founded on the Word of God; and, therefore, he thought that a man once married might be a priest; and he did not find that the priests in the Church of England had made any vow against marriage; and therefore he thought that the king and the higher powers of the Church might take

Convocation during this reign were destroyed in the fire of London. An Act of Parliament was afterwards passed allowing the marriage of the clergy [A.D. 1548-9]. The preamble sets forth: "That it was better for priests and other ministers of the Church to live chaste and without marriage, whereby they might better attend to the ministry of the Gospel, and be less distracted with secular cares, so that it is much to be wished that they would of themselves abstain."[1]

CENOBITES: κοινοβιακόι, ὅσοις εἰς πλῆθος ἡ ἄσκησίς ἐστιν, "those who practise Asceticism collectively." [Justinian, *Novell.* v.]

The first notice we have of Cenobitic Asceticism is that of the early Buddhist communities, [Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 52], where it seems to have arisen from the combination of active philanthropy with intense contemplation.

In the Christian Church the origin of the Cenobitic rule is identified with the name of Pachomius at the beginning of the fourth century. A native of the Upper Thebaid, he had served in early life as a conscript in the army of Maximin, and it is not unlikely that he may have gained the idea of disciplined co-operation from his experience as a soldier. On his conversion to Christianity he practised the solitary life for a time under the guidance of Palemon, in a small hut on the banks of the Nile. Palemon soon returned into solitude; but Pachomius found a new companion in his elder brother. After the death of the latter, disciples came in crowds to perfect themselves under the eye of Pachomius. He soon found himself superintendent of one hundred monks, and both enlarged his habitation and built six others in the neighbourhood, giving to all the same rules, and reserving to himself the right of inspection. A similar establishment was set up by one of his sisters on the other side of the river for women. At the end of his life [A.D. 348] the new order numbered seven thousand persons, in communities spread abroad over a large tract of the East.

The hard regimen prescribed by St. Antony, which was just half the amount of bread *per diem* prescribed by Howard (twenty-four ounces), as the minimum diet for prisons where no nourishing liquor was taken, was relaxed by Pachomius, who allowed occasional meals of vegetables, cheese and fish. For the details of his rule, see his *Præcepta, judicia, et monita*, translated by St. Jerome, and *Codex Regularum*, Paris, 1663, 4to.

The Cenobitic life was regarded as a concession to the weakness of humanity, and as standing midway between the monastic state and the married. Οὐ μὴν, says Theophylact, ἐπ' ἴσης καρποφοροῦσι πάντες οἱ δεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ἑκατόν τυχὸν, ὁ ἀκτημοσύνην τελείαν (absolute poverty) καὶ ἄκραν ἄσκησιν· ὁ δὲ ἑξήκοντα ὁ κοινοβιακὸς τυχὸν μοναχὸς καὶ ἔτι πρακτικός. Ὁ δε τριάκοντα, ὁ γάμον σεμνὸν ἑλόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς ὡς ἐγχωρῆι σπουδαίως μετερχόμενος. [*Comment. in Matth.* xiii.]

Some of the practical advantages which arose from its adoption were the following. [*a*] The living in common supplied to the individual some degree of that support in "religion," which the ordinary man gets in society at large. [*b*] It neccessitated the adoption of a moderate rule of life, which should suit a great number of differently constituted persons, and the character of which would be determined rather by natural circumstances than by individual caprice. "Non oportet," says St. Basil, "quemquam vel sui ipsius dominum esse." [*Ep.* xxii. *Opp. Ed. Bened.* iii. 99.] [*c*] It gave opportunity for active philanthropy, for agriculture, for manufacture, for art, or for study. In this way its influence was most valuable in the West, the climate of which demanded a more generous diet, while it rendered living in the open air impracticable. [*d*] The substitution of the Cenobitic for the solitary life thus marks the extension of Monasticism to the educated and wealthy classes, from the active and open air to the sedentary and indoor life. Hence the typical monastery of the West is the Benedictine, the precursor of the modern academical college. [*e*] It was the Cenobitic form of Asceticism which rendered possible such institutions as the monastic colonies—Fulda, Eichstadt, St. Gall, Fritzlar—among the wandering tribes beyond the frontier of the Empire, and the pacification of the latter through the introduction of manufactures and agriculture. [*f*] Lastly, it was as communities that the Ascetics acquired land; and, by themselves becoming feudal lords, were enabled to compete on equal terms with the fierce Teutonic chivalry, and to befriend the poor. These developments involved a certain amount of evil and corruption, for which see MONASTICISM.

Much of the Asceticism of the last three hundred years—*e.g.* the Societies of St. Vincent de Paul, St. François de Sales, the Port-Royal—has been, on one side, of this utilitarian type. An exception may perhaps be found in the "pia collegia," which sprung up in Germany for purely religious exercises, under the influence of Labadie, during the misery of the Thirty Years' War. [Schmid. *Die Geschichte des Pietismus.*]

For an account of the Moravian community at Herrnhut, see Southey's *Life of Wesley*, i. c. 5. [ASCETICISM.]

CEREMONY. Although the derivation of this word is utterly unknown, its primary meaning is clearly that of a corporeal act giving expression to a spiritual act. So in prayer, for example, the spiritual act is compounded of emotion, thought, and language, and expression is given to these by the ceremony of kneeling, which is a bodily act. In some cases such ceremonies are not essential, as kneeling is not essen-

away the clog of perpetual continence from the priests, and grant that such as would not or could not contain might marry once, and not be put from their holy ministration.' It was opposed by many in both Houses, but carried at last by the major vote. All this I gather from what is printed concerning it." [*History of Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 88, ed. 1715.] Burnet adds, "his opinion went a great way with Convocation," and that "he was a man of great learning and probity, and of so much greater weight because he did not in all points agree with the Reformers."

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 84; Collier, *Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 262.

tial for prayer; but in other cases the spiritual act cannot be accomplished without the accompaniment of the bodily act. Such cases are the administration of sacraments, the ceremony of pouring water on the person being essential to the validity of baptism, and the ceremony of consecration being essential to the validity of the Holy Eucharist.

The word "ceremony" has also been applied in a wider sense, so as to signify OFFICES, *i.e.* devotional formularies, such as confirmation, the churching of women, extreme unction, &c. In this case the term seems to belong to the *performance* of the office, as distinguished from the words and rules appointed for its performance, which are more properly called the RITE. But there has been so much confusion in the use of the term in this latter sense, that the true understanding of the word "ceremony" in any case can never be determined without reference to the context with which it is joined. In the title of the Prayer Book, the phrase "other rites and ceremonies of the Church" is evidently used of such *offices* as those referred to; while in the introductory note "Of Ceremonies" it is used in both senses.

CERINTHIANS, so called from Cerinthus, a heretic of Asia Minor, who lived at the close of the first century, and was contemporary with the Apostle St. John.[1] His system may be described as a combination of Judaism and Gnosticism. He taught, according to St. Epiphanius,[2] that circumcision and the Jewish ceremonial law were still binding on Christians, and St. Irenæus[3] describes him as one of the earliest teachers of Gnosticism, holding their peculiar opinions that the world was not created by the Supreme God, but by a subordinate angel, the DEMIURGE, by whom the law was given. Unlike the Docetæ, he maintained that Jesus was a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, that the Divine WORD descended on Him at His baptism, and that after His apprehension by the Jews, the Logos departed from Him, the Man Jesus alone being crucified. He is said also to have held gross and sensual views on the Millennium.[4] The sect seems to have been of short continuance, and was soon merged in other Gnostic sects of the second century. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

CHERUBIC HYMN. [TERSANCTUS.]

CHARACTER. A theological term signifying a spiritual and ineffaceable mark made on the soul by God's co-operation with the outward sacramental work in baptism, confirmation, and holy orders. That such a character is impressed in these three cases was constantly maintained by mediæval theologians; and the theory was definitely fixed as a part of Roman theology by the Council of Trent [sess. vii. can. ix.]: "If any one shall affirm that in these sacraments, that is to say, in baptism, confirmation, and order, there is not impressed a character, or certain spiritual and indelible signs upon the soul, on account of which these sacraments cannot be repeated, Let him be anathema."

The language of Scripture gives great countenance to this idea of character, the "seal" of the Spirit [2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30] appearing to refer to a mark impressed upon the spiritual part of our being rather than to the mark of the cross or any such external sign. And whatever differences of opinion have arisen on this subject among theologians they are scarcely more than verbal, since all are agreed that in baptism, confirmation, and holy order God gives grace for Christian life, Christian stability, and for the supernatural work of the ministry. That in the bestowal of this grace a permanent character is impressed on the soul may very well be believed; and no sound theologian believes that it is possible to iterate the grace, even if the forms are iterated.

CHILIASM. [MILLENNIUM.]

CHIROGRAPH. The least authoritative of the three kinds of official documents issued by the Pope. It has more of a personal than an official character, though still answering to those documents which, in England, are issued under the sign manual. [BRIEF. BULL.]

CHOREPISCOPI. Rural, or country bishops [χώρα], as distinguished from those of cities. Although assistants, and subordinate to the bishops of the cities, or sees, the chorepiscopi must not be confused with SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS [*q. v.*]. There has been much difference of opinion as to whether they were really in episcopal orders or not; but St. Athanasius speaks of them in such terms as seem to put this beyond doubt. [Athanas., *Apolog.* ii.]. All bishops who by any accident were without sees appear to have been employed as chorepiscopi, including those who came over to the Church from schism, as the Novatians and the Meletians [*Concil. Nic.* can. viii., *Ibid. Epist. Synodic*]. The most probable opinion is, therefore, that the chorepiscopi were a kind of missionary bishops sent among the "pagans," or country people, who remained heathen long after the cities had become Christian. The power of the chorepiscopi varied in different churches, but there was an universal understanding that they had no jurisdiction independent of the bishop of the diocese.

CHRISM. A compound of oil and balsam consecrated by a bishop, and used for anointing with the sign of the cross at confirmation. Its composition has varied at different periods, and in the Eastern Church as many as forty ingredients are used; but its characteristic quality is that of a perfumed ointment, as distinguished from the blessed oil which is used for most other unctions. In Roman theology chrism is often held to be an essential part of confirmation, and it is certainly mentioned as early as the time of Tertullian [*De Resurrect.* viii.]; but this opinion is not consistent with the undoubted fact that

[1] Eusebius relates the well-known anecdote of St. John meeting Cerinthus in a bath, and instantly leaving it, saying, "Let us flee lest the bath should fall while Cerinthus, that enemy of the truth, is within." [*Eccles. History*, bk. iii. c. 38.]

[2] *Advers. Hæres.*, 8 *vel* 28.

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. i. c. 26.

[4] Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. iii c. 28, bk. vii. c. 25.

imposition of hands is *the* essential part of the rite. From the use of chrism in confirmation the word passed into a name for the rite itself. [Anointing. Confirmation.]

CHRIST [מָשִׁיחַ Messiah, The Anointed One]. This is the distinctive title, in Greek, of our Blessed Redeemer. Our Lord was known in prophecy by this title, and was chiefly looked for under it at the time of His appearance, as indicated by such questions as, "Is not this the Christ?" The earliest passages of Holy Scripture in which He is so alluded to, are 1 Sam. ii. 35, or (more directly) Ps. ii. 2. The title seems to have been especially applied to Him as uniting in His own Person all those offices among men which were anciently conferred by the ceremony of anointing. These were the offices of Prophet, Priest, and King; to which Elisha, Aaron, David, and others are particularly mentioned as having been severally appointed by this rite. The idea conveyed by its use, on these and on other occasions, is that of consecration; and, in conjunction therewith, the conferring, if need be, of suitable gifts. In this respect it bears a marked resemblance to the ceremony of laying on of hands, more frequently used in the Church, as that by which the ordinary ministerial gifts of the Holy Ghost are conferred. The use of chrism, or of oil, in some parts of the Church, as a sign of these gifts, confirms the general unity of idea expressed by these two ceremonies.

The anointing under the Old Testament was performed with material ointment, compounded of the sweetest and richest spices of the East, as symbolical of the various and costly gifts of the Holy Ghost. But besides the outward sanction thus given to the office conferred by it, it was attended, more or less immediately, with spiritual gifts themselves; as instanced in Saul, "to whom God gave another heart," and "he prophesied," and who was blamed for his cowardice in the Song of David "as though he had not been anointed with oil;" David himself, who very shortly manifested his power in his conflict with Goliath; and Elisha, whose miracles at once attested the grace he had received. The anointing whereby Jesus of Nazareth was in like manner endowed for His high offices was in one respect equally outward, having been conferred directly from Heaven by a visible manifestation of the Presence of the Holy Ghost [John i. 32]: and of its effects St. John Baptist said that "God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto Him."

This appellation accordingly represents to us at once the prophetic, sacerdotal and royal character of our Lord, His consecration to these offices by the Father, and His endowment with the necessary gifts for their perfect discharge. It conveys the idea of authority and power, coupled with that of delegation and subordination. Being an outward mark, it establishes a claim to our submission, and so exalts the religion of Jesus Christ from the character of a mere following or philosophical sect to that of an obedience to the authority and supreme will of God. Derived from the two ideas of consecration and endowment involved in this anointing, are the warnings of Holy Scripture on the one hand against insubmission and opposition, as in Psa. cv. 15, "Touch not mine Anointed," and in 2 Sam. i. 14, "How wast thou not afraid to put forth thine hand against the Lord's anointed;" and on the other the encouragement given to accept the offices of the anointed person and profit by them; as in Isa. lxi. 1, "The Lord hath anointed me . . . to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." In these ways the title of "The Christ" becomes essentially characteristic of our Lord's offices and position in the world, and most fit to be added to the Name of Jesus, whereby He is designated as the Saviour of sinners. And lastly, this title of The Anointed calls special attention to our Lord in His all-important character as the ordained fountain of all sacramental grace of every kind and order in the Church which is His Body Mystical. For it signifies that He has Himself received the greatest of all sacraments, bestowed on Him with an outward and visible sign on the occasion of His Baptism, and thus constituting Him the mediatorial vehicle of all grace, and the sacramental bond of union between every man and his God. It is agreeably to this title of our Lord that anointing was used in the Christian Church in and from very ancient times in the ministration of Confirmation (though not essential to it), as also in the consecration of kings, in the extreme unction of the dying, and in other ceremonies bearing on our union with "The Christ." [Anointing.]

CHRISTIANS. A name first given to the disciples of Christ at Antioch [Acts xi. 26]. It seems most probable, from the peculiar form of the word, having a Greek root and a Latin termination, that it was a designation of Pagan origin: and, that being generally called by it, Christian authors subsequently applied the title to themselves. Thus as "Christianos ad leones" became the cry of the heathen in times of persecution, so "Christianus sum" was equally the mode of confession adopted by several among the martyrs. The frequent repetition of this answer by Lucian is mentioned by Chrysostom [Hom. xlvi.]; and it is spoken of by Tertullian as if one often on their lips [Tertul. *Apolog.* ii.]. This Pagan derivation seems, however, to be disclaimed by Tertullian, who writes, "But 'Christian,' so far as the meaning of the word is concerned, is derived from 'anointing.' Yea, and even when you wrongly pronounce it 'Chrestian' (for you do not even know correctly the name you hate) it comes from 'sweetness' and benignity.'" [Χρηστός]. Suetonius writes our Lord's name as "Chrestus" [*Claud.* 25], and His followers were often called "Chrestianos." Among the unbelieving Jews, the disciples were more usually spoken of as Nazarenes, Galileans, &c., the title of Christ, or Messiah, being held in reverence by them, but not the person of Jesus. Among themselves, they were spoken of rather as "the disciples," "the believers," "the saints," "they that call on

the Lord Jesus Christ," "the Church," "the Brethren," and the like.

CHRISTMAS. The Church Catholic, though it has always celebrated our Lord's Nativity as a principal festival, has not been uniform in its observance. Clement of Alexandria styles the attempt to define the precise day of its occurrence as idle [περιεργότερον], and says that while some kept it on May 20th [Strom. i. 408], others anticipated that day by a whole month. The Armenians made a triple observance of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Baptism of our Lord (Epiphany) on January 5th [Coteler. *Const. Ap.* v. 13]. By far the larger section of the Eastern Church kept the Feast of the Nativity, concurrently with the Feast of the Epiphany, on January 6th; intending thereby to signify the twofold birth of Christ, as Man, and as Head of the Body the Church, by baptism in the river Jordan; it being a tradition that our Lord received the baptism of John upon that day. The Church of Constantinople altered its practice at the close of the fourth century, as we learn from a remarkable Homily of Chrysostom, presently to be noticed, and which indicates the true "rationale" for celebrating the Nativity on December 25th. The Churches of the South, and those of Palestine, following Roman counsel, made a similar alteration a little later, *i.e.* just prior to the Ephesine Council [Act. Conc. Eph. iii. 31; and Coteler. *loc cit.*], which is a satisfactory confirmation of the view put forth by Chrysostom. The final separation, therefore, of the two feasts of Christmas and Epiphany may be dated from the first quarter of the fifth century. The Armenian Church alone continued to celebrate the Nativity and Epiphany together on January 6th. [Leo Allat. *de Dom. et Hebd. Gr.* c. 32.] The Apostolical Constitutions, though a work of Eastern origin, in a passage quoted also by Anastasius, say, "Let the Festival of the Nativity be observed by you on the 25th day of the ninth month" [v. 13] (reckoned from the vernal equinox), and "let all servants rest from work on that day" [viii. 33]; the Feast of the Epiphany in both places being separately mentioned. The churches of the Latin communion had always followed this rule, celebrating the Nativity on viii. Cal. Januar. or December 25th [Aug. *Trin.* iv. 5]; and the Epiphany on the 6th of January. This agrees best with the time of Herod's death, which was shortly before Easter [Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 18], and after a lunar eclipse indicating A.U.C. 750 [Gieseler, *K. Gesch.* i. 20].

The institution of this festival is lost in antiquity. Chrysostom says that it had been observed from of old [ἄνωθεν], according to Western practice, from Thrace to the Straits of Gibraltar. He calls it the most venerable, and the mother of all the rest. It was a day of solemn religious observance, plentiful traces of which exist in the homilies of antiquity; the celebration of the Eucharist invariably forming a part of it. "Approaching with faith," says Chysostom, "we behold Him as in the cattle crib; for the Holy Table is as the manger, where reposes the Body of the Lord; not bound in swaddling clothes, but arrayed with the Holy Spirit. The initiated will understand." The Saviour in His whole work of mercy, in His birth and death, is set vividly before the eye of faith in holy mystery; "Who by the operation of the Holy Ghost was made very Man of the substance of the Virgin Mary His Mother." It was in the strictest sense of the word a holy day, on which under the Christian Emperors, the theatre and circus were closed [Cod. Theodos. xv.; Tit. v. l. 5, *de Spectaculis*]. The Homily of Gregory Nazianzen claiming for the day a sacred and reverential observance is as applicable now as when it was first delivered [Or. 38 in *Theoph.*; Bingham, Ant. xx. iv. sec. 5]. The rioting of the Saturnalia, immediately preceding the winter solstice, darkened the closing year of heathenism, and Hospinian [*De Festis*, p. 111] imagines that it was with a view of putting down these excesses that the Feasts of the Nativity and of the Epiphany were fixed by the Church at this period of the year. But the true reason is assigned by Chrysostom in his Homily on the Nativity; a day, as he states in the heading, "that was formerly uncertain, but has been made known of late years by some coming from the West." He clearly indicates as the belief of the Western Church, that the angelic message was conveyed to Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, in the Holy of Holies on the Great Day of the Atonement, Εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἔνδον ὄντα τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ὁ ἄγγελος ἐνηγγελίσατο. [Chrysostom, *Hom.* lxxii. ed. Savil. tom. v. p. 515, l. 28.] And there is no improbability in the supposition. For although the law of Moses declared that the high priest alone should enter into the Holy of Holies, with the censer and the Blood of the Atonement, yet Maimonides, deeply versed in Jewish antiquities, and having access to the best sources of information, states that if the High Priest were disabled by sickness or disqualified by any temporary uncleanness, 'another priest in his lieu' [*Yoma.* i. a] might officiate. [Maim. on *Mishna. Yoma.*; Jost, *Jud.* i. 162.] Josephus gives a contemporary instance in point; Joseph, a kinsman of Matthias, the high priest, having officiated as his deputy on the Day of Atonement in the reign of Herod the Great [Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, sec. 4]. To the same purport is the story related in the *Jer. Talm.* of a mother who saw two of her sons high priests on the same day; one having contracted legal defilement. [Lightf. ix. 35.] The very fact of this heavenly message having been made to Zacharias, rather than to any other son of Israel, must be held to be a conclusive proof of his sanctity. And if, as was the case, he was of priestly race, and exercising the ordinary duties of his office at the period of the great day, nothing can be more likely than that he would be selected by the high priest to act as his deputy, in case of his own disqualification or inability. The ceremonial purification required for the ordinary functions of the priesthood would make it absolutely necessary, in case of

sudden emergency, to look to the ordinary course of the Temple for a "locum tenens." Possibly this provision of later Judaism may account for the ἀρχιερεῖς mentioned in the New Testament. If now the birth of the Baptist were foretold by the angel on the 10th of Tisri, September 23rd, which was the Day of Atonement, nine months and a day would carry us on to June 24th, the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist. The nativity of the Baptist preceded that of our Lord by six months; the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin, March 25th, having taken place "in the sixth month" from the angelic message to Zacharias; nine months from which day indicates December 25th, for the Nativity of our Lord.

The birth of our Lord having taken place by night [Luke ii. 8], the festival has obtained the name of *Weihnacht* in Germany. In the mediæval services, for the same reason, there was a mass for the vigil, and "galli cantu" as well as for the day of the Nativity. There were also two celebrations, the present Collect, Epistle, and Gospel having been appointed for the second or principal communion. The three festivals that stand in close communion with the Nativity are very appropriately that of the protomartyr St. Stephen; of the disciple whom Jesus loved, and who was to the Blessed Virgin as a son; and of the Innocents, slaughtered at Bethlehem, the "coætanei" of our Lord. [Epiphany. Bernard, *Hom. de* iv. *Cont. sollenn.* i. 787. *Bened.* Bingham, *Ant.* xx. iv. sec. 1. Guericke, *Lehr. B. d. Chr. Archäol.* Freeman and Procter, *on Liturgy.* Blunt, *Annot. Book of Com. Prayer.* K. Lex. *Weihnacht.*]

CHRISTOLOGY, that which we are taught of Christ in His Person and office, refers to the Messianic hopes of the Jew, and the distorted notions of heresy, as well as to Christian verities. Even Mahomet had his Christology when he declared in the Koran that Jesus was conceived of the Holy Ghost [Sur. iii. 52; Harvey *on the Creeds*, 278]. The Jewish Christology had its patriarchal, its legal, and its prophetic phases. It can scarcely be doubted that the angelic revelation of the Person and office of the Messiah, both God and Man, that Milton has imagined [*P. L.* xi. xii.], was actually made in some form to Adam, and that these traditions of Paradise never wholly died out in the chosen seed. That faith of Abraham which "was counted to him for righteousness" was faith in the Christ of the future; he saw His day, and was glad. And wherever in patriarchal times God is said to have spoken with His servants, the primitive Church has always connected the revelation with the ministry of the Logos [Bull, *Def. F. N.* I. i. Theophany. Logos]. The Jewish Church also before the day of Christ identified the operation of the Deity with that of the Word, "Mimra da J." It is scarcely a sufficient explanation to say that the Targumists would thereby soften down the anthropomorphic utterances of the sacred text, for whether the Eternal Father or His Word spake unto the Fathers, the anthropomorphism remains unaltered. God is Spirit, and His Word is Spirit, but the mediatorial notion was essential to the Jewish Christology, and theologically connected also with the Word. The Targumist may have been as little cognizant of the truth to which he gave expression as Caiaphas was, when he became an unconscious exponent of the deep purposes of God in Christ. The final cause of the sacrifices and ordinances of the Law was the atonement made by Christ. The rationale of those ordinances was laid deep in the sin of our first parents, and in whatever degree the hope of Christ was revealed to them at the Fall, in the same degree the hidden meaning of the sacrificial ordinances was made known to them. The acceptance of Abel's sacrifice, and the rejection of Cain's, turned upon the veneration shewn in the one case, and the sullen contempt in the other for the revealed symbol of Christ's death. Christ was shadowed forth in the patriarchal sacrifices. The Egyptian bondage crushed for a time all better hope, and the people in part lost sight of their Messianic traditions, yet not the chief men of the tribes; and when Moses rose up as a deliverer, he came with the authority of I AM, the God of their fathers, and with a living faith in the ancestral traditions that he had received. Hugh Miller, in the spirit of Milton, supposes the work of creation to pass in review before Moses in a vision; but the sacred record may have been compiled by Moses from the traditions of his race. He was not much further removed from the creation of man than a Jew of the present day is from the Babylonian captivity. And if the traditions of creation reached down to him, so also those of the Fall, and of the promised remedy; and the typical shadows of the law were projected by the light of a traditional faith. These were harmonized, and received consistency in the Sinaitic revelation; all things having been ordained by Moses according to the pattern shewn to him upon the Mount; but the dim outline of their substance was already known to him by faith. As time wore on, the Messianic hope, though never entirely lost, became more vague, the successive schools of the prophets alone preserving anything of its true character. Under the controlling guidance of the Holy Spirit, prophecy from time to time revived the traditions that had existed from the beginning; and the spirit of the prophets being subject to the prophets, their burthen contained much of which they had a human knowledge, as well as much that was communicated by direct inspiration from above. In the same way the Apostles, possessing a human knowledge of the historical facts of the Gospel, and of the discourses of our Lord, before and after His decease, were guided into all deeper truth by the Holy Spirit. Thus the Christology of the Old Dispensation was always one and the same in substance. As primeval tradition became more faint, increased light was given to the chosen agents of revelation, though their utterances were as dark parables to the multitude. The Sun of Righteousness at length arose, and the doctrine

of the Person and office of Christ received its ultimate adjustment in the system of Christian faith.

The Apostles and Evangelists give the first principles of the Christology of the new dispensation, rudimentally as yet, but wholly intelligible, when they relate the miraculous circumstances of the Nativity of Christ; the teaching of Christ, as when He declared, before Abraham was, "I AM;" and various evangelical utterances, as when the disciple who lay in the Lord's bosom declared of that Lord, that in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. A full faith in this Christology and in the eternal Godhead of Christ was confessed by St. Peter as the solid Rock of Faith on which the Church of every after age should be built up. The doctrinal principles thus committed to the Church have been fully sufficient, with the overruling action of the Holy Spirit, to lead it into all truth with respect to the Person and Office of Christ. Thus when the Ebionite lowered the Godhead of Christ to a mere divine afflatus, such as had inspired any prophet of old, the Church at once cast forth from her bosom the Jewish disparagement of the Divine Incarnation. When the real humanity of Christ was denied by the pagan Docetæ, and a phantom existence was attributed to Him, as some mere pagan Theophany, the Church declared that Christ was very Man as well as very God; for that "the Word was made Flesh." In the same way, it was no new doctrine, but that which had been received from the beginning, when the declaration of a Trinity in Unity became a necessary sequel to that of the Godhead of Christ. The Son was co-eternal with the Father, wholly One with Him, and the Spirit of Father and Son descended on the Church at Pentecost. Faith in the Holy Trinity is inseparable from a true Christology, and was embodied in the creed before the Gospels were written. Thus, from the first commencement of the Christian Church, the doctrine of Christ has still been one and the same, but human error has made it necessary at times that greater stress should be laid on some particular phase of it. The Eastern Church, from force of circumstances, has been the principal exponent of a true faith with respect to the Person of Christ, while the Western Church has spoken out more especially upon the doctrine of His grace. Irenæus, a member of the Eastern Church, but Bishop of Lyons in the West, combines the characteristics of both churches. [L. Duncker, *d. H. Irenäus, Christol.*] In the East the Arian controversy was not unproductive of good; for it gave occasion for the Church to declare her faith in fullest detail. The true Godhead and Manhood of Christ having been established, the mode of union of the two natures in one Person was next misstated by heresy. At one while the Godhead and the Manhood were held to have been fused together; as gold alloyed with silver produces electrum, so a "tertium quid" is the result of the interfusion of the two natures, and the Christ of the Apollinarian was neither God nor Man, introducing thereby a fourth Person into the Holy Trinity. [Athanas. *de Incarn.*] Others, to avoid this confusion of substance, fell into the opposite error of dividing the Person of Christ, and affirmed that the Godhead was only united with the Manhood of Christ at the Nativity; so that the Human Nature existed apart from the Divine from the Annunciation, giving to Christ a twofold personal subsistence. [Nestorianism.] With most of these heretics also it was a favourite notion that the Divine Nature in Christ occupied the place of a human soul, in which respect therefore His human Nature was defective; as also that the Manhood, representing a transcendental humanity, the cross was no longer a symbol of ordinary mortal suffering. After a protracted struggle with every possible form of misconception, the faith handed down from the Apostles was at length universally recognised, and Christ was confessed to be God and Man, without confusion of substance or division of Person. It was the only possible condition under which He could be the universal Redeemer; wholly one with the redeemed, yet wholly one with God, giving hope to Man that hereafter he shall be made wholly one with God in Him.

The Western Church, on the other hand, sets forth Christ in His office as the Atonement for sin; the restorer of Man to the original dignity of his nature, lost in Adam. The sinfulness of man, original and actual, that could only be expiated by such an atonement; the thorough depravation of his nature, that needed to be so restored; the antithesis of death merged in the glories of life eternal, were so many watchwords of the Western Church as it went on its way warring and travailing in the cause of truth. They are subjects with which Catholic teaching had been consistent from the beginning, but there was no occasion for their expression as ordinary tests of faith until Pelagius by his heresy called forth the need. [Pelagianism.] To Augustine more especially we owe the symmetrical adjustment of the doctrine of grace and of human sinfulness, that continued to be the standard of orthodox teaching in the churches of the West, until the schoolmen involved theology and philosophy alike in mist. Hence sin and its remedy, the degree of human depravation, and the sacramental union of man with Christ, were topics that divided the Western Churches at the Reformation. The consideration of these at some future period in a calmer spirit will be a principle of consolidation; when the Christology of one branch of the Church Catholic will be once more the faith of all. [Hengstenberg, *Christol.*; Dorner, *Lehre v. d. Person Chr.*; Duncker, *Christol. d. H. Irenäus*].

CHRISTOPHORI. A term anciently applied to Christians, having reference to the spiritual indwelling of Christ in the hearts of His people, and the constant presence of His grace with them. It is found in an epistle of Phileas,

Bishop of Thmuis, to his flock, where he speaks of the martyrs as Χριστόφοροι μάρτυρες, the "Christ-bearing" martyrs. [Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* viii. 10.] A similar term is mentioned as having been used by St. Ignatius, who called himself Theophorus, as bearing about with him his God. [Theophoroi.]

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, for reference in the study of theology and ecclesiastical history.

	B.C.
Birth of our Lord	4
Herod the Great died	2
	A.D.
Tax under Quirinius	8
Augustus died	14
Pontius Pilate, Procurator of Judæa	26
Crucifixion of our Lord	30
Diaconate instituted	32
Martyrdom of St. Stephen	33
Pontius Pilate banished to Vienne	36
Judæa annexed to Syria	36
Conversion of St. Paul	36
Tiberius succeeded by Caligula	37
St. Paul in Arabia	37
Herod Agrippa, King	37
Herod Antipas banished	37
Return to Damascus	38
Conversion of Cornelius	38
St. Paul in Syria and Cilicia	39, 40
Caligula succeeded by Claudius	41
Judæa and Samaria given to Herod Agrippa I.	41
Gospel of St. Matthew	42
Invasion of Britain by Aulus Plautius	43
Paul and Barnabas at Antioch	43
Name of Christian first known	44
Famine in Judæa	44
James, brother of John, martyred	44
Herod Agrippa I. dies	44
Cuspius Fadus, Procurator of Judæa	44
Cumanus, Procurator	49
Council of Jerusalem	50
Caractacus captured by the Romans	50
Claudius expels the Jews from Rome	52
St. Paul winters at Corinth	52
First Epistle to Thessalonians written	52
Second Epistle to Thessalonians written	53
Felix, Procurator of Judæa	53
Claudius succeeded by Nero	54
Nero gives Galilee and Peræa to Agrippa	54
St. Paul at Ephesus. In these years visits Crete, and leaves there Titus	55, 56
1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians written	57
Epistle to Romans written	58
St. Paul at Cæsarea	59
Felix replaced by Festus	60
St. Paul arrives at Rome	61
Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians written there	62
Gospel according to St. Luke written	62
Pallas put to death	62
St. Paul in Macedonia and Asia Minor	63
——— writes Epistle to Hebrews	63
Burning of Rome	64
St. Paul possibly in Spain or in the West	64-66
St. Peter visits Rome, and goes from thence into Egypt	66
Jewish war begins	66
Linus, Bishop of Rome	66
St. Mark wrote his Gospel	66
1 Peter and Epistle of St. James written	66
1 Timothy written from Macedonia	67
Epistle to Titus written from Ephesus	67
James, Bishop of Jerusalem, martyred	67
Epistle of Jude written	67
St. Paul imprisoned at Rome	68
2 Timothy written	68
2 Peter written	68
St. Paul and St. Peter martyred	68
Nero died; succeeded by Galba, Otho, Vitellius	68
Linus martyred; succeeded by Anencletus	68
Vespasian made Emperor	69
Jerusalem taken	70
Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch	70
St. John writes Gospel and Epistles	90
Anencletus succeeded by Clement	93
St. John at Patmos. Revelation	94
Clement succeeded by Euarestus	100
St. John died	100
Pliny's letter to Trajan	104
Ignatius martyred	107
Euarestus succeeded by Alexander	109
Trajan's letter to Pliny	111
Alexander succeeded by Xystus	116
Aquila's Greek Version	119
Hadrian at Jerusalem	119
Apolog. of Quadratus and Aristides	122
Xystus succeeded by Telesphorus	129
Jerusalem rebuilt as Ælia	136
Telesphorus succeeded by Hyginus	138
Marcion at Rome	142
Hyginus suc. by Pius	142
Justin Martyr, 1st Apology	148
Pius suc. by Anicetus	156
Polycarp at Rome	158
——— martyred; Justin martyred	167
Anicetus suc. by Soter	168
Soter suc. by Eleutherus	173
Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, martyred	177
Irenæus adv. Hær.	180
Theodotion's Greek Version	184

Chronological Tables

	A.D.
Eleutherus suc. by Victor	189
Praxeas	195
Tertullian (Jud. 7) mentions British churches	198
Paschal controversy	198
Victor suc. by Zephyrinus	201
Symmachus, Greek Ver.	202
Perpetua, Felicitas, Afr. M.	202
Caledonian war, Fingal	208
Emperor Severus died at York	211
Conc. Carthag. under Agrippinus	215
Zephyrinus succeeded by Callistus	218
The Mishna completed	219
Callistus suc. by Urbanus	222
Urbanus suc. by Pontianus	230
Conc. of Iconium under Firmilian	231
Origen's Hexapla begun	235
Pontianus suc. by Anteros	238
Anteros suc. by Fabian	238
Beryllus, heretic	239
Conc. Carthag., Privatus condemned	240
Manes born	240
Noetus, her.	240
Goths first invade the Roman Provinces	250
Anthony institutes Monasticism	251
Fabian suc. by Cornelius after vacancy of a year	251
Novatian condemned	251
Cornelius suc. by Lucius	252
Irruption of Goths	252
Lucius suc. by Stephen	253
Controversy between Cyprian and Stephen, de rebapt. hær.	254
Council of Carthage	256
Persecution (lapse)	257
Stephen suc. by Xystus	257
Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, writes agst. Sabellius	258
Xystus mart., and Cyprian mart.	258
Sabellius	258
Dionysius, Bishop of Rome (after vacancy)	259
Goths become formidable by sea	260
Conc. of Antioch against Paul of Samosata	265
Conc. of Antioch, Paul deposed	269
Dionysius suc. by Felix	269
Dacia resigned to Goths	270
Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, descendant of Macedonian Kings	272
Felix suc. by Eutychianus	274
Manes died	277
Eutychianus suc. by Caius	283
Dionysius, Bishop of Paris, mart.	286
Caius s. by Marcellinus	296
Britain recovered by Constantius	296
Neo-Platonists	303
Marcellinus died (vacancy)	304
Council of Cirta and Eliberis (Elvira)	305
Constantius d. at York	306
Marcellus, Bishop of Rome	308
Marcellus succeeded by Eusebius	310
Eusebius succeeded by Melchiades	310
Lucian M. at Antioch	311
Rise of Donatism	312
Constantine's vision of the Cross	312
Defeat of Maxentius and Maximian	313
Christianity established	313
Pachomius establishes Cœnobia in Egypt	313
Melchiades succeeded by Silvester	314
Council of Arles, at which Bishops of York, London and Lincoln were present	314
Final division of Eastern and Western Empire	314
Donatist Schism	315
Battle of Hadrianople—Constantine sole master	323
Adoption of Labarum	324
Siege of Byzantium	324
Council of Nice. First Œcumenical, June 19th	325
Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria	326
Council of Cæsarea, Eusebian	334
Dedication of Constantinople	334
Church of Abyssinia founded by Frumentius	334
Council of Tyre, Euse.	335
Silvester suc. by Marcus	336
Athanasius at Tyre	335
Marcus suc. by Julius	336
Arius died	336
Athanasius banished	336
Constantine baptized	337
Athanasius restored	338
Constantine died	340
Eusebius Pamph. died	340
Jerusalem Talmud completed	340
Athanasius at Rome	340
Council of Rome, Athanasian	341
Council of Antioch, Dedication, Eusebian	341
Revolt of Circumcelliones	345
Council of Sardica, Eusebian	347
Athanasius restored	348
Julius suc. by Liberius	352
Augustine b., and on the same day Pelagius	352
Council of Arles, Eusebian	353
Council of Milan	355
Liberius, Bishop of Rome banished	355
Athanasius banished	355
Homœan Creed of Sirmium signed by Hosius	356
Athanasius seeks an asylum among the monks of the Thebaid	356
Semi-Arian Creed signed by Liberius (recalled)	357
Council of Antioch, Homœan Creed	358
Council of Ancyra, Semi-Arian	358
Council of Seleucia, Semi-Arian Creed	359
Council of Ariminum, Homœan Creed (British Bishops present)	359
Council of Constantinople, Homœan Creed	360
Basil establishes Monasticism in Pontus	360
Council of Antioch, Anomœan Creed	361
Council of Alexandria	362
Athanasius returns to Alexandria; again expelled	362
——— returns upon death of Julian	363
Council of Lampsacus, Semi-Arian	365
Liberius suc. by Felix II.	366
Council of Tyana	367

Chronological Tables

	A.D.
Felix II. suc. by Damasus	367
Council of Laodicæa	370
Martin establishes Monasticism in Gaul	370
Athanasius died	373
COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Second Œcumenical, July 15th	381
Damasus suc. by Siricius	384
Jerome at Bethlehem	384
First Decretal of Siricius	385
Conversion of Augustine	386
Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech.	387
Gregory Nazianzen died	387
Ambrose inflicts penance on Theodosius, emperor	390
Augustin, B. of Hippo	395
Council of Carthage	397
Siricius suc. by Anastasius	398
Ambrose died	398
Council of Carthage	399
Council of Carthage	400
Council of Toledo	400
Ruffinus condemned	400
Goths, Vandals, and Burgundians embrace Christianity as Arians	400
Council of Carthage	401
Council of Chalcedon	401
Anastasius suc. by Innocentius	402
Council of Milevi	403
Council of Carthage	403
Picts and Scots combine against the Romans in North Britain	403
Council of Antioch	404
Chrysostom driven from Constantinople	404
Council of Turin	404
Council of Carthage	404
Chrysostom died	407
Council of Carthage	407
Vandals overrun Gaul	408
Rome besieged by Alaric	409
Attalus emperor, Rome sacked	409
Conference with Donatists at Carthage	411
Council of Cirtha	412
Pelagian heresy	412
Council of Braccara	412
Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria	412
Council of Diospolis	415
Innocent succeeded by Zosimus	417
Zosimus suc. by Boniface	418
Pharamond first Merovingian King of France	420
Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus sent by Gallican Church into Britain to check Pelagian heresy	429
Boniface succeeded by Cœlestine	430
Augustine's works:—	
De Peccatorum mer. et rem. and De Sp. et Litera	412
De Natura et Gratia	415
De Trinitate completed, and De Gestis Pelagii	417
Ep. ad Sixtum	418
De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia	419
De Civitate Dei, completed	426
De Gratia et Lib. Arbitrio	426
De Correptione et Gratia	427
De Prædest. Sanctorum et de dono Perseverantiæ	428
Augustine died	430
COUNCIL OF EPHESUS. Third Œcum. June 22nd	431

	A.D.
Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, died	431
Patricius converts the Irish	432
Celestinus succeeded by Sixtus III.	432
Vincent of Lerins	433
Prosper Aq. Mercator	433
Nestorius died	435
Council of Antioch against Theodore of Mopsuestia	436
Carthage taken by Vandals	439
Sixtus III. succeeded by Leo	439
Armenia divided between the Romans and Persians	440
Council of Arausio I.	441
Council of Vasa	442
Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, died	444
Vortigern invites over Saxons under Hengist against Picts and Scots	446
Britons colonize west of Gaul, thence called Brittany	446
Eutychian heresy	446
Council of Constantinople	446
Sueves masters of Gallicia, the Goths of the rest of Spain	447
False Council of Ephesus	449
Council of Constantinople	451
Gaul ravaged by the Huns	451
COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. Fourth Œcumenical	451
Meeting between Leo I. and Attila	452
Council of Angers in Gaul	453
Prosper died	453
Rome pillaged by Genseric	455
Council of Arles	455
Persecution	455
Simeon Stylites	455
Leo suc. by Hilarius	461
Council of Arles	462
Hilarius suc. by Simplicius	467
Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, institutes Litanical Rogations	476
Simplicius succeeded by Felix III.	483
Vigilius Tapsensis	484
Peter Fullo, Bishop of Antioch, died	488
Felix III. succeeded by Gelasius	492
Gelasius s. by Anastasius II.	496
Anastasius II. s. by Symmachus	498
Conversion of Clovis	498
Babylonian Talmud completed	498
Fulgentius, B. of Ruspæ	506
Clovis died	511
Symmachus suc. by Hormisdas	514
Abyssinian conquests	522
Hormisdas succeeded by Johannes	523
Johannes suc. by Felix IV.	527
Angles settle in east part of Britain	527
Code of Justinian	528
Benedictine order founded	529
Jutes settle in the Isle of Wight	530
Felix IV. suc. by Boniface	530
Boniface s. by Johannes II.	531
Christian era instituted by Dionysius Exiguus	532

	A.D.
Institutes of Justinian	533
Abyssinians received into Roman alliance	533
Johannes II. s. by Agapetus	535
Africa reconquered by Belisarius	535
Sacred vessels (taken from Rome to Carthage by Genseric) sent back to Jerusalem	535
Agapetus succeeded by Silverius	536
Silverius succeeded by Vigilius	540
Benedict and Totila, kings of Goths	543
COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Fifth Œcumenical	553
Commencement of Schism between the East and West	554
Vigilius suc. by Pelagius	555
Pelagius suc. by Johannes III.	559
King Clothaire died	561
Justinian died	565
British Saints Gildas, Bridget, Columba	566
Johannes III. s. by Benedictus	573
Gregory of Tours	573
Germanus, Bishop of Paris, died	575
Benedict succeeded by Pelagius II.	577
Uffa, first king of East Angles, died	577
Ercenwyn, first king of Essex, died	587
Visigoths of Spain converted	589
Council of Toledo III. Nicene Creed made part of service with "Filioque"	589
Pelagius succeeded by Gregory I.	590
Heptarchy	590
Mission of Augustine to Saxons in Britain	596
Ordo Romanus reformed, canon of mass	599
Gregorian chants introduced into England by Augustine	599
Lombards converted	599
Columban founds the monastery of Luxeuil	600
British churches raised on ruins of heathen temples	601
Mellitus first Bishop of London	601
Gregory I. s. by Sabinianus	604
Sabinianus s. by Boniface III.	606
Boniface III. s. by Boniface IV.	607
(The Papal succession here discontinued.)	
Augustine, Archb. of Canterbury died, s. by Laurence	607
Jerusalem taken by the Persians, and the Holy Sepulchre burnt	614
Ethelbert, king of Kent d.	616
Chosroes conquers Egypt	616
Laurence, Archb. of Canterbury, s. by Mellitus	619
Hegira of Mahomet	622
Mellitus s. by Justus	624
Conversion of Edwin, king of Northumberland	627
Mahomet dies	631

	A.D.
Mahomet s. by Abubekr and Omar	631
Monothelite heresy	633
Justus s. by Honorius	634
Damascus taken by the Moslems	635
Jerusalem taken by Omar	636
Isidore of Seville d.	636
Malmesbury Monastery founded	638
St. Aidan founded See of Lindisfarne (since of Durham)	638
Moslem rule spreads from Egypt to Euphrates, and over whole of Persia	639
Alexandria taken by Moslems, and Library used as bath fuel	640
Melchite Patriarch in Egypt	641
Moors, by junction of Saracens and Berbers of Tripoli	641
Oswald, K. of Northumberland, killed	642
Caliph Omar assassinated, succeeded by Othman	644
North Africa overrun by Moslems	646
Persian Empire extingd. by death of Yezdegird after a dynasty of 425 years. Magian fire worship abolished; Parsees retire to India	651
Honorius s. by Deusdedit a W. Saxon	653
Oswy K. of Mid Angles baptized	655
Oswy obtains accession of Mercia	655
E. Saxon conquered by Oswy, of which London is capital	655
Chad, Bp. of Northumberland	655
Caliph Othman assassinat.	655
Ali has Persia, Arabia, and the east; Moavia (Ommiad) has Syria, Egypt and west; the Persian dynasty descended from Ali	660
Moavia sole Calif from Mediterranean shores to India	662
Moors invade Sicily	662
Conference at Streneshal, *i.e.*, "Beacon Point" (Whitby Abbey) on Paschal question	664
Diocese of Winchester formed by King Oswy from Wessex	664
Council of Merida (Canons Resident.)	666
Deusdedit d. 665; s. by Theodore	668
Wilfrid consecrated Archbishop of York	670
Queen Etheldred founded Ely monastery	672
Council of Hertford	673
Glass first introduced in church windows by Bened. Biscop at Wearmouth in Durham	674
Ven. Bede b. at Jarrow, Durham	674
Queen Etheldred d.	679
COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Sixth Œcumenical	680
Council of Hatfield	680
Wilfred (deposed) founds Selsey Abbey	680
St. Cuthbert, Bp. of Lindisfarne, d.	687

Chronological Tables

	A.D.
Theodore s. by Britwald or Berthold, first native primate	692
Council in Trullo (Quinisext)	692
Council of Toledo XVII. and last	694
Church in Spain raises persecution of Jews, and gives no other historical sign of life for 150 years	694
Council of Beconceld (cf. A.D. 798)	694
Council of Berkhamsted	697
Sale of St. John's Church at Damascus refused to Caliph Walid. He builds a Mosque on ruins	705
Wilfrid d.	709
Moors pass from Africa into Spain	712
Roderic, King of Goths defeated. Gothic kingdom had lasted 300 years	713
Moors established at Cordova and Toledo	713
Andalusia named from "Vandal"	713
Moors seize Gothic territory north of Pyrenees	719
King Ina refounds Glastonbury Abbey	722
Ina founds English College at Rome. Maintains it by "Rome scot," the origin of Peter's Pence	727
Berthold or Britwald s. by Tatwin	731
Bede's Hist. closes	731
Abderrahman killed by Charles Martel at Poictiers	732
Bede's letter to Egbert	734
Bede d.	735
Tatwin s. by Nothelm	735
York made Archbishopric	735
Charles Martel d.	741
Northelm s. by Cuthbert	741
Conc. of twelve bishops at Cloveshoe (Cliffe at Hoo), Kent	747
Abdallah (Abassid) Caliph	749
Jewish Sect of Karaites	750
King Pepin crowned	751
Pepin founder of Carlovingian dynasty	752
Ommiad dynasty expires, but Abderrahman holds Spain	753
Counc. Constant. against Images	754
Pepin takes 22 cities from Astolf, King of Lombardy, and gives them to the Pope, now a temporal prince	755
C. Almansor persecutes Church in Palestine	756
Cuthbert s. by Bregwin	759
Bregwin s. by Jaenbert	762
Council of Calcuith (Chalk Hythe, Sax. Cealchith, modern, Chelsea)	767
False decretals presented to Pope by Ingelram, Bp. of Metz	785
Endowment by Constantine therein forged	785
COUNCIL OF NICÆA. Seventh Œcumenical	787
Adrian, to mortify Archb. of Canterbury sent Pallium to Bp. of Lichfield *qua* Archbishop	787
Libri Carolini presented to Pope Adrian	790
Jaenbert s. by Athelard	791
Alcuin's letter to Charlemagne against Iconolatry	792
Danes destroy Lindisfarne	793
Council of Frankfort against images	794
Council in Mercia	795
Council of Beconceld (cf. A.D. 694)	798
Council of Finchal, Durham (Paschal qu.)	798
Council of Cliffe at Hoo (Medway)	800
Coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor	800
Council at Aix-la-Chapelle	803
Alcuin d.	804
Athelard s. by Wulfred	804
Council of Aix-la-Chapelle	809
Nicene Creed with "Filioque" in Spanish and Gallican Liturgies; not in Ordo Romanus, but engraved on silver plates in Greek and Latin and suspended in St. Peter's Church, Rome	809
Manichæans in Armenia	811
Council of Constantinople against images	815
Council of Calcuith	816
Monastic reform in France	817
Sicily and Crete taken by the Moors	820
Conncil at Cliffe	822
Council at do.	824
Wulfred s. by Theogild	829
Theogild s. by Ceolnoth	829
Heptarchy united under Egbert, first King of England	830
Paschasius Radbertus on Euch.	831
Viscount of Bigorre made king, to resist the Moors, origin of kingdom of Navarre	832
Caliph Almamoun, patron of learning, died	833
Moors ravage banks of Rhone	842
Descent of Danes on French coast, Rouen and Nantes pillaged, and large sums extorted as ransom	843
Saracens enter Italy as allies, and obtain much plunder from the monastery of Monte Cassino	844
Danes return upon Rouen, take Paris on Easterday, and retain a footing in France	845
Danes pillage Hamburg and Friesland,	845
Moors crossing from Africa plunder the outskirts of Rome	847
Rome fortified,	848
Bourdeaux taken by Danes	848
Moors persecute Church at Cordova	848
Gotheschalk on Predestination	848
Ethelwulf, second King of England	848
Alfred, son of Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, born	849
Danes repulsed on English coast	850
Danes ascend the Seine and Loire	853
Church endowed by Ethelwulf with tenth part of lands	854
Christianity introduced into Denmark	854
Ethelbald, third King of England	855
Rabanus Maurus died	856
Danes burn churches at Orleans and Paris	856
Ratramnus on Holy Eucharist	859
Danes pass round Spain and ascend the Rhone	859
Ethelbert, fourth King of England	860
Ethelbert, fifth King of England	866
Danes ravage east coast of England, and take York	867
Gotheschalk died in prison	868
Ratramnus on Proc. of Holy Spirit	868
COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Eighth Œcumenical	869
Danes under Ungar and Hubba plunder and burn the conventual churches at Lindisfarne, Tynemouth, Whitby, Croyland, Ely	870
St. Edmund M.	870
St. Neot died in Cornwall,	870
Hincmar of Rheims	870
Ceolnoth succeeded by Æthelred	871
Peter of Sicily, Hist. Manich.	871
Russians receive the Gospel	872
Alfred the Great, sixth King of England,	872
England overrun by the Danes, King Alfred in concealment	878
Danes overrun Netherlands	881
Danes defeated by Alfred, allowed to colonize coast south and west of Humber, on condition of receiving baptism	884
King Alfred codifies the laws of Offa, Ina, and Ethelbert	884
Italy ravaged by Moors	884
Danes winter at Amiens, and besiege Paris	886
St. David	886
Oxford restored by Alfred	889
Photii Bibliotheca	889
University of Paris	889
Æthelred succeeded by Phlegmond	890
Edward the Elder, seventh King of England	900
Hervé, Archb. Rheims, converts Danish settlers at Rouen, who may now be called Normans	910
Abbey of Clugni founded	910
Normandy and Brittany ceded to Rollo, baptized Robert	912
Phlegmond succeeded by Adhelm	923
Adhelm succeeded by Wulfhelm	925
Athelstan, eighth king of England	925
Moors possess Alpine passes, and levy tax upon pilgrims,	936
Edmund, ninth king of England	941
Wulfhelm succeeded by Odo, son of a Pagan Dane	942
Odo's Constitutions	944
Thurketil refounds Croyland Abbey	945
Dunstan endows Glastonbury, and founds five other abbeys	948
Edred, tenth King of England	948
Seven new Sees created in England	948
Conversion of Bohemian Sclaves	948
Dunstan holds the Sees of London and Worcester in plurality	948
Edwy, eleventh king of England	955
Edgar, twelfth king of England	959
Odo succeeded by Dunstan	960
Conversion of Poles	965
Dunstan inflicts seven years' penance on King Edgar	966
Dunstan, with Bishops Ethelwald and Oswald, a commission for reform of clergy	969
Cairo, "The Victorious," built by Moez	971
Edward II., thirteenth king of England	975
Ethelred II., fourteenth king of England	979
Bath Abbey founded by Elphege, Bishop of Winchester	980
Hugh Capet, founder of Capetian dynasty, consecrated at Rheims	987
Dunstan succeeded by Ethelgar	988
Ethelgar succeeded by Siric	989
Moors under Almansor oppress Spain for twelve years	993
Siric succeeded by Ælfric	996
Hungarians receive the Gospel	1002
Ælfric succeeded by St. Elphege	1006
Church reform	1006
Church of Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem destroyed: Jewish persecution in consequence	1009
Council of Enham forbids polygamy, sale of slaves to infidels, sorcery	1009
Danes take Canterbury, and cruelly kill St. Elphege, Apr. 10	1011
Sweyn, king of Denmark, fifteenth king of England	1013
Elphege succeeded by Leyfing	1013
King Ethelred's restoration	1015
Edward Ironsides, sixteenth king of England	1016
Canute, seventeenth king of England	1017
Leyfing succeeded by Egelnoth	1020
Manichæans burnt in Normandy	1022
Harold Harefoot, eighteenth king of England	1036
Egelnoth succeeded by Eadsige,	1037

	A.D.
Hardicanute, nineteenth king of England	1039
Edward the Confessor, twentieth king of England	1040
Council of Paris condemns Berengarius and J. Scotus Erigena	1050
Eadsige suc. by Robert	1050
Robert outlawed, succeeded by Stigand	1052
Normans invade Papal States, and take Leo IX. prisoner	1053
Mich. Cerular. Patr. of Constantinople, excommunicated July 16, Leo IX. having died April 19	1054
Duchy of Apulia and Calabria ceded to Normans in fee with Moorish part of Sicily. Origin of kingdom of Naples	1059
Pilgrimage of seven thousand Germans to Jerusalem,	1064
Westminster Abbey consecrated on Innocent's day	1065
Edward Confessor died January 4, naming William Duke of Normandy as his heir	1066
Harold, half brother of Edward, crowned	1066
William crowned after battle of Hastings by Aldred, Archbishop of York	1066
Stigand imprisoned as an intruder, succeeded by Lanfranc	1070

CHURCH. [Ἐκκλησία.] I. *Etymology.* A similarity of sound between the word "Church," as it appears in the Teutonic languages, and the word κυριακόν, which was occasionally used instead of ἐκκλησία [*Conc. Ancyr.* can. xiv. *Laodic.* xxviii.; *Euseb.* ix. 10[1]] by ecclesiastical writers, led to the opinion that the one word had been derived from the other [Walafrid Strabo, *De rebus Eccl.* vii.]. It has also been supposed to have been derived from κύριον οἶκος. But the first term is rare even in Greek writers, and there are strong arguments against the probability of its introduction into other languages [Smith's *Dict. Bible*, iii. *App.*]; while the second, though often found in the accusative case, τὸν οἶκον κυρίου, in the LXX., does not appear to have been transferred to Christian writers. In the most primitive known languages of Britain, the corresponding word is plainly allied with ἐκκλησία, the Welsh being *Eglwys*, the Cornish *Eglos*, and the Gaelic *Eaglais*. Of a similar derivation is the French *Eglise*. Although therefore the ecclesiastical words "bishop," "priest," "deacon," are undoubtedly from the Greek, it is not clear that "Church" is so derived. A more probable derivation is from the Anglo-Saxon "circ," a name applied to the stone circles used for Druidical temples, and exactly corresponding to the "kirk" of old English.

II. *Usage of the word Church.* The New Testament word for "Church" is uniformly ἐκκλησία, which is derived from ἐκκαλεῖν. The sense is that of a body formed into a separate assembly by being "called out" from the midst of a larger body; the analogous expression "the called" [κλητοί, Rom. i. 6; viii. 28] being familiar in St. Paul's epistles. This idea of Christians as persons "called" out of darkness and sin "unto God's kingdom and glory" [1 Thess. ii. 12], is so very frequently used by St. Paul that it was probably the sense in which ἐκκλησία was adopted and applied by the early Christians. It must not be forgotten, however, that the word is twice used by our Lord, once in the sense of a spiritual building [Matt. xvi. 18], and once in the sense of a religious community [Matt. xviii. 17]. These two instances, and a third in St. James [v. 14], are the only ones in which the word is used by any New Testament writer except St. Paul, St. Luke (his companion), and St. John. The idea of the ἐκκλησία as a building is not found anywhere else in the New Testament, except in our Lord's words before referred to, and (in a symbolical sense) in 1 Cor. xiv. 4, 12: though some writers, as *e.g.* Mede, consider it to be so used (in opposition to οἰκίας) in 1 Cor. xi. 22.

The primary idea of the Church is, therefore, in the New Testament, that of a separated community composed of Christ's followers, and as such dissociated from the rest of the world. In the Gospels it is usually spoken of by St. Matthew as "the Kingdom of Heaven," and as "the Kingdom of God" by all the Evangelists. It is observable however that in the latest Gospel, the designation "Kingdom of God" is only once used, and that St. John, the writer of that Gospel, uses the word "Church" freely in the Apocalypse.

In the fourth century the word had come to be generally used for the place of assembly for Divine Worship. Thus St. Augustine [A.D. 354-430] writes: "Sicut ecclesia dicitur locus quo ecclesia congregatur. . . . . Et hoc quotidianis loquendi usus obtinuit, ut 'in ecclesiam prodire,' aut 'ad ecclesiam confugere,' non dicatur nisi qui ad locum ipsum parietesque prodierit vel confugierit, quibus ecclesiæ congregatio continetur." [*Quæst. in Levit.* iii. 57.]

But even in Apostolic times a secondary sense of the word had sprung up, in which it was applied to particular bodies of Christians, as well as to the whole body in general. Thus the Churches of God [1 Thess. ii. 14], and the Churches of the Gentiles [Rom. xvi. 4], are spoken of by St. Paul.

In the same manner the Apostle particularizes national churches, as "the Church of God which is at Corinth," "the Church of the Thessalonians:" and at a later date, St. John addresses one of the seven epistles with a specially revealed superscription, "Unto the angel of the Ephesian Church" [τῆς Ἐφεσίνης ἐκκλησίας[2]]. From this usage of the word it is evident that it very soon acquired several meanings, even apart from its application to the place of assembly for Divine worship: and that *local churches* were recognised in Apostolic times, especially with reference to national and territorial divisions. Hence in the sub-Apostolic days it was customary to call each bishop and his flock a church; and in the age after that, when still further progress in organization had been made, such bishops and their flocks as were comprised within the bounds of a Roman province were collectively called so, each particular episcopate being then called a parish. The idea of "National Churches," such as the Church of France, the Church of Spain, the Church of England, the Church of Ireland, &c., is strictly in accordance with the primitive idea of the

[1] This is in the decree of Maximin. In the previous chapter, however, he himself speaks of churches as οἴκους ἐκκλησιῶν [Euseb. ix. 9], and the word most generally used by him is "temples," but his terms for them vary much, as if none were yet quite settled.

[2] This reading is not, however, in all the MSS.

Church; while, on the other hand, nothing could be less so than to speak of the Church of Rome, or the Roman Church, as if it were a body extending into other countries than that to which the name "Rome" may be legitimately extended.

III. *Nature of the Church.* The primary idea of the Church as a community of persons "called out from" the whole body of mankind, leads on to the further notion of it as comprising the whole body of Christian people. But this comprehensive notion of the Church extends it to Christians of all times and of all places; and therefore, of necessity, to Christians of all preceding ages as well as to those of any specified moment. This comprehensive idea of the Church is consequently subdivided into those of the Invisible Church and the Visible Church.

1. The Invisible Church is the name given to that vast body of Christians who have at any time, or in any place, departed out of this life in the faith, and fear, and love of God to live in the world unseen. In the words of St. Augustine, "The Church is the people of God throughout all nations, all saints being joined and thereunto numbered who lived in this world even before His coming, so believing that He would come, even as we believe that He hath come." [Aug. *de Catechiz. rud.* iii.] This definition presupposes, of course, that Christians who have left this world in a state of unforgiven sin, are in some sense or other cast out of the Church; but the condition of the departed is so veiled in mystery that their exact relation to the Church of Christ between death and the final Judgment can by no means be defined. We can only carry our definition to the extent of saying that the Invisible Church is made up of the faithful who are dead as far as this life is concerned, but who are alive as to the life of the world to come.

2. The Visible Church is the whole body of Christians at any time living in this world: that is to say, the whole body of those who have been baptized, and have not been authoritatively separated from the Church by excommunication. How far wilful heresy, schism, or immoral wickedness can of itself effect a person's separation from the Church, is a question too difficult to be entered upon in this place. But as theologians contemplate only the holy dead when they speak of the Invisible Church, so they ordinarily speak of the Visible Church in a restricted sense which does not include heretical, schismatical, or iniquitous Christians; meaning by that term, the "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" of the Nicene Creed. This is called "cœtus fidelium" by ancient writers, and the term is retained in the definition given by the Nineteenth Article of religion, which is, "The Visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men" [cœtus fidelium], "in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance" [et sacramenta quoad ea quæ necessario exigantur, juxta Christi institutum recte administrantur].[1] Of such a cœtus fidelium the principal notes or marks by which it is to be distinguished are Unity, Holiness, Catholicity, and Apostolicity. But these distinctive characteristics, and also the spiritual phase of the Church as the Body of Christ, are treated of in separate articles. [Body, Mystical. Authority of Church. Discipline, Ecclesiastical. Diocese. Notes of the Church. Communion of Saints, &c.]

CIRCUMCELLIONS. Certain fanatical Donatists of the fourth century who formed themselves into armed bands, and roamed through the country on the pretence of redressing injuries. The name was revived in Germany in the thirteenth century by some fanatics who professed to have armed in support of the excommunicated Emperor Frederic. [See *Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

CIRCUMCISION. The Octave of Christmas was called the Festival of the Circumcision as early as the sixth century, and for the obvious reason that the eighth day after the Nativity was the day on which our Lord was circumcised. The coincidence of this day with the Kalends of January, on which the riotous and immoral festival of the Saturnalia was kept by the Romans, always prevented it from being a prominent Christian festival in the early centuries; and there were places and periods in which the heathen Saturnalia so invaded the Christian festival that the observance of the latter was altogether forbidden. In modern times it has been confused in a similar manner with the observance of New Year's Day.

CIRCUMINCESSION, called in Greek περιχώρησις, is the name given to the indwelling in each other of the Three Divine Persons. This mutual indwelling is not only expressly stated in Scripture [John xiv. 9-11; xvii. 11, 21, 22, 23, and often implied, as in John i. 1; Col. ii. 9, πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα], but necessarily follows from the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity: for the Divine Nature being entire in each Person, though the Persons are distinct from each other, there must be that mutual indwelling which this word implies. St. Athanasius often alludes to the coinherence of the Three Persons,[2] which implies their equal and self-same Godhead, as manifestly inconsistent with Arianism. Not that we are to suppose that the teaching of the Church is either identical with, or even implicitly sanctions, the heresy of Sabellius, who maintained that the distinction between the Persons of the Godhead was only nominal, or, in other words, that there was only one Divine Person, bearing the name of the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost. On the contrary, as Bishop Bull shews, the doctrine of

[1] The definition of the Church usually adopted by Roman theologians is that of Bellarmine, which is thus given in Liebermann's *Institutiones Theologicæ*, i. 257: "Ecclesia est cœtus hominum unius et ejusdem fidei Christianæ professione, et eorundem Sacramentorum communione conjunctus, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum ac præcipue Romani Pontificis." As to the last words see Supremacy, Papal: the preceding part of the definition is entirely consistent with that of the English Church as given above.

[2] *Oratio tertia cont. Arianos*, tom. ii. (Migne), 1857.

the coinherence of the Divine Persons has no affinity with, and may be considered the safeguard against, the Sabellian heresy. He says: "In the Trinity the circumincession is most proper and perfect, forasmuch as the Persons mutually contain Each Other, and all the Three have an immeasurable whereabouts (immensum ubi, as the Schoolmen express it), so that wheresoever one Person is, there the other two exist; in other words, They are all everywhere. . . . In the next place, I would remind the reader that this doctrine of the circumincession of the Persons in the Trinity is so far from introducing Sabellianism, that it is of great use, as Petavius has also observed, for (establishing) the diversity of the Persons, and for confuting that heresy. For, in order to that mutual existence (in each other) which is discerned in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, it is absolutely necessary that there should be some distinction between those who are thus joined together—that is, that those that exist mutually in each other, should be different in reality, and not in mode of conception only: for that which is simply one, is not said to exist in itself, or to interpenetrate itself. . . . Lastly, this is especially to be considered—that this circumincession of the Divine Persons is indeed a very great mystery, which we ought rather religiously to adore than curiously to pry into. No similitude can be devised which shall be in every respect apt to illustrate it; no language avails worthily to set it forth, seeing that it is an union which far transcends all other unions."[1] [Petavius, *de Trinitate*, lib. iv. c. 16.]

CIVIL LAW. [Law, Ecclesiastical.]

CLERGY. The word clergy is derived from κλῆρος, a lot, and is thus explained by St. Jerome [*Ep. ad Nepot.*], "Propterea vocantur clerici, vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia ipse Dominus sors, id est, pars, clericorum est." Others have supposed that the custom of choosing persons by lot to discharge sacred offices is connected with the term which is used [Acts i. 26] in reference to the election of St. Matthias to the Apostolate by casting lots; ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἐπὶ Ματθίαν. The clergy were also called canonici, from κανὼν, the catalogue of each church, οἱ ἐν τῷ κανόνι, ἱερατικοὶ, or τάξις ἱερατικὴ, and τάξις τοῦ βήματος, or the order of the sanctuary, a term used chiefly by Gregory Nazianzen. In the third century, the inferior orders were also called clerici, and the third Council of Carthage in its twenty-first Canon expressly grants the title to them.

That the clergy, using the name in its older sense for the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, formed from the first a distinct order cannot be doubted. It has never indeed been denied that in the third century there was a distinction between clergy and laity, clearly marked, and firmly established, though it is asserted that it was then new, and brought in by the increasing worldly ambition of the Church. In the first place, however, the tone of all the passages of Scripture in which the ministers of the Church are spoken of is one which conveys the idea, not of equality, but of godly authority. A passage in St. Peter's Epistles [1 Pet. v. 3], μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων, has been cited to prove the equality of all Christians in the primitive Church, and the absence of any distinct order of ministers. In that passage the presbyters of the Church are bidden not to be lords over God's heritage or clergy, τῶν κλήρων. The word is there undoubtedly used for the whole body of Christian people, but the same word had been used before of the Jews, who in the same way are called God's inheritance or clergy [Deut. iv. 20 and ix. 29], and among whom, nevertheless, a distinct priesthood existed. The whole body of the Christian Church is in truth the κλῆρος or inheritance of God, when it is distinguished from unbelievers; but when we speak of the members of the Church in their mutual relations one to another, there is an especial κλῆρος, just as from the whole of God's inheritance of Israel the tribe of Levi was chosen to minister at the altar. With this view the testimony of the ancient Church, in every age, agrees. St. Ignatius declares: "He who does anything without bishop, and presbyter, and deacon, is not pure in conscience" [*Ad Trall.* c. 7], and in the same epistle χωρὶς τούτων (ἐπισκοπού, πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων) Ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. St. Clement of Rome, the "fellow-labourer" of St. Paul, parallels the three orders of the Church to the Jewish high priests, priests, and Levites, and the *Stromata* of Clemens Alexandrinus contains these remarkable words, καὶ αἱ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προκοπαὶ, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μιμήματα, οἶμαι, τῆς ἀγγελικῆς δόξης. The same Father records of St. John that when he returned from Patmos, and settled at Ephesus, he set apart for the clergy such persons as the Holy Spirit signified to him. The testimony of Tertullian with respect to the episcopal office, as it existed in his day, is "ordo episcoporum, ad originem recensus, in Joannem stabit auctorem."

Similar passages abound in the writings of the Fathers, but those here given sufficiently shew the opinion of the Church in the age immediately following that of the Apostles. The most ancient division of the clergy is into the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. In the lifetime of the Apostles, themselves forming the Episcopate of the Church, Theodoret says: "Formerly they called the same persons presbyters and bishops, while those who are now called bishops they named apostles. But shortly afterwards the name of apostles was appropriated to such as were apostles indeed, and then the name bishop was given to those who before were called apostles." The appointment of Timothy and Titus with authority over the presbyters of Ephesus and Crete is one of the first traces of the divinely-appointed provision made by the Apostles for the continuance of their own office; and by St. John, the last survivor of the twelve, the new organization was made complete. The bishops of the Church are then, in the fullest

[1] *Defence of the Nicene Creed*, bk. iv. c. iv. secs. 13, 14. Oxf. transl.

sense, διάδοχοι τῶν Ἀποστόλων, the successors of the Apostles. Other titles of honour given to them were ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησιῶν, governors of the Churches, προεστῶτες or presidents, summi sacerdotes, summi pontifices, papæ, vicars of Christ, and angels of the Churches [cf. St. Aug. *Ep.* 162, "Divina voce laudatur sub angeli nomine præpositus ecclesiæ]. The duties of a bishop included those of the presbyter, such as baptism, the celebration of the Holy Communion, and preaching, "the ministry of the Word and sacraments;" and also the consecration of churches, confirmation, the reconciliation of penitents, offices which only in case of absolute necessity were performed by presbyters. But the distinguishing office of the bishop was the power of ordination, which he alone possessed. The fourth Council of Carthage directs "Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri, qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant;" that is, as in the Ordinal of the English Church, the presbyters were to place their hands upon the heads of the person to be ordained, but the bishop alone was to utter the words of consecration. St. Jerome, even when writing in favour of the privileges and status of presbyters, says [*Ep.* 85], "Quid enim facit, *excepta ordinatione* episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat." It was also the office of a bishop to grant letters of commendation to members of his flock when leaving home for other countries, to administer the revenues of the Church [Canon xxiv. of the Council of Antioch], and to superintend the conduct of the inferior clergy in his diocese. This power, however, was not arbitrary, for the Councils of Carthage allow an appeal to any presbyter or deacon from his own bishop to a synod, or to the neighbouring bishops.

The word presbyter, like the Latin senior, signifies an elder, but it is a title of station and rank rather than of age, as the Saxon word alderman, before it was supplanted by the Danish jarl or earl, denoted high dignity and power rather than seniority. Archbishop de Marca defines the office of presbyter: "Presbyterium est ordo qui manuum impositione confertesse ad conficienda et dispensanda sacramentæ." Presbyters might also preach and grant absolution in the absence of the bishop, or if authorized by him; they sat in the place of honour with the bishop, forming his council or senate. St. Cyprian says of his presbyters that he was accustomed to deliberate with them on the merits of all candidates for ordination, and on the subject of discipline and reconciliation of penitents.

The word deacon (διάκονος) is derived from διήκω, to go through or perform. Διάκονος is sometimes used in the New Testament for any servant of God, just as διακονεῖν is used for the performance of a service, διακονία for the service or ministry itself, whether performed by a deacon, or as in Acts i. 25, by an apostle, and in 2 Tim. iv. 5, by a bishop. Deacons appear first in the Church at Jerusalem, and were appointed in consequence of a complaint made by the Hellenic converts that their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations. Their duties are to assist the bishop and presbyters at the celebration of the Holy Communion, to baptize in the absence of a priest, to preach by authority from the bishop, to rebuke unseemly conduct in church, and particularly to minister to the wants of the sick and poor. The difference between the ordination of a deacon and a priest is set forth by the fourth Council of Carthage [c. 4]: "Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat; quia non ad sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur."

In the middle of the third century several new orders were introduced: [1] Sub-deacons, whose principal duty was to prepare the sacred vessels for the service of the altar; [2] Lectores, or readers, who read the Scriptures in the Church from the "tribunal ecclesiæ," or lectern; [3] Acolythes, who lighted the candles in the Church, provided wine for the Eucharist, and attended the bishop in his official duties; [4] Exorcists, whose office is explained by a canon of the fourth Council of Carthage: "Exorcista cum ordinatur, accipiat de manu episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi Episcopo, Accipe et commenda memoriæ, et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum, sive baptizatum sive catechumenum;" [5] Ostiarii or doorkeepers [πυλωροί], who had the charge of the doors of the church, and enforced the observance of the distinctions between the faithful and catechumens, or persons under discipline, at the time of service. Besides these five orders, there were also in the fourth century cantores, or psalmistæ, who sang in the church; copiatæ, or fossarii, whose office is described in a passage of St. Jerome: "The *clerici*, whose duty it was, wrap the corpse in linen, and according to custom prepare the tomb;" and the parabolani who, under the direction of the bishop, attended on the sick.

In the earliest times, the clergy were supported by the weekly oblations at the altar, and by monthly offerings made to the common treasury of each church. These revenues were divided monthly. St. Cyprian speaks of a divisio mensurna, exclusion from which seems to have been equivalent to the modern suspension from a benefice. It was impossible in the ages of persecution, and until the imperial decrees granted liberty in this respect, for the Church to hold with safety property in houses or lands. Such, therefore, if given to the Church, were sold, especially in the West, which continued the practice later than the East. A law of Constantine, embodied in the Code of Justinian, decreed that even any person might, when dying, bequeath "bonorum quod optaverit" to the most holy Catholic Church. In consequence of the great abuses which arose in after times, Valentinian decreed that no ecclesiastics should enter the houses of orphans or widows for the purpose of obtaining bequests from them. It was doubtless a law made in restraint of abuses, for St. Jerome says of it, "Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo cur maruimus hanc legem." I do not

complain of the law, but I grieve that we should have deserved it [*Ep.* 2 *ad Nepotian*]. Constantine also granted an annual payment to the clergy out of the revenues of the empire [Sozomen, lib. v. c. 5], but this, after being entirely withdrawn by Julian, was only restored in part by the succeeding Christian emperors. It was probably the germ of the payment of tithes, which was made before the end of the fourth century.

Many privileges were granted to the clergy by the Christian emperors. Justinian decreed that when the evidence of a bishop was required, "Judex mittat ad eos quosdam ex personis ministrantium sibi," so that the bishop might not be obliged to appear in court. A law of Theodosius the Great forbade the examination of a presbyter or ecclesiastic of higher rank by torture. Valentinian decreed that in matters of faith or ecclesiastical order the clergy should be judged by those of their own body [St. Ambrose, *Ep. ad Valentin.*] "Minora delicta" were also, according to De Marca, left to the cognizance of the bishop, when the clergy were guilty of them; "atrocia crimina" alone being in their case judged by a secular court. The clergy were also exempted from the payment of the "census capitum," or personal tribute, although in common with other subjects of the empire they paid, except in particular instances, the census agrorum for their own lands or those belonging to the Church.

The *power* of the clergy reached its highest point in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Many causes contributed to this, such as the superiority which learning, almost exclusively possessed by them, gave to them over the laity; and the fact that the spirit of religion, even when unable to repress immorality and crime, was yet powerful enough to invest the possessions of the Church with a peculiar sanctity, and therefore to make churches and religious houses safe refuges in which the oppressed and the weak might find protection.

The *influence* of the clergy, as distinguished from power, was perhaps never higher than at the close of the sixteenth century. Ranke says of this period [*Hist. of the Popes*, book vi. Intr.]: "There has been no period in which theologians were more influential than at the close of the sixteenth century. They sat in the councils of kings, and discussed political affairs from the pulpit in the presence of the whole people,—they directed schools, controlled the efforts of learning, and governed the whole range of literature." [Bishops. Benefice. Celibacy. Cure of Souls. Character. Discipline. Episcopacy. Orders. Priest. Apostolical Succession.]

CLINIC [κλινικός]. This designation was applied in very early times to any person who was baptized in private on account of sickness or approaching death. St. Cyprian says that he was at a loss to know how the name came to be used, but concludes that it was a term borrowed from Hippocrates, or from Soranus (a Roman physician of Trajan's time), and applied to persons so baptized as a kind of nickname. [Cyp. Ep. lxix. al. lxxxv. *ad Magnum.*]

There were many in the early Church who doubted the efficacy of clinical, or deathbed, baptism, because a person so baptized was only sprinkled and not dipped. St. Cyprian declares his opinion in the epistle just quoted, however, that it was effectual, though he will not control or question the contrary opinion of any brother bishop. [Baptism.] The twelfth canon of the Council of Neocæsarea [A.D. 314] sanctions clinical baptism in time of necessity; and the forty-seventh canon of that of Laodicæa [A.D. 314-372] implies the same permission by enjoining that clinics shall learn the Creed if they recover from their sickness. But the same canon of Neocæsarea also forbad the ordination of any person who had received clinical baptism, and this was the common rule of the early Church, as shewn in the objections offered to Novatian on this account.

Clinics were unfavourably looked upon as Christians, because they were often persons who had put off their baptism until the last, that they might live unrestricted lives, and yet hope for remission of their sins by that sacrament. Constantine is said to have been a clinic.

CŒNA DOMINI. The "last Supper" of our Blessed Lord, at which He celebrated the Passover, and instituted the Holy Eucharist. The fifth day in Holy Week, popularly known as Maundy Thursday, has been ritually known by the name of "Cœna Domini," or "Feria quinta in Cœnâ Domini," from very ancient times, St. Isidore [A.D. 570-636] referring to it in his treatise on *Divine Service* [*de Offic. Eccl.* i. 28], and the Council of Meaux [A.D. 845] ordering in its forty-sixth canon, "Nemo sacrum chrisma, nisi in quinta feria majoris septimanæ, id est, in Cœna quæ specialiter appellatur Dominica, conficere præsumat." [Lord's Supper. Maundy Thursday. Lavipedium.]

CŒNA DOMINI. On this day the Pope used for some centuries to fulminate a special excommunication against heretics, which was hence called the Bull "in Cœnâ Domini," the instrument beginning with those words. It is not known who began the formality of this annual excommunication, but Grancolas attributes it to Boniface VIII. or Clement V. about A.D. 1294-1315 [*Comm. Hist. in Brev. Rom.* ii. 60]; and the Bull, with variations and improvements, has been published by not a few Popes. The most noticeable editions are of Urban V., A.D. 1364, who does not excommunicate heretics, but opposers of the See; of Julius II., A.D. 1511, who excommunicates all heretics, particularly "Gazaros, Patarenos, Pauperes de Lugduno, Arnaldistas, Speronistas, Passagenos, Vicletitas seu Ussitas, Fratricellos de opinione nuncupatos;" of Paul III., A.D. 1536, who states the custom of the annual excommunication to be an ancient one; of Gregory XIII., A.D. 1582, who excommunicates "Hussitas, Uuichlephistas, Luteranos, Zuinlianos, Calvinistas, Ugonottos, Anabaptistas, Trinitarios, et a fide Christiana apostatas;" and lastly of Urban VIII., A.D. 1627, which is the present Bull, "Pastoralis Ro-

mani."[1] This excommunicates the heretics last named, all who aid and abet them, and all readers of their books, appellants to a general council, pirates and corsairs and wreckers plundering the goods of Christians, falsifiers of bulls and papal rescripts, those who tax the clergy without the Pope's license, secular judges who summon ecclesiastics to their courts contrary to the canon law, all hinderers of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, all usurpers of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or revenues, all who hinder the execution of apostolical mandates and rescripts. It is ordered that the Bull shall be published yearly, and that all confessors and curates shall have it for use and study.

The clauses which condemn those who protect heretics, and those who tax the clergy, bring most, if not all, of the Roman Catholic princes under the censures of the Church: the clauses condemning those who appeal to a general council implicates that large section of the Church which holds a general council to be superior to the Pope. In short, the Bull brings the Roman See into collision, theoretically, with the authorities of every state; and overthrows the legitimate power of sovereigns. Accordingly, the states of Europe, with few exceptions, have declared against it. France most strongly perhaps, for in 1580, on an attempt by some French prelates to procure the reception and publication of the Bull, the Parliament of Paris ordered those who had received and published it to be suspended, and their temporalities to be confiscated.

In 1773 Clement XIV. suspended the publication of the Bull. But "this Bull, although the formality of its publication is now omitted, *is nevertheless implicitly in vigour in all its extension, and is likewise observed in all cases, where there is no impediment to the exertion of the Pope's authority.* Therefore it must legally be looked upon as a public declaration to preserve his rights."[2]

CŒNOBITÆ. [Cenobites.]

COLLECT. A short prayer formed on definite principles of construction. The most probable interpretation of the name is that it indicates a prayer offered by the priest alone on behalf of the people; whose suffrages are thus collected into one voice, instead of being said alternately by priest and people as in Versicles and Litanies. [*Microlog.* iii.; *Durand*, iii. 13; *Bona, Rer. Liturg.* ii. 5; *Mirror of our Lady*, fol. lxxiii.] Collects are a form of prayer peculiar to the Western Church, but there are some points of likeness between them and the Exaposteilaria of the Eastern liturgies [Freeman's *Princ. Div. Serv.* i. 142], the latter being originally a kind of precatory hymn invocating the grace of God, which is characteristic of the Collect. The only two prayers of the Church which are given in the New Testament have the form of Collects [Acts i. 24, iv. 24], and there is a vast number in the ancient Sacramentaries, of which some date back to Apostolic times. The characteristic features of the Collect form of prayer are: [1] an invocation; [2] a reason on which the petition is to be founded; [3] the Petition itself, centrally placed, and always in few words; [4] the benefit hoped for; [5] a memorial of Christ's mediation, or an ascription of praise, or both. [Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, p. 69. Bright's *Ancient Collects.*]

COLLYRIDIANS. A sect of heretics, consisting chiefly of women, which sprung up in the end of the fourth century. They seem to have revived some portions of heathen worship, profanely adapting them to the worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary as a goddess: and they also invented a pseudo-Christian female priesthood. Their distinctive name was derived from the *collyria*, or cakes, which they offered to the Blessed Virgin.

COMES. An ancient Lectionary, or book of Epistles and Gospels, which has gone by the name of St. Jerome at least since the time of Amalarius [A.D. 820] and Micrologus [c. A.D. 1080]. It has been doubted whether it really is the work of St. Jerome, but chiefly because the system of Epistles and Gospels differs from that of the Roman rite. Where it differs from the Roman rite it agrees, however, with the ancient Anglican rite, and as there is no historical association known between the two, it seems as if the system must be one of great antiquity. Mabillon found the Comes mentioned in the Charta Cornutiana, a deed so early as A.D. 471, belonging to a church in France; it is mentioned by Amalarius [iii. 40], and in Micrologus [xxv.] it is spoken of as "Liber Comitis sive Lectionarius, quem Sanctus Hieronymus compaginavit." It will be found under the name of St. Jerome in the *Liturgicon Ecclesiæ Latinæ* of Pamelius, and also in the eleventh volume of St. Jerome's works. The singular points of agreement between the Comes and the Anglican system are set out at length in Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, p. 71. [Zaccar. *de Latin. libris liturg. disquis.*]

COMMENDATIONS. [Prayers for the Dead.]

COMMENDATORY LETTERS. [Literæ Formatæ.]

COMMUNICATIO IDIOMATUM. This theological term expresses a result of the Hypostatic Union. The Divine and the Human Nature being perfectly united in the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ, the properties of the one nature are to be predicated of the other nature. Thus our Lord speaks of Himself as being in Heaven in His human nature, "the Son of Man which is in Heaven" [John iii. 13], although that nature had not yet ascended there, because it was one with His Divine nature, which could not but be in Heaven. Thus, also, His Divine nature communicated its omnipotence to His human nature, so that the latter participated in the working of miracles, which were the result of Divine power. Thus, again, St. Paul speaks of the Jews as crucifying "the Lord of glory"

[1] "Pastoralis Romani Pontificis vigilantia et sollicitudo," &c.

[2] Cardinal Erskine to Sir J. C. Hippisley, in Report of Comm. of House of Commons on the Laws regarding the regulation of Roman Catholic Subjects. 1816, p. 218.

[1 Cor. ii. 8], and bids the elders of Ephesus to "feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood" [Acts xx. 28]. For the same reason, the Blessed Virgin is called the Mother of God, because she bore the Human Nature which is inseparably united with the Divine. [Theandric Operation. Theotokos.]

COMMUNION, HOLY. [Eucharist.]

COMMUNION OF SAINTS. The unity of the Invisible Church. [Church.] This concluding part of the ninth article of the Apostles' Creed does not appear in any form of it earlier than the fifth or sixth century. It is first met with in one of the creeds expounded by Eusebius Gallus, and is not found again until the seventh century, when it occurs in a Gallican sacramentary [*Codex Bobiensis*], printed in the *Museum Italicum* of Mabillon. [Heurtley, *Harmonia Symb.* p. 145.] Whether or not it belonged to more ancient forms, or whether it was inserted after the age of general councils (a very improbable supposition), cannot be determined. By many divines it has been taken as an explanation of the preceding words, "the Holy Catholic Church," but this view involves a tautology which is not at all consistent with the carefully castigated style of the creeds; and the better interpretation is that which makes it mean the mystical union between all holy members of Christ's mystical body, living and departed.

And although this article of the Creed is not found in the earliest forms of it, the doctrine of the article is plainly enough set forth in Holy Scripture, "If we walk in the light, as He is in the light," says St. John, "we have fellowship one with another" [1 John i. 7, κοινωνίαν μετ' ἀλλήλων]; and that this, moreover, is not what we understand by Christian intercourse, but mystical union, is clearly shewn by his preceding use of the word, "and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ" [1 John i. 3]. These words are expressive of the same truth that is set forth in our Lord's parable of the vine and its branches, with a further extension of it in the direction of the words contained in His prayer, "that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us" [John xvii. 21].

But the oldest interpretations of this article which are extant, including that of the homily in which the *ipsissima verba* of it are first found, referred it chiefly to communion with the saints departed. The obvious reason is, that only those who are at rest in Jesus in the unseen world are entitled to the term "saints" in its full and unlimited sense, for they only are beyond the risk of falling from holiness. For this, also, there is the most literal Scripture warrant, for in the Epistle to the Hebrews the writer developes the whole idea of the communion of saints in language which cannot be mistaken: "Ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the City of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, which are written in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect [καὶ πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων], and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant" [Heb. xii. 22-24].

Some divines have considered that there is a direct reference to sacramental unity in the word "communion" as here used; and this opinion is well expressed in the old expository formularies of the Reformation period: "And forasmuch as the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar . . . increaseth and worketh in them that worthily receive it the communion and conjunction in body and soul of them to Christ and Christ to them, with a mutual conjunction also in love and charity of each good man in Christ to other, therefore the said Sacrament may worthily be called the Communion of Saints" [*Erud. Christ. Man*, A.D. 1543]. On this article of the Creed is also based the idea of a great treasure of grace, holiness, and love, which is a source of spiritual wealth and strength to each individual Christian as member of one vast body, as a living branch of the True Vine, and as partaker of the "fatness of the Olive," in which he remains engrafted. [Body, Mystical.]

COMPETENTES. The catechumens of the primitive Church whose preparation for baptism was completed. They were called also Electi; and, in the Eastern Church, βαπτιζόμενοι and φωτιζόμενοι. The designation of *competentes* was derived from the fact that their names were given to the bishop as petitioners for the sacrament of baptism; the "quid *petis?*" of the Latin office for baptism still representing the custom. St. Augustine also says of Curma, the smith of Hippo: "Easter was now approaching, and he gave his name among the other competents" [Aug. *De Cura pro Mort.* xii]. And in another treatise: "When we were petitioning for the sacrament of that fount, and for this reason were called *Competentes*" [Aug. *de fid. et Oper.* vi.]. The names of the candidates were registered in the "diptychs of the living," and were read out in the presence of the congregation.

COMPLINE. [Hours.]

CONCEPTUALISM. The theory that "universals" are conceptions, *i.e.* thoughts in the mind, as opposed to either of the conflicting views [*a*] that they were substances in the external world, and [*b*] that they were merely names.

I. The celebrated controversy about the nature of universals which perplexed the Middle Ages, divided University-towns into opposite camps, and in some instances led to sanguinary conflicts in the streets, may be traced back to a confusion of thought in the mind of Plato.

[*a*] Three main questions may be said to have been opened by the philosophical critics of the age of Pericles. [1.] What is the basis of the distinction between the passing impression of the moment and knowledge? [2] (a different form of the first) What is the basis of the distinction between what appears to be and what really is? and, [3] What ground is there for the distinction between what I like to do and what I ought to do? The comprehensive answer given to all

these problems by the sceptical school was, The impressions of any individual man at any given moment are the only standard by which knowledge, reality, and right can be judged. In other words, there is no knowledge beyond the passing impression; no reality behind the appearance; no rule of conduct except the desire of the moment. This last principle led naturally to the further question, whence, then, are the laws, which so far from being identical with the momentary desires, constantly restrain and contravene them? The sceptical answer to this was consistent: They are restraints imposed upon the people, by agreement of, and in the interest of the rulers, *i.e.* with a view to secure the maximum of gratification of their own desires. The moral obligation ("I ought") to obey the laws, is thus supplanted by the purely physical obligation to do so ("I must"); as merely the expression of the collective selfishness of the rulers, the laws are entirely external to the individual citizen, who submits to them because, and just so long as, he cannot help doing so.

[*b*] It was against this last conclusion that the Socratic method was intended to be an antidote. It may be briefly described as an attempt to awaken in men the consciousness that the laws they had been accustomed to obey, as ordinances arbitrarily imposed from without, are merely the register of moral distinctions which they bear in their own breasts, that they rest upon an authority of which they themselves are the authors. This moral consciousness he "brings to the birth," by taking a number of cases, in which some term, such as "just," "beautiful," "good," &c. is applied by common consent (*τὰ πολλὰ δίκαια*), and by comparing them together, he tried to ascertain what characteristics are common to all the cases, and thus obtain a definite and distinct meaning (*ὅρος*) of the words "justice," &c. which had been before instinctively and vaguely applied. This "definition" supplies also the "reason why" (*λόγος*) the name "just" is applied in any given instance; and, lastly, forms a standard or type (*εἶδος*) to which to refer actions and our judgments of them. In this way Socrates restores, under a slightly altered form, the distinction which the sceptical school had obliterated. There is one general and permanent type of justice, beauty, &c. (*τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ καλον*, &c.) which we all recognise implicitly whenever we apply the name to given instances (*τὰ πολλὰ δίκαια, καλά*, &c.); and the distinction between the two depends on the difference between the vague application of a term in common speech, and a clear conception of its meaning, and the reason for applying it.

[*c*] The problem before Plato was slightly different: viz. how to give an account of the distinction between the passing sensation and knowledge; between the phenomenon and reality. As it appears in the *Cratylus*, p. 386, D, E, it may be expanded thus: I look at an object, say a chair, and I have a certain picture painted upon the retina of my eye, which I call a sensation. I turn my head, the picture of the chair vanishes, and another takes its place; my head returns to its original position, the sensation of the chair reappears. I leave the room, the sensation vanishes; I return, it reappears, and so on *ad infinitum*. The result of this process is that I experience a series of recurring sensations resembling one another.

But this series of recurring similar sensations or pictures is not, nor is the fact of their similarity or recurrence, what I mean when I speak of "*this* chair" as a real object in the world. What I mean is something which is one, definite, and permanent (*οὐσίαν ἔχοντά τινα βέβαιον*), which is *there*, when I do not see it as well as when I do, and whether I am conscious of it in any way or not. A contrast thus arises between the recurrent sensations of the chair, as manifold and transitory (*τὰ πολλὰ αἰσθητὰ*), and the chair *itself* which I speak and think of (*τὸ νοητόν*), as one and permanent; the sensations as affections of me, and the chair itself as external to me in the world; and, again, the sensations as mine alone, (*ἑλκόμενα ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῷ ἡμετέρῳ φαντάσματι*), and the chair itself (*καθ' αὐτὰ . ἥπερ πέφυκε*) as a common object to all.

The difficulties arising out of this contrast, and of the distinction and correlation of its terms, were evaded by the sceptical school by the simple process of denying the latter term (the one permanent reality), as they had denied the latter term of the ethical contrast between the passing desires and the moral law. This view led to a corollary affirming the conventional character of language and general names [*Cratyl.* 383 A], which imply the existence of real outward things, analogous to the corollary affirming the conventional character of laws and institutions, which imply the reality of moral distinctions. In answer to this, Plato might have proceeded in the steps of Socrates, by an induction of general names, to shew that, upon this hypothesis, it is impossible to account for the existence of names in language. That, irrespectively of the correctness and incorrectness of their application, names are always the names, not of sensations but of things. And that naming implies that the thing so indicated is a permanent reality, external to consciousness, and a common object to all men, having a definite character (*ὅρος*), being the standard or type (*εἶδος*) by which our sensations are to be judged, and supplying therefore the reason (*λόγος*) why upon their recurrence we fix them in a name. The reality (*τὸ ὄν*) thus established, as the object, not of sensation, but of thought (*νοητὸν*), would have at once refuted the contemporary sceptic, have gone far to settle a question which has come down unsolved nearly to our own day, and have spared the world the fruitless controversy about the nature of "universals." The appeal to language, as a proof of the reality of an external world and of the possibility of knowledge, lay to Plato's hand, but he plays with it throughout the *Cratylus*, and finally rejects it.

The application of the Socratic method to the different spheres of ethics and the physical world thus leads to two different results. In the former it established the reality and permanence of

one law or principle of justice, goodness, &c., τὸ δίκαιον, τὸ καλόν, &c., as implied in *all* applications of the name "just," &c.; whilst in the latter it would establish the reality and permanence of a single external object, as implied in the naming of *each* series of similar recurrent sensations: the reality, *e.g.*, of *each* of the chairs in my room, of *each* of which I have a series of continually recurring sensations, similar to one another, but not necessarily similar to those of another series. In short, it would have proved the existence of a world of *corpora individua*, external to consciousness, each of which is at once real and an object of thought or idea. The perception of this difference between the results of the same method in different spheres of inquiry seems to have led Plato to seek a higher unity in the physical world, which should match the "one justice," &c., in the ethical. In other words, all the chairs in the world, each of which is one, permanent, real, &c., as contrasted with my recurring sensations of it, form together a series themselves. Is it not possible to find some single and permanent reality, which shall bear the same relation to the manifold chairs in the world, as each of the chairs bore to the manifold recurring sensations corresponding to it? This higher unity seemed to be presented by the artifice of classification, and the existence of class names [*Phaedrus*, 265 D], whereby all the chairs in the world are summed up under the one idea and name of chair, all the trees under the one idea of tree, &c., obtained by the comparison of different objects having a general resemblance, by neglecting the points in which they differ, and forming a mental type composed of the attributes in which they agree. The ideas so attained were the result of the same interrogation of ordinary language which Plato rejected in the *Cratylus*. But they served to stand in the same relation to the series of chairs, trees, &c., as each chair or tree, &c., stood in to the series of sensations corresponding to each. The general type of chair or tree, too, represented by the series seemed to be permanent, whilst the individuals themselves of the series came into being and afterwards ceased to be; to be an object common to all, while the particular chairs in my room and trees in my garden are only objects to me and a few persons besides. The natural inference then was, that the idea in this sense, possessing the other characteristics of the idea in the former sense, was also, like that, a reality in the world; that, as the individual chair is a reality external to consciousness, as contrasted with the manifold sensations of it, so the abstract generality "chair" was in a proportionately higher sense a reality external to consciousness, as contrasted with the manifold individual chairs which it represented.

Again, it is to be observed that these ideas themselves, "chair," "tree," "table," &c., form a series, the differences between which also admit of being abstracted, leaving a *residuum* of attributes similar to one another, the complex of which forms an idea (*e.g.* "wooden substance"), standing to the series in the same relation as "chair," "tree," &c., stand to the individual chairs and trees, and as each of them stand to the recurring sensations of it. It is a higher unity, it is more an object to all—for those who have neither seen a chair nor a tree may have seen something made of wood, and may have the idea of "wooden substance" when they have not that of "tree" or "chair;"—it is more permanent. Therefore, as before, *it is more real* than the subordinate ideas, as they are than individuals, and as these are than the sensations. This process (συναγωγὴ, ὁδος ἄνω, σύνοψις, as it was called by Plato, ἐπαγωγὴ by Aristotle) may be continued through successive series of ideas, each at once more abstract and more real than the preceding, until a limit is reached in the idea of mere Being at once the most abstract, the absolutely real, and absolutely known.

This, so far as it is possible to gather it from scattered hints in the Platonic writings, seems to have been the process by which the celebrated Theory of Ideas was generated in Plato's mind, a process which it is necessary to trace to its original source, before being able to understand how the controversy about Universals, which vexed the world for more than a thousand years, could have arisen. The idea, according to Plato, is at once a name, an idea in the mind, and—which is with him the prominent aspect—a reality outside the mind, as much more real than the *things* we see and handle, as these are than the manifold similar sensations which we have of each. And the reality of the ideas increases as they become more abstract and general. Two consequences follow from this view: [1.] That, as compared with the intense reality of the highest ideas, and especially of the highest of all, which, as Plato says, "is more than reality," the reality of the things we see and handle is so meagre, as scarcely to be a reality at all. Thus the world of form and colour, in which we live, becomes to Plato a brilliant phantasmagoria, "midway between what is and what is not real," and the doctrine of the dualism or irreconcilable opposition of the worlds of thought and reality on the one hand, and of sight and sense on the other, is a natural consequence. The farther we recede from the latter the nearer we get to the former. [Dualism.]

[2.] Conversely it follows from this view that the supreme idea being absolutely real, and at the same time absolutely abstract, and the successive stages of the subordinate ideas being more or less real in proportion to their abstractness and their proximity to the highest, the scale of being may be described as a gradual degeneration in reality from the highest idea, down through the lowest species, to the individual things amidst which we live. [Emanation.]

II. The introduction of this vast creation of the philosophical imagination (ἡ τῶν εἰδῶν εἰσαγωγὴ) between the mind and the problem of outward reality, as originally stated, has left its mark upon the logical writings of Aristotle, where the process of abstraction from the concrete up to "Pure Being" is represented by "induction," the descent from Pure Being to the concrete individual by

"syllogism." In his more thoughtful writings, the *Metaphysics* and the *De Animâ*, only isolated traces of the theory are to be found; and the concrete individual thing, of which we have a series of recurrent similar sensations, remains at once the only reality, and the true idea or object of knowledge. But the logical writings of Aristotle, which alone were known to the early middle ages, served to pass on the Platonic ideal theory, or some modification of it, to the scholastic metaphysicians, amongst whom the different aspects of the "idea" become the all-absorbing questions of the day.

[*a*] The word "*universalia*," as a translation of the Aristotelian τὰ καθ' ὅλου, was first used by Boethius (end of fifth century), and expressed the extension of the idea to *all* the particular things summed under it. And it was the following translation by Boethius of a passage in Porphyry's Introduction to the Aristotelian Categories which may be said to form the thesis of the subsequent controversy about universals: "Mox de generibus et specibus illud quidem, sive subsistant, sive in solis nudis intellectualibus posita sint, sive subsistentia corporalia sint an incorporalia, et utrum separata a sensilibus an in sensilibus posita et circa hæc consistentia, dicere recusabo. Altissimum enim negotium est hujusmodi et majoris egens inquisitionis."

The different interpretations here indicated existed within the Carlovingian schools of the ninth and tenth centuries, but without exciting general notice, and without the importance of their consequences being appreciated. The opinion of Boethius himself on the point is thus expressed: "Cogitantur verò universalia nihilque aliud species esse putanda est nisi *cogitatio collecta ex individuorum dissimilium numero, substantiali similitudine;* genus verò cogitatio collecta ex specierum similitudine" [*Opp.* p. 56]. This view of the nature of universals is strictly what was called in the eleventh and twelfth centuries "Conceptualism:" but before the controversy began to rage, the view of Boethius was regarded as indistinguishable from Nominalism. Thus Rabanus Maurus (ninth century) recognises only two alternatives in the passage in Porphyry, (tractando de rebus vel *vocibus*,) and by transcribing the anti-realistic opinion of Boethius as best expressing his own view, practically ignores any distinction between the view of universals as notions, and the view of them as words [see Cousin, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard*, 4to, Paris, 1836. Introduction, p. lxxvi.-ix.]. The conceptualist view is also expressed without any distinction of it from Nominalism in the anonymous glosses discovered by M. Cousin in the margin of the St. Germain MS. of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, &c., and belonging to the tenth century. "Genus est cogitatio collecta ex singularium similitudine specierum" [*l. c.* lxxxv.].

[*b*] The two diverging theories thus latent in traditional Peripateticism were developed into a temporary opposition, by the extreme expression given to Nominalism by Roscellin in the eleventh century. With him universals are *flatus vocis*, *i.e.* mere words: by which, however, a strong antithesis is intended, not to Conceptualism, but to Realism [Cousin. *l. c.* clxxx.]. The denial of any reality save that of the individual, and the thoroughgoing Tritheism to which it led in its application to Christian dogma, stimulated the realistic aspect of universals into a new life in the person of St. Anselm; whilst the condemnation of Roscellin at the Council of Soissons [A.D. 1092] contributed, along with St. Anselm's *De fide Trinitatis* and *de Incarnatione Verbi*, to throw the weight of Catholic authority into the scale of Realism. The doctrine was wrought into a scientific shape by William of Champeaux, and the genus or universal declared by him to be "rem eandem essentialiter totam simul" in all the individuals classed under it. Thus, *e.g.*, "humanity" (the instance on which the battle was mainly fought) is a real thing, constituting the "essence" of every individual man, the same and entire in each.

It was as an intermediate view between these two extremes that the old Conceptualism of Boethius and Rabanus Maurus was formulated anew by Abélard [A.D. 1079-1142], the disciple first of Roscellin and afterwards of William. His objection to Realism is summed up in the following paradox: If humanity is the entire substance at once of Plato and Socrates, when Socrates is at Athens and Plato at Rome, the entire substance of both is in two places at once. On the other hand the universal is not a nonentity, but a mental or logical reality, indicated by a name. While excluding Realism, Abélard thus does not exclude Nominalism, but only the purely verbal and grammatical view of Nominalism, which appeared, perhaps, rather in the expression than in the thought of Roscellin. On the contrary he holds the fundamental tenet of Nominalism, that nothing is real but the individual, and in the individual nothing but what *is* individual. [For the passages of Abélard against Nominalism and Realism, see Cousin, *l. c.* clvii.-clxviii.] His Conceptualism, like all Conceptualism, is only "un nominalism qui s'ignore ou qui se cache." On the other hand, no rational Nominalist would deny that the generality of a name is representative of the generality of the idea which it expresses. The ultimate identity of the two views is confirmed by the history of the school of Locke and the Scottish school. Both Hobbes and Locke begin with Nominalism and rise to Conceptualism: while Condillac and De Tracy fall back again into Nominalism. So Reid rejects Realism and Nominalism, and adopts Conceptualism: his follower, Dugald Stewart, falls back into Nominalism.

The application of his theory to the doctrine of the Trinity landed Abélard in the same dilemma which Roscellin fell into. If there is no unity but that of the individual, there are either three gods or but one person: in the first case the Unity in Trinity, in the second, the Trinity in Unity, is a chimera. As Roscellin had chosen the former, so Abélard selected the latter alternative—a peculiar kind of Sabellianism.

"Absit," says St. Bernard, "ut huic acquiescamus dicenti hoc esse Filium ad Patrem, quod speciem ad genus, quod hominem ad animal, quod æreum sigillum ad æs, quod aliquam potentiam ad potentiam" [*Opp.* tom. xi. p. 647]. And again, "Sicut eadem oratio est propositio, assumptio et conclusio, ita eadem essentia Patris, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti" [St. Bernard, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 185, *Ep. ad Guidonem de Castello*]. This doctrine was condemned at a second Council at Soissons [A.D. 1121], and again twenty years later at Sens.

But the success of Abélard as a teacher and controversialist in Paris [A.D. 1108-40] had been prodigious; indeed it was mainly owing to the conflict of the doctrine of Conceptualism with its two rivals, that the multiplication of schools and the growth of an university at Paris is due [Cousin, *l. c.* cc.].

Among the followers of Abélard may be mentioned Peter Lombard, John of Salisbury, and Albertus Magnus; the last of whom, however, gave a death-blow to the controversy by shewing that universals are at once "ante res" in the Divine mind, "in rebus" as their common nature, and "post res," as abstractions from things, in the human intellect; and thus shewing Realism, Nominalism, and Conceptualism to be different aspects of the same truth.

The connection of Conceptualism with political history may be found in the efforts made by the English clergy to induce William the Conqueror to take up the Church's cause against it; in the presence of Louis VII. at the Council of Soissons; in the adherence to it of Arnold of Brescia, who was a pupil of Abélard; and more generally in the rise of a spirit of independence which accompanied the decline of Realism, and which gave occasion to the Councils of Constance and Basle, at which the great Nominalists, Pierre d'Ailly and Gerson, were present. More widely still its influence may be traced on the rise of Gallicanism and the Protestant Reformation.

Through Descartes [*Principes*, §§ 58-9] Conceptualism passes on into modern philosophy. [For an able defence of it, see Mansel's *Prolegomena Logica*, passim.]

CONCOMITANCE. A word used to express the doctrine, that when Christ's Body is present in the Holy Eucharist, there is also His Blood, and that when His Blood is present there is also His Body. The Godhead and Manhood of our Lord after His Resurrection and Ascension being inseparable, it will follow that when either His Body or His Blood are present, there is Christ Himself both God and Man.

The doctrine of concomitance has been supposed to be taught or implied in St. Paul's words:—"Whosoever shall eat this Bread, *or* drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty *of* the Body and Blood of the Lord" [1 Cor. x. 27], which seems to mean that Christ may be received unworthily under the species of Bread *or* Wine, and so to imply the validity of communion in one kind, which is founded on the belief of concomitance, and is its practical realization. Admitting, however, that the reading *or* (ἤ) in this passage is unquestionably genuine, and that we cannot with some commentators, render the word "and," as if of synonymous meaning—still it by no means follows that St. Paul intended to teach, or virtually recognised the doctrine of concomitance, as reasons may be given for his language totally unconnected with this doctrine.[1] It cannot be proved that communion in one kind which is founded on and implies concomitance was known to the writers of the New Testament or during the Apostolic age. The statements often quoted from the "Acts" of the Apostles meeting "to break bread," or "breaking bread from house to house," afford no proof whatever of communion under one kind. For the Apostles met together with the disciples to "break The Bread:" but in celebrating the Eucharist, bread *and* wine must have been consecrated together, as all theologians admit; and even had the Sacrament been given to the faithful under the form of bread only, still bread *and* wine are necessary for consecration, and must *both* be consumed by the priest who celebrates. So that if meeting to "break bread" were to be taken according to the mere letter, it would prove that bread only was used in celebration, or in other words, that the Apostles themselves did not validly celebrate or consecrate the Holy Eucharist. To "break bread" is a phrase commonly used by scriptural and ecclesiastical writers for celebrating the Eucharist, but it never for a moment implies the non-reception of the Sacramental Blood. We find the phrase, *e.g.*, in the Apostolic Fathers, St. Ignatius sometimes speaking as if the faithful received under one kind only, though it is universally acknowledged that in the early ages the Sacrament was *always* publicly received under *both* kinds. Thus he says in his Epistle to the Ephesians, sec. 20, "breaking one bread which is the medicine of immortality;" also, to the Smyrnæans, sec. 7, that the Docetæ "abstain from the Eucharist and prayer (or Oblation), because they confess not that the Eucharist is the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ,"—making no allusion to the Cup or Sacramental Blood. In other epistles, St. Ignatius expressly mentions both. "I wish for God's Bread which is the Flesh of Jesus Christ, and the drink I long for is His Blood."[2] From these passages it is clear that

[1] Dr. Wordsworth says in reference to this passage, "A, and some few Cursives and Fathers have καί; but ἤ is doubtless the true reading; for it is necessary to receive *both* elements with devotion and reverence. Further, ἤ (*or*) has a peculiar significance here, because, as the context shews, St. Paul is censuring the Corinthians for *two* several *sins*, opposed respectively to the two elements of the Lord's Supper. The first sin is that of *eating meats* offered to idols, and of gluttony generally and particularly at the meals before the Communion [ver. 21], a sin specially opposed to communion in the *Eucharistic Bread* [see 1 Cor. x. 21]: the second sin, that of drinking the *cup of Devils* or false deities [1 Cor. x. 21], and of intemperance in the meals before the Communion [ver. 21], a sin specially opposed to participation in the *Eucharistic Cup*. He therefore says, "whosoever by eating idolatrous meats and gluttony eats this *Bread* unworthily, *or* by idolatrous drink and intemperance drinks this *Cup* unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord." *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles.*

[2] *Ad Romanos*, sec. 7. See also *Ad Philadelph.* sec. 4.

the phrase of "breaking bread" was not intended to imply communion in one kind, but was a well-known expression for receiving the Eucharist, as administered under both kinds.

After the Apostolic age, we find what may be called a recognition of the doctrine of concomitance: or rather we find instances in which the Eucharist was received under one species or element only. Thus we know from Tertullian[1] and St. Cyprian[2] that the faithful took the sacrament home in the form of bread only, and communicated themselves, an usage which prevailed after persecution had ceased. Thus St. Basil says,[3] "the monks in deserts where there is no priest, keep the sacrament at home, and communicate themselves; and also, that Christians generally follow the same usage in Alexandria and Egypt. St. Cyprian mentions the instance of a child receiving the sacrament under the species of wine, after partaking of meat offered to idols.[4] And Eusebius tells us of Serapion, a deacon, who, when dying, communicated under the species of bread only.[5] According, also, to the usage of the Eastern Church, a few drops of the sacramental Blood only are given to an infant after baptism.

Admitting, then, the doctrine of concomitance,[6] and that, in certain cases, it was recognised by the practice of the Early Church, yet such recognition was rare and exceptional, the ordinary law being that the faithful received the Eucharist under both kinds separately administered,[7] and this being the ordinary rule of the Church during 1200 years.[8] The present usage of the Church of Rome, to withhold the cup from the laity, being merely a matter of discipline, it is to be regretted that the general wish for its restoration, expressed before and since the Council of Trent, has not been complied with, as a step would thus have been taken towards the union of Christendom, which is not only in itself, as all must allow, desirable, but is in accordance with the command and dying prayer of our Lord.

CONCORDAT. I. A solemn act of composition, accommodation, agreement, and accord transacted between a Pope and a temporal sovereign. Such were those of Bologna [A.D. 1516]; between Leo X. and Francis I., abolishing the right of the election of bishops by cathedral chapters; of Paris [A.D. 1801]; between Pius VII. and Bonaparte; and [A.D. 1817] between the same pontiff and Louis XVIII. with regard to the reconstruction of dioceses. By these formal agreements between the See of Rome and any foreign government, the ecclesiastical discipline of the clergy, and the management of the Church and its benefices within the territory of the state are regulated; in order to define the rights of the Pope and the country, and adjust the line between the ecclesiastical and secular power. They embrace the immunities of the clergy from taxation and the jurisdiction of the temporal courts, the right of sanctuary and the papal claim to benefices, provisions, first-fruits, tenths, and revenues. In France, the state received [A.D. 1801] the right of nomination to vacant sees, the clergy were subjected to the civil power, all immunities were abolished, and the control or approbation of the secular authority was required in numerous cases. In Austria and Germany, as between Frederick III. and Nicolas V. [A.D. 1447] touching annates, and the Emperor and Gregory XIII. [A.D. 1576], similar arrangements have been made; Benedict XIV. [A.D. 1741] and Clement XIV. made a concordat with the king of Sardinia; another Pope with Charles, king of Naples; and [A.D. 1818] with another of its kings, concluded certain agreements tending to the repression of the ancient privileges of the national churches and limiting the episcopal jurisdiction. Since the commencement of the eighteenth century, governments have made themselves more independent, and compelled the See of Rome to adopt a conciliatory and more enlightened policy than prevailed in earlier times. [PRAGMATIC SANCTION.]

II. Inter Beneficiatos, a transaction whereby one of two presentees to a benefice cedes institution to the other, on condition of a fixed stipend out of the income.

CONDIGNITY. There is no peculiar force in "condignum," as compared with the simple form "dignum." The compound term is as the simple. Thus, in Rom. viii. ἄξια παθήματα is rendered in the Vulgate as "condignæ passiones;" and the

[1] *De Orat.* sec. 14. *Ad Uxorem*, lib. ii. c. 5.
[2] *De Lapsis.*
[3] *Epist.* 93. *Ad Cæsariam Patriciam.*
[4] *De Lapsis.* [5] *Eccl. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 44.
[6] The present usage of the Eastern Church to give in a spoon the Eucharistic Bread and Wine sopped together is contrary to primitive custom, the elements being always given separately to signify the breaking or wounding of Christ's Body on the cross, and the effusion of His precious Blood. This is clear from the Clementine and other liturgies, and from the account of Eucharistic celebration given by Cyril of Jerusalem [*Lect.* xxiii. sec. 22], where the deacon follows the bishop or priest who celebrates, and who administers the Lord's Body, with the Sacramental Cup, of which each communicant partakes. Intinction, as the ordinary mode of public Communion, is as great an innovation upon primitive usages as communion in one kind. [INTINCTION.]
[7] The Eastern Church, whilst protesting against communion in one kind as the ordinary rule of the Church, recognises the truth of the doctrine of concomitance, as by infant communion in one kind, to which we have just referred, so also in the Mass of the Pre-sanctified (λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων), when throughout Lent (except on Saturdays and Sundays, on which being considered festivals consecration is permitted), the priest receives the sacrament reserved from the previous consecration on Sunday, in the form of Bread only. Hence, the word *pre*-sanctified or consecrated. Leo Allat, *de utriusque Ecclesiæ consensione*, appendix [1655].
[8] Cardinal Bona says, "Certum quippe est omnes passim clericos et laicos, viros et mulieres sub utraque specie sacra Mysteria antiquitus sumpsisse, cum solemni eorum celebrationi aderant, et offerebant ac de oblatis participabant. Extra sacrificium vero, et extra Ecclesiam semper et ubique communio sub una specie in usu fuit. Primæ parti assertionis consentiunt omnes tam catholici quam sectarii, nec eam negare potest qui vel levissima rerum ecclesiasticarum notitia imbutus sit. Semper enim et ubique ab Ecclesiæ primordiis ad sæculum XII. sub specie panis et vini communicarunt fideles, cœpitque paulatim ejus sæculi initio usus Calicis obsolescere, plerisque episcopis eum populo interdicentibus ob periculum irreverentiæ, et effusionis, quod inevitabile erat aucta fidelium multitudine, in qua deesse non poterant minus cauti et attenti ac parum religiosi." *Rerum Liturg.* II. xviii. 1.

earlier and later classical[1] authors give to it no other meaning. As a term of scholastic theology, *Meritum de condigno* is the sequel of *Meritum de congruo* [which see]; but like this latter term, *meritum de condigno* has no place in the nomenclature of Latin theology before the time of Thomas Aquinas. According to the scholastic theory, *meritum de congruo* having worked its way to the gift of grace, vouchsafed not for its own merit but by God's free goodness, the recipient obtained justification by the infusion of grace, which is love; from which point he is able to perform works by aid of the Spirit that are pleasing and acceptable to God, and to obtain still increasing measures of grace by *merit of condignity*. The award of the antecedent merit of congruity is justification through the gift of grace; the issue of the consequent merit of condignity is life everlasting. Between the two, therefore, as the turning-point between night and day, lies justification. The Scotists taught that the sure promises of God, and not any merit of human work, lay at the foundation of all increase of grace "de condigno;" it was "ratione pacti," not "ratione operis." As in the parable of the talents, "to him that hath is given," and one grace is rewarded by another, and that by further increase, until the ten full talents are attained, and the faithful servant is made "ruler over ten cities" [Luke xix. 17]; so is it with the grace of condignity, "those that use the grace of God find it increasing in them,"[2] not for their own inherent merit, but because it is of the nature of every good gift of God to fructify as "the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself."

The untrue principle of *meritum de congruo*, as attributing too much to man's unaided will, is shewn under the article CONGRUITY; but as a symbol of doctrine, *meritum de condigno* differs from the teaching of our Church in sound rather than in substance. Its parallelism with a faulty term has brought discredit upon it, that is not altogether so well deserved. The Schoolmen, with the view of reducing the doctrines of grace to one harmonious system, have invented terms which are neither scriptural nor catholic, and this is one of them. But it expresses a scriptural idea; for there is no truth clearer on the page of Scripture than that faithful work is said to have its reward; on earth, in the approval of conscience, and hereafter in the glories of the eternal kingdom. Thus "things wrought" in a spirit of faith "bring a full reward" [2 John 8]. The persecuted for righteousness' sake shall have their reward hereafter before men and angels [Matt. vi. 6; 1 Cor. iii. 14]. Charity has its reward, even as the peacemakers shall be called both here and hereafter the children of God [Matt. v. 9, vi. 1, x. 42; Luke vi. 35]. The high privilege of serving God at the altar is no ordinary reward of the ministry [1 Cor. ix. 17]. Moreover, one state of reward leads on to another in the manifold operations of God's gifts of grace. St. John begins his Gospel with the declaration, that "of His fulness have we all received, and grace for grace;" the graces of the present are superadded to the graces of the past. Our Lord repeatedly declared that "to him that hath shall be given" [Matt. xiii. 12, xxv. 29; Luke xix. 26], and that there might be no doubt of the meaning of "habenti dabitur," St. Mark shews [Mark iv. 28] that it is by growth and development, even as the grain of corn unfolds its principle of growth, "first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." St. Paul speaks of the glory of the Lord as being communicable to man through the Spirit, and declares that "we are changed into the same image from glory to glory" [2 Cor. iii. 18]. And St. Peter [2 Pet. i. 5] gives the practical interpretation of such terms when he bids us give all diligence that we add to "faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge patience, and to patience temperance, and to temperance godliness, and to godliness brotherly-kindness, and to brotherly-kindness" the bond of every good grace, "charity."

And in heaven, we are assured, there are many mansions, where the reward will be enjoyed that for the present is the object of hope. There may be gradations, even "as one star differeth from another star in glory," but there can be no misgiving; a knowledge of the perfect equity of the adjudication will hold each blessed spirit in the bonds of harmony and love. "My reward is with Me" [Rev. xxii. 12] is the assurance of Him who is A and Ω; a reward for every faithful servant, whether prophet or saint, or those "that fear His name, both small and great" [Rev. xi. 18]. It is "the reward of the inheritance," [Rom. ii. 6, 7, 10], "the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give at that day to all who love His appearing" [2 Tim. iv. 8].

This steadily augmented condition of blessing, involving growth of grace here, and culminating in eternal glory hereafter, was expressed by the scholastic grace or "merit of condignity"; merit being used in the sense of "earning,"[3] as in the parable the one talent earned ten; rather than in the moral sense of "deserving." It is not for the worthiness of the recipient, but because there is mercy in God that giveth that His gifts thus fructify, and from first to last to God alone is the glory due, through the merits of the Redeemer. With later theologians, indeed, the word "merit" was made to involve the idea of "worth," and a very different application of the scholastic theory is then observable. Yet even so its original meaning could not be wholly forgotten, and more especially when every thought of human pride was humbled in the fear of death. "Even you yourselves," says Archbishop Laud,[4] "in the point of condignity of merit, though you

[1] A. Gellius, III. vii. 1. [2] Bishop Browne *on Art.* xiii.

[3] As the dialectics of the schools descended from the Greek philosophy of preceding ages, so many of its terms may be interpreted better through the Greek than through the Latin language; ἀξία, an equivalent price, seems to have suggested the term "meritum." Compare also the mercantile signification of "mereor" in Facciolati.

[4] *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit*, sect. 35, num. 1

write it, and preach it boisterously to the people, yet you are content to die renouncing the condignity of all your own merits, and trust to Christ's."[1]

The position and bearing of works done after the grace of Christ, form the subject of the article on WORKS, where the authoritative statements of the Church of England are considered. To that article the reader is referred.

CONFESSION OF FAITH. A term originally used only for the Creeds, but extended in the sixteenth century to elaborate collections of "articles" containing long and minute expositions of the distinctive doctrine professed by the Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Calvinists. [AUGSBURG CONFESSION. CALVINISTIC CONFESSIONS.]

CONFESSION OF SINS. It is the natural instinct of penitence to make a confession of guilt, so that as soon as a person is convinced of sin, and is truly sorry for it *as sin* [CONTRITION], and not merely as to its consequences [ATTRITION], the acknowledgment of it follows as the next step on the path of an effective repentance. Such acknowledgment must, of course, be made to God, whether or not it is also made to any human person against whom the sin may have been committed; for repentance looks to pardon, and pardon is received from God.

The object of Confession being, however, not only the acknowledgment of sin, but submission to penitential discipline, and the reception of an authorized sentence of reconciliation [ABSOLUTION], it has been the habit of the Christian Church for penitents to make confession to God in the audience, and under the guidance, of the Christian ministry. This Christian custom may indeed be traced back to the earliest ages of mankind.

The pardon of sin was associated from the first with acts of sacrifice, and (except in the most primitive age of mankind) acts of sacrifice presuppose the intervention of a ministerial officer. A "sin-offering" was always, therefore, an act of confession, and if offered for a particular sin was a confession of that sin, whether or not it was accompanied by a verbal acknowledgment of it.

1. *Jewish confession.* But verbal acknowledgments of sin were the common practice, at least under the Mosaic dispensation. For, as Hooker shews [*Eccl. Polit.* VI. iv. 4], the Jews held that no repentance could be complete without confession, and three kinds were specified by their doctors. The *first* of these was the general confession made by each Jew for himself, and by the high priest on behalf of all, on the great day of Atonement. The *second* was that voluntary confession which was made "at all times and seasons, when men, bethinking themselves of their wicked conversation past, were resolved to change their course, the beginning of which alteration was still confession of sins." The *third* kind was the special confession of the particular sins for which God's pardon was to be sought. The words of the Law respecting this are—"When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a trespass against the Lord, and that person be guilty, then they shall confess their sin that they have done" [Numb. v. 6]. "And it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing" [Lev. v. 5]. "For such kind of special sins they had also special sacrifices, wherein the manner was, that the offender should lay his hands on the sacrifice which he brought, and should there make confession to God, saying, 'Now, O Lord, that I have offended, committed sin, and done wickedly in Thy sight, this or this being my fault, behold I repent me, and am utterly ashamed of my doings; my purpose is never to return more to the same crime.'" And Hooker adds that no criminal was ever condemned to death, or severe punishment, but he was called upon to repent and confess his sins; as Joshua exhorted Achan; "My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto Him, and tell me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me" [Josh. vii. 19]. The ministry of St. John the Baptist appears to have included a revival of this ancient habit of Jewish religion, for it is specially mentioned in connection with it that the people who came to him "were all baptized of him in the river of Jordan, confessing their sins" [Mark i. 5].

2. *Our Lord's commission to the Apostles.* When Christ solemnly transmitted to the Apostles His own mission, saying "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you," He accompanied the act of Ordination with the words, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained" [John xx. 23]. Such words necessarily presuppose confession of sins to, or in the hearing of (which is the same thing) those who were to remit or retain them; for there could be no personal application of this power, unless with a personal knowledge that confession had been made; and the power of remitting *or* retaining sins shews that an act of judicial discrimination was to be made by the person so remitting or retaining. In accordance with this view of the commission, we find penitents coming to the Apostles in numbers for the purpose of confession; "Many that believed came, and confessed, and shewed their deeds" [Acts xix. 18], and St. Peter's conduct towards Simon Magus is a conspicuous instance of an Apostle "retaining" the sins of one not judged to be truly penitent for them [Acts viii. 18-24].

3. *Confession in the Sub-Apostolic Church.* The Ἐξομολόγησις, full confession, or open confession of sins of the early Church, was partly a public act [see Cyp. *Ep.* xvii. *al.* xi.], and is thus described by Hooker: "First, the offender's intimation of those crimes to some one presbyter,

[1] Even Bellarmine lays down for proof the proposition "Propter incertitudinem propriæ justitiæ, et periculum inanis gloriæ tutissimum est fiduciam totam in sola Dei misericordia et benignitate reponere" [*De Justif.* V. vii. prop. 3]. If only the Church of Rome had allowed as a matter of true principle that which is here conceded on the score of expediency!

for which imposition of penance was sought: secondly, the undertaking of penance imposed by the bishop; thirdly, after the same performed and ended, open confession to God in the hearing of the whole Church; whereupon ensued the prayers of the Church, then the bishop's imposition of hands; and so the party's reconciliation or restitution to his former right in the Holy Sacrament" [*Eccl. Polit.* VI. iv. 13]. It will be here observed that private confession "to some one presbyter" was the first step in this course of discipline, and probably this was the act of confession *quâ confession*, the subsequent public Ἐξομολόγησις being certainly looked upon as a part, and the crowning part of the *penance*. The private confession did not, however, entitle a penitent to absolution, and to obtain this he had to accept, (with a shrinking heart, doubtless, in the majority of cases,) the terrible ordeal of the Ἐξομολόγησις. Nor indeed, was it customary for absolution to be given to heinous sinners by any except the bishop himself [Cyp. *Ep.* xvii. *al.* xi.; Aug. *Serm.* cccli.]. This system of public confession was gradually discontinued soon after the cessation of persecution. When peace came to the Church the inconvenience of requiring every penitent to make his sins as public as if they were printed in a modern newspaper was found to be very great, and in fact a living scandal in the Church. "Whereupon," says Hooker, "forasmuch as public confessions became dangerous, and prejudicial to the safety of well-minded men, and in divers respects advantageous to the enemies of God's Church, it seemed first unto some, and afterwards generally requisite, that voluntary penitents should surcease from open confession" [*Eccl. Polit.* VI. iv. 3]. In A.D. 441, St. Leo absolutely forbad the practice [*Ep.* cxxxvi.] declaring that the sins which were made the subject of such publication were often not fit to be spoken of in so open a manner, and that the private confession was sufficient. Open penance was indeed retained in use for notorious sinners, and of course included some form of open confession; but it was no longer superadded to private confession as an essential part of penitential discipline.[1]

4. *The Mediæval System of Confession.* During the early centuries of Christianity the discipline of the Church was so strict that confession was compulsory on those whose sins had caused them to be put out of communion, if they wished to be restored. But there was no such compulsion upon others; nor is it even proveable that it was used as a common practice by the "fideles," or communicants. It is true that, after the general discontinuance of public penance, the system of private confession, as a step to the private discipline and penance which still preceded absolution, became more definitely organized. But it was long before divines came to assert that confession was absolutely necessary for every one who would be in a state of grace. This principle, however, gained ground in the Church; and at length, in A.D. 1215, Pope Innocent III. promulgated the famous 21st Canon, "*Omnis utriusque sexûs*," of the fourth Council of Lateran, which enjoins all the faithful who have arrived at years of discretion to confess their sins once a year at least to their own parish priest. In after days local synods (*e.g.* Lambeth, A.D. 1378) reimposed this canon in a still stricter form, and enforced its observance under severe penalties: and for some time before the Reformation period it had been very generally taught that confession was part of a sacrament which is necessary to salvation.

5. *The principles of the modern Church of England respecting Confession.* Although the canons of the mediæval Church of England respecting confession were not actually repealed, their compulsory force may be said to have lapsed during the Reformation period; and (without any word indeed depreciating the value of confession) the Church of England habitually reverted to the earlier system of voluntary confession. The authoritative Anglican statements and injunctions respecting it will be found in the third of the *Ten Articles* of A.D. 1536; in *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and its revised form *The Erudition for any Christian Man;* in the "Exhortation to Communion," and the "Office for Visitation of the Sick," contained in the various editions of the Book of Common Prayer from A.D. 1549 to A.D. 1662, and in the 113th of the Canons of A.D. 1603.[2] From these documents it will be found that the ancient system of "auricular," or private, confession is still permitted, and in some cases encouraged; and that, beyond the disuse of any words which would imply its absolute necessity to salvation, there is nothing that breaks into the ancient traditions of the Church upon the subject. The opinions of all those divines who have best expressed the theology of the Church of England as distinguished from that of the Dissenters have also invariably run in the same direction from the time of Hooker to that of Keble.

6. *The spiritual value of Confession.* The primary theological aspect of confession is as a preparation of the soul necessary to the reception of God's pardon through the ministration of absolution. A full and true confession is the outward manifestation of contrition and repentance; and in the covenant of God's mercy and grace the person making it is entitled to the outward manifestation of God's forgiveness: "If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" [1 John i. 9]. But there are also secondary aspects from which confession may be justly viewed as an important auxiliary to repentance and sanctification.

a] The large majority of persons have but a very imperfect knowledge, beyond the lines of those greater sins which society calls crimes, as to what is and what is not very sinful. The sensitiveness of the Christianized conscience is deadened by contact with an artificial state of social

[1] The ecclesiastical censures of our Episcopal Courts represent the ancient public discipline of the Church.

[2] See them all collected together in *The Doctrine of the Church of England*, pp. 132-135, ed. 1868.

life and of business; and there are multitudes of cases occurring in the course of every active person's life in which, if they honestly acknowledge their true state of mind, they must fairly say, "I really do not know for certain whether such and such a course has been, or will be, right or wrong." Hence there is a need for the help of those who have made Christian morals their study with a view to the regulation of Christian life; who have studied the characteristics of sin in their broad lines, and in their more intricate complications, as physicians study the diseases to which human nature is subject.

b] It is by no means so easy as persons often suppose, for a sinner to know whether or not he is really penitent. An impulsive mind may be very likely to make mistakes on this point, and to put down as true penitence a temporary regret, a few tears, a momentary disgust with sin, which might indeed be capable of development into repentance, but which, left to itself, is "as a morning cloud, and as the early dew it goeth away" [Hos. vi. 4]. But if such first impressions of compunction are brought under the guidance of a wise priest, they may probably lead to that much deeper and more thorough sorrow which characterizes a real penitence, and is the sorrow not only of impulse, but "after a godly sort."

c] A person who has a hearty desire to forsake sin and to overcome temptation, may be in great ignorance as to the way and means of doing so. The highly educated mind, or the person trained in habits of thorough self-possession and self-government, may see much absurdity in such ignorance; but these are a mere fraction of the world at large, and the real fact is, that there is nothing in which the majority of persons so much need spiritual guidance as in respect to the actual way by which they may forsake sin, and the actual means by which they may get the better of their temptations.

d] There is, too, the familiar, but yet Divine saying to be remembered, that "the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?" [Jer. xvii. 9]. A strong conviction of this as regards their own hearts will often lead persons to desire the assistance of others in searching out their faults, and in bringing them before Him who has said, "I, the Lord, search the heart," and who sees with the Omniscient eye of judgment and condemnation sins which lie in hidden corners, where they are not visible to the eye of so partial a judge as every one is of his own self. [Contrition. Absolution. Discipline, Ecclesiastical. Marshall's *Penitential Discipline; Oxford Trans. of Tertullian*, note on Ἐξομολόγησις; Carter *on Confession;* Blunt's *Sacraments and Sacramental Ordinances.*]

CONFESSOR. One who confesses Christ faithfully before men under circumstances which seem likely to bring death upon him for the confession, but who escapes with life notwithstanding. The term itself seems to originate in our Lord's words, "Whosoever, therefore, shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father which is in heaven" [Matt. x. 32], and is used of our Lord Himself by St. Paul, when he writes, "Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed [μαρτυρήσαντος] a good confession" [1 Tim. vi. 13]. The original meaning of the word was probably an inclusive one. Tertullian speaks of confessors as "martyrs elect," and Cyprian wrote an epistle "to the martyrs and confessors of Jesus Christ." As early as the time of Eusebius, it was evidently restricted to those who endured trials and sufferings which were short of death. Asclepiades, he says, was distinguished among the Antiochean confessions [ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις], and afterwards became Bishop of Antioch. How large a class of such confessors existed in the early Church is indicated by Theodoret's remark on the bishops who came to the Council of Nicæa: "Many bore about in the body the marks of the Lord Jesus. Paul, Bishop of Neocæsarea, had experienced the fury of Licinius, his hands powerless, the red-hot iron had destroyed the power of motion; others had their right eyes dug out; others were hamstrung at the knees, of whom was Paphnutius." Socrates and Rufinus mention others who had suffered in similar ways during the persecutions. In later days the term "confessor" was rather indiscriminately used; but in the Eastern Church it still retains its ancient meaning.

CONFIRMATION. A sacramental rite by which the spiritual life given in baptism is strengthened and perfected. The name by which this rite is commonly known throughout the Western Church appears to have come into use about the fourth century, when it is mentioned by St. Ambrose [*de Myst.* vii. 42]. In earlier times it was called "imposition of hands" [Aug. *de Bapt.* ii. 16], "chrism" [St. Leo, *Serm.* iv. *de Nativit.*], and the "seal" [Prudent. *Psych.* 360].

[I.] *Confirmation in the New Testament.* There is no verbal institution of this rite by our Lord; but the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him immediately after His Baptism [Matt. iii. 16] was a typical act in which He was "anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power" [Acts iv. 27, x. 38, cf. John vi. 27], and which associates His Person with the subsequent administration of the rite; and the imposition of His hands on the children brought to Him [Matt. xix. 15] may be justly regarded as an exemplary, if not a mandatory act. But whether these are or are not to be regarded as constituting a precept for the Church to follow, it is evident that the Apostles used the rite with a promptness and straightforwardness which point to some Divine command as to what they were doing. Among their earliest acts we read of St. Peter and St. John going down to Samaria to lay their hands on those who had been baptized by the deacon Philip [Acts viii. 14-17]; and in the early ministry of St. Paul we see him laying his hands upon the Ephesian disciples of St. John the Baptist, as soon as they had been baptized with the baptism of Christ [Acts. xix. 6]. In both these cases the gift bestowed was accompanied with extraordinary

spiritual powers, but the administration of it clearly had relation to the preceding baptism, and these powers were a special addition to the ordinary gift.

In the subsequent portions of the New Testament there are frequent references to the rite. Thus, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, it comes in immediately after baptism: "The doctrine of baptism and of the laying on of hands," as τῆς ἀρχῆς of Christian doctrine [Heb. vi. 2]. Elsewhere St. Paul writes to the Ephesians, that they had been "sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance" [Eph. i. 13-14], after they had believed in Christ; he exhorts them not to grieve the Holy Spirit by which they had been "sealed unto the day of redemption" [Eph. iv. 30]; and in similar terms writes to the Corinthians of confirmation [ὁ δὲ βεβαιῶν], and anointing in Christ, by God, who has sealed them [2 Cor. i. 21]; and the "foundation" and "seal" of 2 Tim. ii. 19 appear to be references to the same rite and its results. Of a similar character are St. John's references to an anointing which Christians had received [1 John ii. 20, 27], by which they had received spiritual illumination from Him of whom our Lord had said to the preceding generation, "He shall teach you all things" [John xiv. 26].

[II.] *Confirmation in the Early Church.* About a century or so after St. Paul had thus spoken of the "seal" after baptism, and St. John of the "unction" received by Christians, Tertullian [A.D. 150—220] wrote: "After this, having come out from the bath, we are anointed thoroughly with a blessed unction. . . . Next to this the hand is laid upon us, calling upon and inviting the Holy Spirit through the blessing" [Tertull. *de Bapt.* vii. viii.]. Shortly afterward, St. Cyprian writes: "Anointed also must he of necessity be who is baptized, that having received the chrism, that is, unction, he may be anointed of God, and have within him the grace of Christ" [Cyp. *Ep.* lxx. 3]. And speaking of the rite administered by St. Peter and St. John to the Samaritans, he identifies it with the rite of his own time, saying, "Which now also is done among us, those baptized in the Church being brought to the bishops of the Church; and by our prayer and laying on of hands, they receive the Holy Ghost, and are perfected with the seal of the Lord" [Cyp. *Ep.* lxxiii. 8]. St. Cyril of Jerusalem [A.D. 315-386] gives a still more full description of its administration: "After you had come up from the pool of the sacred streams, the unction was given, the emblem of that with which Christ was anointed. This holy ointmemt . . . is symbolically applied to thy forehead and thy other senses; and while thy body is anointed with visible ointment, thy soul is sanctified by the Holy and Life-giving Spirit. And ye were first anointed on your forehead, . . . then on your ears, . . . then on your nostrils, . . . then on your breast. When ye are counted worthy of this Holy Chrism, ye are called Christians, verifying also the name by your new birth" [Cyril, *Catech. Lect.* xix. xx. xxi.]. He also speaks of the imposition of hands: "In the days of Moses, the Spirit was given by the laying on of hands, and Peter also gives the Spirit by the laying on of hands. And on thee also, who art about to be baptized, shall His grace come" [*Ibid.* xvi. 26].

[III.] *The Ceremony used.* The earliest confirmation offices belong to an age not very far removed from the time of the Father last quoted, being found in the Sacramentaries of Gelasius [A.D. 472] and St. Gregory [A.D. 590]. One of the Anglican rite, used in the Church of York, belongs to a little later age, about A.D. 700. In these formularies there is a substantial agreement with that of our modern Prayer Book, though the latter is much curtailed, and the use of chrism was not provided for in the English formulary. It will be observed from the preceding quotations that in the early Church confirmation was administered directly after public baptism; and as public baptism was administered at distant intervals and in the presence of the bishop, it is probable that he was always in those days the minister of confirmation. It was also administered with chrism, with imposition of hands, and with prayer. The Western Church continued the ancient customs; but in the Eastern Church, the rite itself came to be administered by the baptizing priest, the bishop being associated with it only by means of the previous benediction of the chrism used, which was and is specially reserved for him. At a later period, probably not until mediæval times, the Western Church separated confirmation from baptism, so far as infants were concerned, not permitting it to be administered till the children had reached the age of seven years. The English Church has dropped the use of chrism, but has intensified the other portion of the rite, requiring the bishop to lay his hands on the head of each person confirmed, instead of spreading them out towards the whole number, as in the Roman practice. [Imposition of Hands.]

[IV.] *The effect of Confirmation.* Theologians usually lay down that confirmation gives 1, Grace, and 2, Character. Of the latter nothing more need be said than will be found in the article Character. As to the grace given, two things may be noticed. [*a*] The rite has a certain similarity to that of ordination; and as, in ordination, the Holy Spirit gives grace for the work of ministerial life in its several degrees, so in confirmation the same Holy Spirit gives grace for the ordinary Christian life. It is therefore an ordination to that Christian priesthood of which St. Peter speaks [1 Pet. ii. 9], a perfecting of the baptized Christian for his share in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and for all other work which a layman can do in the Church of Christ. [*b*] Confirmation is an establishing and strengthening of the Christian in the grace of Holy Baptism; a re-settlement of him in the Body of Christ; the sending him forth armed to the warfare for which he was destined at the first; the enrolment of him as an adult servant of Christ, arrived at full competency for responsibility and full competency for grace.

CONGREGATION. The visible Church of Christ, "cœtus fidelium:" the three terms being

used as synonymous in the Nineteenth Article of Religion. The word is used twenty-two times in the Services and Rubrics of the book of Common Prayer, and almost always in this sense; as in the case of "the congregation of Christ's flock" in the Baptismal Office, and "to minister . . . in the congregation," in the Ordination of Priests. It is also sometimes used in the modern popular sense of a particular assembly, but in such cases with a distinguishing qualification, as "this congregation *here present*," or "this *present* congregation of Christ *here assembled*." The Puritan notion that "congregation" does not involve the same meaning as "church" is shewn to be quite groundless by the Latin form of the word, "cœtus fidelium," which is a well-known term in the works of Latin theologians.

CONGREGATIONALISTS. A modern name assumed by the English Calvinistic sect formerly known as "Independents"; the name being founded on their leading principle of organization, that of autocephalous communities composed of single "congregations." [DISSENTERS. *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

CONGRUITY. "Merit *de congruo*" is a scholastic rather than a theological term, and was used by the Schoolmen to denote the first movement of the human mind, whether heathen or in a state of spiritual lapse, in the direction of Divine grace. A mere intellectual faith, as it was supposed, led a man to serious thoughts of God and Christ, of time and eternity, of heaven and hell, and to perform such works of a low order of obedience as were not beyond his unaided natural power; human freewill and nothing better being his guide. It was the rude matter of faith, to which God by His grace shall afterwards give form. As in the natural world, it was argued, the "natural agent" supplies the matter on which the propagation of animal and vegetable life depends, to which the God of Nature gives form and plastic energy; so in the spiritual world, man supplies the first rude material of a low range of faith; but God gives to it by grace the form of justification, and of spiritual life and operative virtue. It was wholly congruous to His perfections to vouchsafe this grace. The first weak beginning, therefore, was called "meritum de congruo"—the word *meritum* meaning a workman's "earning" rather than "merit" in a moral point of view. [CONDIGNITY.]

This notion is, of course, diametrically opposed to the Christian doctrine of preventing grace. As Pelagianism in the commencement of the fifth century, so this scholastic doctrine in the thirteenth arose by force of reaction from Manichæan fatalism. The Schoolmen agree more nearly with writers, who first fused together the doctrine of the Church with the teaching of philosophy, such as Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen. When these fathers wrote, no question had arisen to perplex men's minds with respect to the antagonism of grace and freewill; and for that reason the writers of the four first centuries throw but little light upon it. The freedom of man's will was an intuitive fact; if discussed at all, it was propounded as a question for philosophic rather than theological speculation. Doubtless man's nature was considered in this, as in the subsequent period, to have gone "quam longissime" from original righteousness; yet it was not wholly depraved, some glimmering of Divine light remained, as instanced in the more virtuous heathen. Man's soul had still come forth from God; and as the "course of nature" meant not that nature can do anything "propriis viribus," but by the orderly operation of those laws which God from the first has bound upon it; so the soul of man, though fallen, was still in some degree responsive to good, and even in his state of lapse he was not without his weak virtues, the standing proof of a Divine origin.

Pelagianism easily rose from the exaggeration of such reasoning, when it became necessary to confront Manichæism, the heir and successor of Gnosticism in the heresiologia of antiquity; and a like cause gave rise to this scholastic notion of merit *de congruo*, directly opposed as it is to the teaching of Augustine, the champion of the Catholic faith in the Pelagian period. "Quid habes quod non accepisti" [1 Cor. iv. 7] is his constantly recurring question to the assertor of man's unaided sufficiency. And that is exactly the point at issue between this notion of the schools and the teaching of the Church Catholic. On the one side it has been declared from the beginning that Divine grace "leads" man to repentance, and that "faith is the gift of God," "it is not of ourselves" [Eph. ii. 8]; on the other, the sufficiency of man's free-will to earn the help of grace was taught. "Preventing grace" under this system is a nullity, for free-will anticipates grace. "No man can come unto Me," said our Lord, "except the Father draw him," and from the first faint wish for spiritual good to the bestowal of man's regeneration in baptism, and from thence till death, the whole work of Christian life is of God's grace.

The case of the unregenerate, when this notion was first floated, was different from anything that we can now witness in this country. The distance between the exalted graces of the Christian saint and the purblind wandering towards Christ's fold of the pagan, whether Teuton, Celt, or Goth, was so marked, that it may easily have been considered a difference of kind rather than of degree. So faint was the trace of good in the unconverted, that it scarce seemed to be even the twilight dawn of grace. So also in the case of those who lapsed from a state of grace, the heinousness of mortal sin after baptism was so great, and, in the opinion of many, it approximated so perceptibly to the sin against the Holy Ghost, which "never may be forgiven," that the condition of the returning penitent in his first steps was hardly to be preferred to heathenism; they were both without the operation of grace.

CONSANGUINITY. This is relationship by blood, as distinguished from relationship by marriage, which is called AFFINITY. Consanguinity, within certain degrees, has always been considered as an impediment to the marriage of

the man and woman so related; and the union of such blood relations is incestuous. The law of the Church of England upon this subject will be found in the article on "Forbidden Degrees." It is enough here to say that it is founded on the Divine prohibitions contained in the book of Leviticus. [Degrees, Forbidden.]

CONSCIENCE. Volition is a single act, though it proceeds from a complex choice; of many thoughts or possible courses of action we choose one. The guide of that choice is either, as in the case of the undisciplined, a man's own pleasure; the *φρόνημα σαρκὸς* that offers itself so readily as his first allective guide; or, as in the case of every well-balanced mind, conscience. The moral guide of choice determines the will, and that guide is conscience. As science means knowledge, so conscience etymologically means self-knowledge.[1] In the moral being, conscience is the queen of every inward spring of action, will is her subject; and as all legislative function and delegated judicial authority emanates from the sovereign, so conscience is, *objectively*, the unwritten law of the heart, as founded on those eternal principles of right and equity and truth that are as rays from the throne of God; and, *subjectively*, it passes judgment upon the thoughts of the heart and the actions of the body. If conscience be obeyed, it approves, and then is pure; but if it be dishonoured and its voice disregarded, such disloyalty can only lay up materials for remorse.

This fundamental element of man's moral being is proof to him of his religious relation to his Maker; it declares the mysterious intercommunication that subsists between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man; and it indicates the natural revelation of God's will made to man through the reason. Conscience is the representative of this inner revelation, which, proceeding forth from the creative Spirit of God, infuses itself into the spirit of man, and as a plastic energy forms and moulds him, by conveying to him the cognizance of God's will and of man's duties in His sight. Thus conscience is our moral sense continually held in check by the Spirit of God; it is the very soul of our loyalty to Him; it is the "religio" of a true communion.

This authoritative principle of the mind and soul of man is referable only to the original gift of moral and spiritual life as the soul of man. "In the likeness of God made He him;" and as mental consciousness is our evidence of the existence of thoughts, desires, feelings, and other states of the mind, so conscience is a standing testimony of the Divine *genesis* of the soul, as a direct *afflatus* from God. We may trace its truthful voice even among the heathen; though so little has been known of its power and functions by the most intellectual races that they have had no word to express it; "religio" and Σύνεσις (New Testament Συνειδησις) scarcely conveying a higher notion than "scruple" and "consciousness." So far as the operation of conscience, properly so called, was a matter of observation, it was most usually as the vengeance of a Nemesis tracking down evil. "Sua quemque fraus et suus terror maxime vexat; suum quemque scelus agitat amentiaque afficit; suæ malæ cogitationes conscientiæque animi terrent. Hæ sunt impiis assiduæ domesticæque Furiæ."[2] "Prima et maxima peccantium est pœna, peccasse; nec ullum scelus, licet illud fortuna exornet muneribus suis, licet tueatur ac vindicet, impunitum est, quoniam sceleris in scelere supplicium est."[3] But a higher and better view is found in Plato,[4] as also in Cicero,[5] and Epictetus acknowledges the ἔμφυτος ἐννοία of all that is good and excellent within.

The revealed Word alone declares to us the source from whence this spark of heavenly light, this "scintilla conscientiæ"[6] was derived. The voice of God spoke with Adam in paradise, and was heard and perfectly obeyed for a while, because his will was wholly one with his Maker's. Conscience and the practical cognizance of good were in his case one and the same thing; and after the Fall conscience maintained its position as that communion with God that is intimate in proportion as the revelation of heaven is willingly obeyed. And, in this way, the Word is still "the light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" when that light is obeyed it is the light of man's countenance, bringing happiness and contentment, and all the brightness of innocent joys. "A good man is united to God, κέντρον κέντρῳ σύναπτας, as a flame touches flame, and combines into splendour and glory; so is the spirit of man united unto Christ by the Spirit of God."[7] Conscience thus links together heaven and earth, and the purification of the conscience is the cleansing of the very heart-spring within.

Conscience then in an *absolute* sense is the utterance of God's voice in the soul, in the heart, and reins, as Hebrew ethics would say; and it is the direct revelation of truth, and purity, and justice made by the Spirit of God to the spirit of man. This phase of conscience is from its nature beyond our direct control or power of development. It is *quâ* Divine, infallible, and in it is "no shadow of turning." It is the absolute rule of right. But in a *relative* sense conscience is our own moral consciousness under the eye of God, our own positive assimilation within the soul of those eternal principles of truth and goodness which are necessary in order to bring our will into nearer unison with the will of God. In this phase conscience is capable of continual education and development by rules formed for its guidance in accordance with the rule supreme. As sight only exists in the perception of objects that are illuminated by the light of heaven, so conscience lives only as the inward perception of moral obligations, on which a clear light is thrown by the Spirit of God. And the culture of this faculty involves the adoption of rules of duty as guides of action.[8]

Conscience in this relative aspect is the vice-

[1] Whewell, *Elem. of Mor.* 2d ed. sec. 263.

[2] Cicero, *Or. pro. S. Rosc. Amerin.* sec. 24.
[3] Seneca, *Ep.* 97. [4] Plato, *de Leg.* x.
[5] Cicero, *ae Leg.* x. 40; *de Off.* i. 10.
[6] Jerome, *in Ez.* iv.
[7] Bishop Jeremy Taylor, *Sermon before U. Dubl.* sec. 5.
[8] Whewell, *Elem. of Mor.* sec. 262.

gerent of God, and is invested with the authority of supreme law. In this sense it was termed by early moralists Συντήρησις, the "inner guard," keeping watch and ward over the hidden sources of the will.[1]

Conscience also reacts on the individual, judging, accusing, and pronouncing its verdict on the morality, or otherwise, of thoughts and concrete acts in word and deed, in which phase it acts in subordination to the former, as the judicial function is subject to the legislative. In this subjective sense it was termed Συνείδησις, or conscience; and "conscience the judge must pronounce its decision according to conscience the law."[2] In both of these phases, *quâ* human, it is subject to disturbing forces, according as the moral and spiritual life of the individual has attained to a stronger or weaker degree of development. Thus in some individuals it may be keen, and quick, and direct, detecting intuitively the slightest quivering of the index within, and pronouncing with exact truth on the moral indications conveyed by it to the soul; and it may be eagle-sighted in adjudicating upon the moral right or wrong of word or thought or deed, as they are presented to the mind in its inner consciousness. Or, it may be altogether deprived of the faculty of moral judgment from disuse and wilful closing of the eyes to the light, or from prejudice; in which cases it becomes wholly inoperative for good, and incapable of discerning, much less of pronouncing judgment on, the rule of right.

Hence conscience may be distinguished in various individuals into honest, *i.e.* incorrupt and incorruptible; and deceptive; steady and wavering, sound and morbid, enlightened and dark. In its objective phase, as a rule for action, it may be true or it may be distorted through ignorance or vice. Similarly, in its subjective or judicial relation it may justify and bring peace as the effect of goodness; or it may condemn, and vindicate by inward pangs of remorse the warning of the written Word, "There is no peace, saith my God, for the wicked."

Finally, two rules are indispensable for the healthy action of conscience. I. We should never undertake any action of moral import, much less embark on any course of action without first obtaining a distinct utterance from the conscience, in affirmation or derogation of the moral lawfulness of such action. We must not allow ourselves to act on a mere probable opinion, or doubt with respect to the right or wrong of the action. "He that doubteth is damned if he eat" [Rom. xiv. 23]. The verdict of the inner man should be sharp and decisive if he would be loyal to the Supreme rule, and to the Author of that rule. Action determined under a condition of doubt has nothing to do with either conscience or reason; nothing better than mere intellectual fancy is here the guide. It is only when the judgment and understanding are guided by conscience, on a deliberate purview of the matter before it, that action is safe; even as in matters of religion, "everything that is not of faith is sin" [Rom. xiv. 23].

II. It is an absolute rule, and one for universal observance, that we should never act contrary to the dictate of conscience; even though it be warped by error or prejudice. The moral tone of every action depends on its close dependence with the inner rule; and the morality of the agent maintains a relative proportion with respect for the decision of conscience, and an honest determination in following it out to its legitimate conclusion. To act contrary to conscience must always be wrong, irrespectively of the abstract right or wrong of the action; and whether that wrong be capable of correction or not. For moral culture is the abiding duty of man; our position to-day must not be taken as a fixed point, but as a state of transition to something better. The law of the mind must be brought gradually into closer conformity with the law of God, that is absolutely "holy and just and good;" and "converting the soul" in proportion as it seeks to assimilate its teaching. "Conscience is never formed, but is always in the course of formation."[3] Therefore, though for the present, we may err in following the guidance of a mistaken conscience, yet it is better to err for a while in this direction than to be disloyal to the inner rule, which would only weaken its check upon our actions, when conscience becomes more completely informed by the supreme rule. To be unconscientious is always to be immoral.

He therefore whose conscience is clouded by error that is not perceived, must abide by the consequences of such error; but he sins not in the mere following of his conscience. But he whose conscience has a wrong direction, which with proper pains and regard for the truth might be adjusted, sins when he acts in accordance with its dictates. Saul was a persecutor of the Church from a conscientious belief that he was doing God service, and he obtained mercy in that he did it "ignorantly in unbelief" [1 Tim. i. 13]. Simon, the sorcerer, felt no uneasiness of conscience in offering money for the gift of the Holy Ghost; but the sin of simony in its first origin was too gross even for self-deception; and therefore he was in the "gall of bitterness," so long as he persisted in the self-condemned error of his way.

The words of a great and good man may serve to bring this article to a conclusion: "A man to be moral, must be careful to satisfy himself what the decision of his conscience is, and must be resolved to follow the course thus prescribed, at any risk and at any sacrifice. Nothing can be right that he does not do with a *clear conscience*. Whatever danger or sorrow lies in that direction, whatever advantage or gratification of the desires and affections in the other, he must not shrink or waver. Whatever may be gained by acting against his

[1] Whewell has rendered the word as the "internal repository," sec. 263, which seems a scarcely adequate interpretation. The word was barbarized by the schools into *Synderesis*, being attracted by its correlative Συνείδησις. Greg. Naz. *Or.* ii. uses the word as the "bond of union" between body and soul: the "living guard of union."

[2] Whewell, sec. 267.

[3] Whewell, sec. 267.

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conscience, the consistency and welfare of his whole moral being is lost. His moral progress is utterly arrested. . . . To be steadily, resolutely, and carefully conscientious, is a rule which every one who aims at his moral progress must regard as paramount to all others." [Whewell, *Elem. of Mor.* sec. 275.]

CONSECRATION. Episcopal benediction of persons, places, or things, by which they are set apart for the sacred service of God. Thus the ordination of a bishop is called consecration: and so also is the benedictory dedication of churches, cemeteries, and the *instrumenta* of Divine Service. Such benedictory dedications are perpetual in their effects, making the church or cemetery so consecrated permanently sacred, so that [1] it cannot be claimed as private property, [2] nor permanently alienated from sacred uses, [3] nor temporarily appropriated to any use dishonourable to God without profanation. But it must be added that the first two results have never been considered so absolute but that for righteous causes, and by proper ecclesiastical authority, consecrated places and *instrumenta* may be secularized without irreverence. There should however always be a rigid scrutiny of all alleged reasons for secularizing sacred places and things; and only the highest Christian expediency can justify it. [Benediction. Mede *on Churches.* Harrington's *Consecration of Churches.*]

CONSENT OF ANTIQUITY. The Consent of Antiquity may mean the agreement of Primitive Antiquity, which though not absolutely binding as Apostolical Consent would be, is still entitled to the reverential regard of every after age; or it may mean the Consent of Relative Antiquity, which is equally valuable where it may be held to reflect the judgment of the Primitive Church; otherwise where it stands in severance from primitive practice, it may be followed or not by particular churches, as conducive or not to edification. If monastic institutions were traceable, as their advocates maintain, to the words of our Lord, they would of course be binding upon the whole of Christendom, and in every age; but the proof is wanting, and as a growth of the third century their claim of catholicity breaks down. "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus" is the old rule that, properly understood, exactly expresses the authority due to the traditions of the past. "Quod semper" marks the necessity for decurrence from primitive times, and an uninterrupted observance; "quod ubique" implies the Catholic consent of the Church throughout the world; "quod ab omnibus" the assent of Christian men in the aggregate. Where opinions have obtained currency in primitive times, yet have never been sanctioned by the Church Catholic, such tenets may very possibly express no more than the private view of writers who have broached them. The belief in a millennium reign of Christ with His saints on earth, though expressed by four primitive writers, was not accepted by the Church Catholic; and as lacking all three notes of reception, it is not endorsed to us by general Consent of Antiquity. The high Predestinarian theory of Augustine, received by the Church of Rome, and followed out to its hard logical consequences by Calvin, was unknown until developed by the Bishop of Hippo [*de Præd. et Persev.* i. sec. 3]; as soon as he broached it, it was taxed with novelty [*Epp. Prosp. et Hil. inter opp. S. Aug. Epp.* 225, 226]. It cannot claim Catholic consent, however wide may have been the area of its reception. Our three notes do not cover it. [Augustinianism.] Neither can appeal be made to them as a sanction for customs and traditions that only date from the Middle Ages. "Quod semper" cannot be predicated of innovation. The practice of invocation of saints, the rule of clerical celibacy and monastic vows, the Roman doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation, all are without the category of things received under the Consent of Antiquity.

But there are other matters of vital necessity that can claim the full authority of this triple rule. The Creeds of the Church may be traced back in their main substance to the Church of the Apostles' days, with a priority of time higher than that of the writings of the New Testament. [Creeds.] The Canon of the New Testament Scriptures formed gradually by consent of the churches, so soon as the ink of each successive gospel or epistle was dry, was confirmed collectively by the Primitive Church, to the exclusion of the spurious writings that abounded from the first. It comes to us stamped with the authoritative judgment of apostolic men; and claims the gratitude of all who in any sense profess the faith of Christ. [Canon. Scripture.] The use of liturgies built up on one definite plan, and preserving in parts a verbal agreement, shew the Consent of Antiquity in establishing that "use." [Liturgy.] The observance of the Lord's Day, a bond of unity between all who worship Christ, whether within or without the Church Catholic, established by the Apostles, and confirmed by continuous practice, is a standing memorial of the authoritative judgment of the Primitive Church. [Lord's Day.] So also the administration of the Church under bishops, priests and deacons may be traced as clearly in the Church of the Apostles as in our own. Consecration by the imposition of hands has maintained within the Church a permanent ministry in things sacred; and a perpetual stream of living witnesses to the truth and power of Christian doctrine. The substantive verity of the Holy and Undivided Trinity; the union of the Godhead and Manhood in one Christ; salvation through faith in the Atonement made once for all upon the cross; were all embosomed deep in the faith of the Primitive Church, and shone as beacon lights so soon as controversy called them forth; her jewels have ever been kept back from curious gaze and rougher handling, until their truth and genuineness have been called in question. The two Holy Sacraments, ordained of Christ, are administered in all essential particulars as they were committed to the Church in the be-

ginning. These, and other particulars that might be added, have come down to us commended by the judgment and Consent of Antiquity; they have always been received by the Church in every age and clime, and each individual Churchman relies upon them as more or less immediately connected with his hope of salvation. That which is loosely called Catholic consent, if referring to matters unknown in Primitive Antiquity can only reach down from the time of origination. Such points have usually caused so much discussion and opposition as to shew that they can plead neither of our three marks of consent. Cardinal Bona has justly censured those who have reversed the process, and have imagined that customs and practices current in the Church of modern date must of necessity have come down from Primitive Antiquity [Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* I. xviii. 1]. The Consent of Antiquity where it can be certainly known, is a link connecting the Church of all ages with Primitive Truth that nothing will ever be able to sever.

CONSISTENTES [Συνιστάμενοι]. The fourth or highest order of penitents in the primitive Church. They were those persons whose penance was so far completed that they were permitted to stand among the communicants at the time when the Holy Eucharist was being celebrated. They were, however, distinguished from the latter by not being allowed to receive the sacrament. In the twelfth Canon of the Council of Nicæa, they are called "partakers of the prayers" [τῶν εὐχῶν κοινωνήσουσι]; and in the thirteenth Canon it is directed that they shall receive the Eucharist if at the point of death, returning to the position of *consistentes* if they shall recover. After a year of discipline and probation (the fourth year of penance) the *consistentes* were admitted again to the full privileges of communion. [Flentes, &c.]

CONSISTORY. The court of a bishop, in which the principle is that he is surrounded by representatives of the clergy of his diocese, who act as his council. The Pope's council of cardinals is so called. In modern times, however, the consistory courts of bishops are held by deputy, the chancellor of the diocese, or a commissary acting for him, being the sole representative of bishop and clergy.

CONSTITUTIONS, APOSTOLICAL. The Apostolical Constitutions, so far as their most ancient matter is concerned, cannot have been written later than the second century; though Cotelerius declares his inability to name any probable date for them between the time of the Apostles and the middle of the fourth century, when we have the clear testimony of Epiphanius. The more usual name for this work is διατάξεις or διαταγαὶ τ. A.; but it is termed also διδασκαλία and διδαχὴ τ. A. Eusebius [*H. E.* iii. 25] mentions the "doctrine of A." as spurious, though often read as canonical scripture. Athanasius [*Ep. Fest.* and *Synopsis S. Scr.*] gives the same testimony. Epiphanius speaks with respect of the "Constitutions" [διατάξεις], and quotes passages from them. [*Hær.* xlv. 5, lxx. 10-12, lxxv. 6, lxxx. 7.] His expressions justify the belief that the "Doctrine" and the "Constitutions" of the Apostles are identical. The Quinisext or Trullan Council of Constantinople [A.D. 692], while it declares the Apostolical Canons to be a work of authority, rejects the "Constitutions" as marred by heretical interpolations. Photius, a good and critical judge of such matters, records that the "Constitutions" were read in his time as a work of Clement, but says that their authority was lowered by interpolations, though these might be purged away by a sound criticism; by irreverence as regards the Book of Deuteronomy, though this too might be cleared; and by a charge of Arianism that could only be refuted, βιαίως, with difficulty. Against our present copies the two last objections do not lie. The Æthiopian Church alone received the Apostolical Constitutions without hesitation. Daillé has imagined that two editions of them existed; one a full copy, the other an epitome of useful "legenda" such as we now possess. The character given to these "rudera" of Christian antiquities by Professor Blunt exactly expresses their value; "with much alloy there is much of the most venerable antiquity in these remains" [*Ecc. Hist.* cent. ii.]. They contain treatises so primitive, as to have been known in all probability to St. Luke [i. 1] and St. Paul [2 Thess. ii. 2; Gal. i. 6]. They describe the Church of primitive times in its antagonism with heathen life, and in its over-depressed and, humanly speaking, mean condition, when as yet "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called" [1 Cor. i. 26].

The length of these Constitutions, occupying, with a Latin translation, 220 folio pages in the Collection of Cotelerius, precludes any attempt at close analysis. The disorderly way in which the following subjects are scattered up and down the eight books, shews that their origin was not simultaneous. Book I. Ten chapters on moral and religious duties. II. Sixty-three chapters on episcopal duties, administrative and judicial; clerical, social, congregational and penitential duties; oblations. III. Seventy chapters on clerical functions; against usurpation; on widows and alms; baptism and the consecration of bishops. IV. Fourteen chapters on alms and offerings; relative and political duties. V. Twenty chapters on the duties of the persecuted martyrs; on fasts and feasts, and on Messianic prophecy. VI. Twenty-nine chapters on schism, heresy, and Judaizing error; apostolical preaching; spurious writings; re-baptism, clerical marriage. VII. Forty-nine chapters, chiefly on religious duties; fast days; meats, idolothyta; baptism, catechumens, chrism; Holy Eucharist; the Lord's day; liturgica. The last twenty-seven chapters are of great importance. VIII. The ordinal and liturgy; benediction of water and oil; offerings; canonical hours; commemoration of dead. This book contains forty-seven chapters, and is the liturgical section of the Constitutions.

Drey has arranged the eight books chronolo-

gically into four classes: [I.] i.—vi., which he refers to the latter half of the second century, and believes to be the "doctrine" of Athanasius and Eusebius. [II.] vii.; he says this book is by a different author, as shewn by its more concise style, and repetition of former matter; he considers it to have been an independent work; both of these sections are in an epistolary form. [III.] viii. 1—46. The term διάταξις is here introduced for the first time, and the name was soon extended to the entire collection. He gives reasons for assigning classes [II.] and [III.] to the Nicene period. [IV.] viii. 47, is an appendix of the Apostolical Canons, and must be referred to the fifth century, but prior to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. [CANONS, APOSTOLICAL.] Drey, however, refers the canons completed to a later date. The creed found in vii. 41, contains additions to the usual clauses of an anti-Sabellian cast in viii. 12. The liturgical formulæ of the latter portion of the same book may have been the originals from whence Basil at first hand, and from him Chrysostom, condensed their respective liturgies. Internal evidence points to a Syrian origin for the entire work. The names of the months are such as were in current use in Syria during the first ages of Christianity. The office also assigned to the deacon of keeping flies from the cup of blessing agrees well with this supposition [viii. 12]. The prayer for monks, ἀσκηταί, viii. 13, makes an earlier date than the beginning of the fourth century impossible. [Cotelerius, i. Lagarde, A.D. 1862; Drey, *N. Untersuch.*]

CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON. The Constitutions of Clarendon were enacted in January 1164, in the reign of Henry II. at Clarendon in Wiltshire. They owed their origin to the quarrel between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, or rather to the struggle in which Henry and à Becket were the representatives of the spiritual and secular powers. Jealousy between the "courts Christian," as the spiritual courts were termed, and the lay tribunals had long existed, and the privileges which the former gave, not only to persons in holy orders, but to all who had been admitted to the tonsure, had aroused a spirit of bitter enmity between the supporters of the two systems. The privileges of the clergy not only entitled them to be tried in the spiritual courts alone, but even in those courts rendered them liable to no severer punishments than flagellation, fine, deprivation, and imprisonment for any crime whatsoever. A dispute in which Philip de Brois, a canon of Bedford, was the aggressor, and Fitz Peter, one of the royal justiciaries, the injured party, having been tried in the spiritual court, and the sentence not being considered sufficiently severe, the king summoned the bishops to Westminster, and required them to consent that if in future any clergyman were degraded by a spiritual court for a public crime, he should be handed over to a lay tribunal for punishment. The bishops refused, and with one exception, gave an evasive answer to the next demand of the king, that they would promise to observe the "ancient customs" of the realm [A.D. 1163]. The brunt of Henry's anger fell on the primate, who at last seemed to yield to the entreaties of his friends and the threats of the king, and promised to appear at a great council to be held at Clarendon in January 1164.

At this council, a committee was appointed to inquire into the ancient customs of England, and the result of their investigation appeared in sixteen articles, which were presented to the council, and which are known as the Constitutions of Clarendon. After considerable intimidation, the bishops consented to subscribe their names, but Becket soon repented of his compliance, sought absolution from the Pope for the sin he believed himself to have committed in attending the council, and by his subsequent resistance deepened the quarrel, which ended in his iniquitous murder.

The most important of the Constitutions of Clarendon are:—That the custody of every vacant archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, and priory of royal foundation ought to be given, and its revenues during the vacancy paid, to the king, and that the election of a new incumbent ought to be made in consequence of the king's writ, by the chief clergy of the Church, assembled in the king's chapel, with the assent of the king, and with the advice of such prelates as the king may call to his assistance.

That in almost every suit, civil or criminal, in which each or either party was a clergyman, the proceedings should commence before the king's justices, who should determine whether the cause ought to be tried in the secular or episcopal courts; and that in the latter case a civil officer should be present to report the proceedings, and the defendant, if he were convicted in criminal action, should lose his benefit of clergy.

That no tenant in chief of the king, no officer of his household, or of his demesne, should be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application had been made to the king, or in his absence to the grand justiciary.

That no archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman could lawfully go beyond the sea without the king's permission.

That appeals should proceed regularly from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop. If the archbishop failed to do justice, the cause was to be carried before the king, that by his precept the suit might be terminated in the archbishop's court, so as not to proceed further without the king's consent.

The remaining articles relate to advowsons, the tenure of land by clergymen, the ordination of the sons of villeins, and other such matters [Matth. Paris, *ad ann.* 1164; Wilkins' *Conc.* i. 435].

Ten of the Constitutions of Clarendon were expressly condemned by the Pope (Alexander III.), and the framers were excommunicated by Becket, whose subsequent murder produced so strong a sympathy with this cause that the Constitutions were not enforced until some years later, when they received important modifications at a council held at Northampton [A.D. 1176]. The chief modification was that no clergyman should be personally arraigned before a secular judge

for any crime or transgression, unless it were against the laws of the forest, or regarding a lay fee for which he owed service to a lay lord.

CONSUBSTANTIATION. The term by which the Lutheran belief in the Real Presence is usually expressed, namely, that after consecration of the Eucharist, the substance of the Lord's Body and Blood co-exists in union with the substance of Bread and Wine, just as iron and fire are united in a bar of heated iron.

The belief of the ancient Church that after consecration the species of Bread and Wine co-existed with the Sacramental Body and Blood, must not be considered as identical with the Lutheran tenet, which implies a material conception of the heavenly mystery, as if in an earthly mode Bread and Wine were mixed with the Lord's Body and Blood—an opinion opposed to Scripture and the teaching of the Church. The invention of this theory is attributed to Luther, and will be found in his letter to Henry VIII. He says, "The Body of Christ is (the Bread still existing) in the Sacrament, as fire is in iron, the substance of the iron existing, and God in man the human nature existing—the substances in each case being so united, that each retains its own operation and proper nature and yet they constitute one thing."[1] The teaching of Luther, however, on the Eucharist, as Dr. Pusey shows, was not uniform, and he often expresses his views in a less objectionable manner than in the extract given. Luther's illustration, and the mode of the sacramental Presence implied, has not been adopted by the Reformer's followers, nor is it found in the Lutheran confessions of faith. The Augsburg and other confessions given below[2] merely state the co-existence, after consecration, of Bread and Wine with the Body and Blood of Christ.

CONTEMPLATION. [See MYSTICISM.]

CONTRITION. Three steps are required to constitute a true repentance—contrition, inclusive of its first weak beginning as attrition [which see], confession, and satisfaction. Repentance itself is a permanent condition, the fruits of which are the necessary daily workings of spiritual life, so that a life of faith and a life of repentance are synonymous. It signifies "all that piety and obedience which we pay to God in the days of our return, after we have begun to follow sober counsels."[3] Obedience to the commandments of God, faithful walking by the light of His love, and the "hope that maketh not ashamed," form the indispensable habit of repentance. But it is clear that such a state cannot be attained by any sudden transition from the corruption of sin, and in a moment of time. The gradations that lead from the darkness of night to noonday brightness are not more imperceptible than the gradual growth in grace that conducts the soul from its particular shade of sin and disobedience to an established state of justification. Beginning with alarm for the penal consequences of sin, the work of reconstruction must from thence proceed, "line upon line, and precept upon precept," as the building advances towards completion. It is contrition that in a spirit of love and obedience establishes the sinner on the solid foundation of a true repentance, through faith in God and Christ. Still, whatever be the progress made, it is impossible to say when the faithful penitent is accepted to final pardon. "God keeps the secrets of His mercy in His sanctuary, and draws not the curtain till the day of death or judgment."[4]

The first penitential steps have been described under the article Attrition. That servile state of fear may lead on to better things. God's grace, at first impeded by carnal ways of thinking and acting, has on the whole been gaining power over the soul; fear and hatred of sin have wrought the desire of pardon, and desire hope; and as it is of the nature of hope to hang with ardent affection on the thought of its object, so hope in this case has lighted up in the soul a sense of God's goodness, and that love of God is shed abroad in the heart which leads to the purifying of every deep welling spring of thought. The will is changed to desire and fear in accordance with the will of Him who is the bestower of such grace; "The chiefest thing in contrition is that alteration whereby the will which before was delighted with sin doth now abhor and shun nothing more,"[5] and the reclaimed penitent exhibits in his life the sure truth, "this is the love of God, that we keep His commandments."

Attrition, through this union with love and hope, passes into the more perfect grace of contrition. The attrite forsook sin from an intense fear of its consequences; the contrite has exterminated it and mortified it by the love of God shed abroad in his soul; he hates sin because it is hateful to God and contrary to right reason, and he watches and prays against its recurrence, with the sure hope of being heard, and of receiving grace "to help in time of need."

Attrition and contrition in this way are as the converse and obverse sides of the same coin. The first has for its active principle dread of the temporal and external consequences of sin; its strength lies in the power of its hate. The second is full of love and hope, which have God's

[1] Quoted from Dr. Pusey, *On the Doctrine of the Real Presence* [1855], where a full account is given of Lutheran opinions on the Eucharist, p. 43, &c.

[2] *Augustana Confessio* [1530]: "De Cœna Domini docent quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur, corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in Cœna Domini. *Hæc in alia Editione reperiuntur.* De Cœna Domini docent quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et destribuantur vescentibus in Cœna Domini et improbant secus docentes." *Saxonica Confessio* [1551]: "Docentur etiam homines, sacramenta esse actiones divinitus institutas, et extra usum institutum, res ipsas non habere rationem sacramenti sed in usu instituto in hac communione vere et substantialiter adesse Christum, et vere exhiberi sumentibus corpus et sanguinem Christi." *Wirtembergica Confessio* [1561]: "Cum de pane dicitur *Hoc est corpus meum*, non est necesse ut substantia panis mutetur in substantiam corporis Christi; sed ad veritatem sacramenti sufficit quod corpus Christi vere sit cum pane præsens, atque adeo necessitas ipsa veritatis sacramenti exigere videtur, ut cum vera præsentia corporis Christi verus panis maneat." *Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei* [1654].

[3] Bishop Taylor, *Rep.* c. x. i. sec. 1.

[4] Bishop Taylor, *Rep.* x. ii. sec. 5.

[5] Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* vi.

commandments and promises as their object, and benefits that are either present or contingent. Its holiest principle is a true ray of the love of God. "Contrition loves God and hates sin; it leaves this and adheres to Him; abstains from evil and does good; dies to sin and lives to righteousness, and is a state of pardon and acceptable services."[1] We can still only hope indeed as penitents of the porch to be accepted to the inner mercies of God in His good time; and the life of the believer is a lifelong repentance, leading on from the first faint aspirations for good to the firm faith and love and hope of the dying saint. But the will of the contrite has received its proper adjustment once more, and harmonizes on the whole with the will of God. His law has ceased to be a galling yoke upon the neck, causing reluctance in obedience and dread in its violation. The Gospel is still a law indeed, but it has become through this altered will the perfect law of liberty.

CONVERSION. [*Conversio.* Ἐπιστροφή.] This word has acquired a factitious importance as regards the religious life from its use in a mystical sense by the Methodists, and by those of the Church of England whose religion took much of its colour from them. In Holy Scripture it is used in two senses: [1] *first*, of a change from false religion to true religion, as in "the conversion of the Gentiles" [Isa. lx. 5; Acts xv. 3]; and [2] *secondly*, of a change from the state of habitual sin to the state of habitual holiness; that is, the conversion of those who profess the true religion but do not act under its influence [Psa. li. 13; Matt. xiii. 15]. Used in a strict sense, the word expresses no more than the practical result of CONTRITION, but in the more modern and conventional sense it is made to include nearly all that properly belongs to the term SANCTIFICATION. Some have gone to a fanatical length in the use of the word, making conversion identical with "new birth" or REGENERATION, irrespective of the true regeneration effected by holy baptism.

CONVOCATIONS. The synods necessary for the good government of a church are two: one in which the bishop consults with his brother bishops on all matters that concern the welfare of the church; one in which the bishop consults with his presbyters how to carry out the determinations of the superior synod, and in subordination to those determinations arranges all that relates to the due execution of the priest's office. The framework and status of a church may occasion other councils. The framework of a church may be developed into a patriarchate; the status of a church may be that it is a National Established Church; thus we obtain patriarchal and national councils. But these are not essential; they differ not in principle but in extent from the simple provincial council of brother bishops. In England we have two provincial councils, held under archbishops, meeting separately, but communicating when common action is required; and forming, when in such communication, the Synod of our National Church, the Church of England by representation. Again, presbyters are not of the essence of a provincial council. They are admissible and generally are admitted; but the numbers admitted and the privileges accorded them, are under the regulation of each church according to its own sense of expediency. In England the presbyters admitted are many, and are so chosen as to afford a systematic representation of the clergy. They have also great privileges.

The object of this article will be to describe the form of our provincial councils, to shew how they acquire that form, and to give a summary of such acts as have materially influenced the course and history of the Church of England.

Our provincial councils, then, are summoned in time of Parliament by canonical authority, in virtue of Crown writs directed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. By the 25th Henry VIII. c. 19, it is expressly enacted that the convocation shall always be assembled by authority of the King's writ; and it was resolved by the judges upon this statute [8 Jac. 1], that a convocation cannot assemble by their own or the archbishop's convoking without the assent of the King, that is, by writ under the Great Seal of England. The writ issues from the Crown Office in Chancery; and it is now agreed that the convocations are of right to be assembled concurrently with Parliament [Phillimore's Burn, II. 29], and may act and proceed as provincial councils, when the Sovereign in his royal wisdom shall judge it expedient. The writ summoning the clergy concurrently with the peers and commoners has been issued from the time of Edward I. to the reign of the present Sovereign. [Pearce, *Law relating to Convoc.* c. iv.] The archbishops having received the Queen's writs issue their mandates summoning their bishops and clergy. They summon them to appear "before us." For the archbishops use the fixed and canonical method that they always used; the King having a right to the assistance of the clergy, and a right to be obeyed by the archbishop in calling them together for that end, yet in the dispatch of business leaves them to proceed according to the known rules of a provincial synod; that is, to be summoned before their metropolitan, and to the place he shall think fit to appoint. [Gibson, *Synod. Angl.* ed. 1854, p. 14.] In Canterbury the archbishop issues his mandate through the dean of the province, the Bishop of London; in York, where there is no dean of the province, direct to the suffragans. The bishops, deans, and archdeacons, are summoned to appear in person or by proxy; the chapters by one proctor; the clergy, in Canterbury by two proctors for each diocese, in York by two proctors for each archdeaconry.

English provincial councils, then, differ from the ordinary form of such councils in this systematic representation of the clergy. To a provincial council bishops only are of necessity to be summoned. "Twice in the year let there be a synod of bishops to examine doctrines of religion, and to terminate

[1] Bishop Taylor, *Rep.* x. iii. sec. 28.

all ecclesiastical controversies that may happen." [*Apost. Can.* xxxvi. ed. Bruns.]. Before this synod an accused bishop is to be convened [*Ib.* lxxiii.]; without this the primate is not to act [*Ib.* xxxiii.]. Upon which Balsamon's comment is, "Non posse autem primum quidquam facere sine sententia episcoporum suorum ne dixeris intelligenda de omnibus quæ ab illo facienda sunt, sed iis tantum quæ sunt magni momenti." Zonaras interprets, "res magni momenti tales quales ad statum communem Ecclesiæ respiciunt, cujusmodi sunt dogmaticæ questiones, super erratis communibus dispositiones, et ejusmodi." [Howel's *Synopsis*, p. 6.] To this council also it was the general practice for a metropolitan to refer the appeal of a presbyter or deacon against his bishop. [Bingham, ed. 1834, i. p. 160.]

This council of bishops, however, admitted presbyters. Bingham cites the Alexandrian Council, A.D. 230, which deposed Origen; the Roman, A.D. 252, against Novatian; that of Antioch, A.D. 264, against Paul of Samosata. At Elliberis, A.D. 305, there sat thirty-six presbyters with the bishops. The presbyters sometimes, perhaps generally, voted; and sometimes subscribed the decrees. But it does not appear that the rights of the presbyters were defined. It is left to each church to assign such rights to its presbyters as are expedient under the circumstances of the church. It was then quite within the power of the Church of England to adopt a systematic representation of its presbyterate, and make the concurrence of her presbyters necessary for the passing a provincial act. These are doubtless large powers, although they fall short of those erroneously claimed by Atterbury and others, privileges beyond those of presbyters in primitive times, or of presbyters in other episcopal churches. In judging of these powers it must be remembered that they act as a safeguard against an undue influence of the Crown through its possessing the appointment of bishops. The close connection of the English Church with the State has vested in the Crown the choice of bishops, and taken from the Church all power of resisting an ill appointment, unless the ministry of the church to save their consciences endure the penalties of a Præmunire. On the other hand the same connection of Church and State has given to presbyters a veto on the proceedings of the bishops so nominated. The benefit of this as a counterpoise was signally shewn by the defeat of the attempt of the bishops of the Revolution period to tamper with the Prayer Book.

We have now to trace the origin of our form of synod. Our position is, that the form in which the clergy were necessarily convened for state purposes and for matters in which the temporalities of the Church were concerned, has been accepted and adopted by the Church as the form of her proper synod.

Under the Normans the public assemblies of the kingdom were the Concilium, Magnum Concilium, Commune Concilium, Curia, Baronagium. [See Parry's *Parliaments and Councils of England*, 1839, *Introd.* p. x.] The last two were courts of justice. The first was the king's ordinary council; the second, a larger assembly of persons of rank and property, convened on extraordinary occasions. The Commune Concilium was a still more numerous body collected together for more general purposes. This larger assembly appears in the Great Charter by John, A.R. 17, A.D. 1215, where he promises to summon all archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls and greater barons personally, and all other tenants in chief under the crown by the sheriffs and bailiffs, to meet and to assess aids and scutages when necessary. In the forty-ninth year of Henry III., A.D. 1265, the sheriffs were directed to return two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for every borough; and from that epoch we may date the constitution of parliament. Under Edward I. the constitution of parliament settled into a form very nearly approaching the present form. Meanwhile, under Henry II., the lay and ecclesiastical jurisdictions had been completely separated, and the clergy were become amenable to no other than ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The king assumed a right to compel the attendance of the prelates in respect of their lay fees alone, and the clergy claimed the right to be taxed as such, only of their own gift, and in their separate and distinct conventions. For this purpose it became necessary to bring the clergy together. The pure episcopal synod had no power of taxing the inferior clergy. The bishops might recommend a subsidy or benevolence, but they could not enforce its payment. Consequently there appear in our records a large number of conventions of the clergy, over and above the pure episcopal synods. In these the system of representation was gradually introduced, for the same end mainly which caused its introduction into parliament, viz., taxation, and for dealing in other ways with the temporalities of the Church. Pure episcopal synods were held in the same period, but they could not do the work of conventions, while every convention might pass into a synod, there being no reason why the clergy who were summoned on account of their rights of property should not be of council with their bishops in purely ecclesiastical matters. Thus gradually the pure episcopal synods were disused, their business thrown into the conventions: and the conventions which were always regularly summoned by the archbishop, or the Pope's legate, completing their form, became our convocations, our proper provincial councils.

It would be far beyond our limits to attempt a complete survey of the conventions and councils of this transition period; but we may give some leading instances.

A.D. 1195. To a legatine council are summoned archdeacons, priors, rural deans, "personæ ecclesiarum." Repairs of churches from the endowments of the livings, and the farming of churches and tithes are treated of. [Hody, *Hist. of Councils*, part iii. p. 80. Johnson, *Canons*, ii. 75.]

A.D. 1237. To a legatine council the priors installed bring letters of proxy from their chapters; constitutions are made on the farming of churches. [Hody, iii. 95; Johnson, ii. 150.]

A.D. 1240. The rectors of churches are summoned. For the legate had demanded of the bishops a benevolence of a fifth for the pope. The bishops reply, "Omnes tangit hoc negotium, omnes igitur sunt conveniendi:" and the legate convenes the rectors of Berkshire and some others, endeavouring to persuade them to a contribution. Their answer in the Burton Annals runs in the name of all the rectors of England, and it sufficiently appears, says Hody, that all the rectors of churches in England were present in that council. [Hody, iii. 101.]

A.D. 1277. An archiepiscopal convention. Proctors of the clergy are summoned. The mandate refers to a "congregatio" lately held at Northampton, when sundry business was proposed, "in quorum executione licet viæ de communi consilio excogitatæ fuissent, et executores viarum . . . deputati, quia tamen . . . adhuc exitus est incertus," &c. This must be understood, we suppose, of a subsidy granted at Northampton by prelates only, and the payment refused, on which account the clergy are summoned [Wake, *State of the Church*, app. xv.].

A.D. 1279. A council was held at Reading of bishops only. They command that at their next assembly, "Veniant duo electi ad minus a clero episcopatuum singulorum, qui auctoritatem habeant una nobiscum tractare de his quæ ecclesiæ communi utilitati expediant Anglicanæ, etiamsi de conturbatione [*sic* Lyndwood] aliqua vel expensis oporteat fieri mentionem." [Lyndwood, *Constitutiones Peccham.* p. 25.] Johnson [*Canons*, ii. p. 268] translates this last clause, "if a proposal should be made concerning a contribution or expense," proposing to read "contributione." He adds, "It is asserted by some that this last paragraph is in none of the ancient copies." It is found, however, in a provincial of the fourteenth century [*Cambridge Univ. Library*, Dd. ix. 38]. This book belonged to Reading Abbey, and must be held of good authority in this case, for the Abbey of Reading would surely preserve accurate records of the Council of Reading. And it reads "contributione," which Johnson saw to be necessary; and in place of "etiamsi" has "et" with "si" written above it. It is easy to understand the omission in ordinary copies. This last constitution was looked upon as not of general concernment.

A.D. 1280. At a convention for granting a subsidy the clergy are present.

A.D. 1281. Diocesan proctors do not appear, and there is no call for a subsidy [Hody, iii. 130].

A.D. 1282. Two proctors for each diocese appear. After the convention of 1281, two pure episcopal synods were held. In the interval between them, the bishops and prelates were summoned by the archbishop, in consequence of a royal wish, but the assembly being convened for a subsidy, and the proctors of the diocesan clergy not being summoned, it was looked upon as irregular, and nothing was done. In the mandate for the new assembly, the clergy are required to debate upon the business (of the subsidy) in their respective dioceses, and to appoint two of their body to go up to convocation to give in their resolutions.

The pure episcopal synods did not at once cease. Such were held A.D. 1295 [Hody, iii. 147]; A.D. 1310 [Wake, p. 260]. In 1313, W. Reynolds, intending to summon a synod of his suffragans, is prevented by a royal writ, enjoining him to summon both bishops and clergy [Hody, iii. 170].

Again, while the inferior clergy are thus peremptorily summoned when a subsidy is required, they are at other times invited to attend the episcopal synod: as A.D. 1312; "Denuntietis decanis et prioribus . . . eorumque capitulis quod si ad idem concilium venerint, et ad id petierint se admitti, juxta juris exigentiam admittentur" [Wake, app. xlvii]. In 1341, the archdeacons are invited, "si eis expediens videatur," and the clergy by proctors "si sua crediderint interesse" [Wake, app. lxxxviii]. In 1342, "si eis utile videatur," "si sua prospexerint interesse" [Wake, app. lxxxix]. This clearly marks the steps by which the pure episcopal synod was brought to the form of the convention.

It must be remarked that in A.D. 1295, the præmunientes clause was inserted in the bishops parliamentary writs. This clause summoned the proctors of the clergy to parliament, and doubtless aided not a little to fix that representation of the clergy in conventions and synods which had before been begun. For the clergy, chosen in obedience to the præmunientes clause, would naturally be the same as those chosen for the conventions and synods. There was also occasionally, during a few years, a provincial execution of the parliament writ [Wake, p. 260], which tended the same way. The attempt to bring the clergy into parliament made them more punctual in assembling in convocation. If they voted subsidies in convocation their attendance in parliament would be dispensed with. By such steps our convocations were formed. "The civil property of the clergy could not be disposed of but by their own consent, and the necessity of having this gave them a negative upon the bishops in subsidies, which was then the chief business of convocation: the canons and constitutions of the Church being for many ages after (*i.e.* after the first accounts of a convocation or convention) constantly made in synods, consisting only of the archbishop and his provincial bishops. But the affairs of the church, as they came to be transacted in convocation, fell under the rule and methods that had been established there upon civil accounts; by which means the inferior clergy came into the same share in the ecclesiastical that they had enjoyed in the secular business: and custom has given them a legal claim to several privileges of that kind unknown to the primitive presbyters, or even to the presbyters of any other episcopal church at this day" [Gibson, *Syn. Angl.* p. 10. Compare *Mod. Univ. Hist.* xxxiii. 18, quoted in Blackstone, regarding the diet of Sweden].

One advantage of these peculiar privileges of

the clergy has been noticed already, the safeguard, namely, against crown influence through the nomination of bishops. Another great advantage is that the synod so formed gathers into itself the results of the consultations of the clergy and bishops in their diocesan synods. The proctors are the representatives of synods, of consulting bodies, not as in the case of members of parliament of a mere aggregation of independent electors. In great matters which require decision, the proctors may be, and ought to be, instructed by the synods which accredit them. On this point there is much misconception current. For example, a New Zealand prelate writes [*Col. Church Chron.* Feb. 1869, p. 41]: "The lay representatives (not *delegates* observe: for they, with their clerical brethren, claim the freedom of members of the House of Commons to vote according to their own views, and not to be merely the mouthpieces of their constituents) were," &c. Now, on the one hand, the freedom of members of parliament is sadly abridged by the pledges which they are forced to make on the hustings, when they are the representatives of an unconsulting and often unreflecting body of constituents; and, on the other hand, it is by no means fair to describe the man who has joined in consultation with his constituents, and is chosen to represent them because he is the best fitted to express their common opinion, as the mere mouthpiece of those constituents. He does not the less express his own views, because he expresses at the same time the views of his synod. He takes far higher ground when he can allege, in addition to his own opinion, the deliberate sentence of a synod. In the present attempt to revive convocation, this matter has been unaccountably neglected: and here we have probably the great cause of the weakness of convocation. A pure episcopal synod has its advantages: a representation of the clergy has its advantages. The present state of convocation loses both one and the other. The bishops cannot consult as they would if they had no lower house to deal with, and the lower house is not what it ought to be to them, an expression of the deliberate judgment of the body of the clergy. Until our diocesan synods are revived, the proctors cannot hold their proper place in convocation, and the action of that body will remain weak as it is now. Nor can the conferences which are coming into fashion take the place of the synods: for they are mere voluntary assemblies for discussion, useful in their way perhaps, but with no powers, rights, or privileges, under no necessity of proceeding to action, and with no legal connection with convocation.

To return, then, to that which is the theory of convocation, and which it is hoped will soon be again its practice.

The two convocations thus formed make by their connection the "sacred synod" of Canon cxxxix., the "true Church of England by representation." It meets concurrently with every parliament, but by the Act of Submission, based upon the promise of the clergy [25, Hen. VIII. c. 19], it cannot "presume to attempt, allege, clayme, or put in ure any constitucions or ordinaunce provynciall or synodalles, or any other canons, nor shall enact, promulge, or execute any suche canons or ordinaunce provynciall . . . onles the same clergie may have the kynges most royal assent and license . . ." Short of making canons, however, the convocation may consult, petition, recommend. But the debates for these purposes may at any time be cut short by an injunction to the archbishop to prorogue or dissolve.

Archbishop Parker's form of holding convocations and of choosing the prolocutor, which is still followed (with the omission, it is feared, of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist), was printed by Kennett, and is prefixed to his *History of the last Convocation* [1730]. It was reprinted with additional notes in *Synodalia* [London, 1853].

Each convocation consists of two houses, the lower house meeting under a prolocutor chosen by the clergy, and presented for approval to the President. In the province of York the distinction between the two houses has not been observed, except on occasions of *bonâ fide* transaction of business, whence it has been commonly but erroneously said that the Convocation of York consists but of one house [Trevor, *The Two Convocations*, 1852, p. 126]. The upper house is the true *locus synodi*, as is evident from a consideration of the nature of a provincial council; and the prolocutor of the lower house is the referendary or reporter of all messages from the upper house, and moderates the debates of the lower in the stead of the archbishop [Gibson, *Syn. A.* p. 294]. The archbishops are presidents of the whole convocation, acting (except when a mandate from the crown is received) "cum consensu fratrum," having the right to require the clergy to consider any particular business throughout the convocation, to prescribe a time for the return of such business, to require it to be delivered in writing, to order committees of the lower house, or a committee of the whole house, to require the attendance of the prolocutor or of the house, and within the limits allowed by the royal mandates to appoint the days of session, and to prorogue accordingly. But the archbishop, as a distinct element of the convocation, has also his peculiar rights and powers; he "has a veto on all measures, a privilege which he retains for himself whenever another bishop presides for him; he has the right of giving leave of absence of the members of the lower house, and of absolving or punishing them for their absence in other cases; of admitting or refusing proxies, and of determining controverted elections" [Cardwell, *Synodalia*, preface, p. xix.]

The rights of the lower house are reduced by Gibson [p. 112] to these four heads: To present their own and the Church's grievances to the president and bishops; to offer to their lordships their petitions of any other kind; to be with them as a part of the judicature upon persons convened and examined in convocation; to dissent finally from any matter, so as to hinder its passing into a synodical act. These being acknowledged privileges of the lower house, it fol-

lows that so much of independent action and separate authority as is necessary for the due exercise of these privileges must be conceded to the lower house; otherwise the great principle of a synod must be held firm—that the synod is one, a body of presbyters in council with their bishops under the archbishop, who is the moderator of the whole convocation, not the speaker of the upper house; that the lower house accordingly is subordinate to the upper, and not coordinate with it; that the true strength of the lower house lies in their conjunction with the bishops, not in independence of them. Regarding the power of the archbishop, the opinions of Sir F. Thesiger, Sir W. P. Wood, and Dr. R. Phillimore [London, 1853], should be carefully studied.

Regarding the concurrent action of the two convocations, the formal and most regular mode is that the resolutions of one council be transmitted to the other council and fully considered. In 1661 several clergymen were commissioned to sit and act as proctors of York, in the Convocation of Canterbury [Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* pp. 286-7].

It remains now to name (we can scarcely do more) the business which our convocations have transacted since the Act of Submission. Our concern is with convocation as it stands at present, and it was the Act of Submission that changed its status. Prior to that act the archbishop of each province could assemble his provincial synod at his pleasure; or when the convocation met at command of the king, he could dissolve it when the business of the crown was finished, or continue the synod for other purposes, at his pleasure. But by the Act of Submission four points are settled. First, that the convocation can only be assembled by the king's writ; secondly, that when assembled it cannot proceed to make new canons without a royal license, which is a quite separate act from the permission to assemble; thirdly, that having agreed upon canons, in conformity with the royal license, they cannot be published or take effect until confirmed by the sovereign; fourthly, that even with the royal authority no canon can be enacted against the laws and customs of the land, or the king's prerogative [Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 110]. The second point was stated even more strongly by the judges, 8 James I. [Coke's *Reports*, xii. p. 92], who say that the convocation cannot confer to constitute any canons without license.

I. *Convocations* 1534-1559. Regarding these, Fuller [*Ch. Hist.* v. p. 188] remarks: "Upon serious examination it will appear that there was nothing done in the reformation of religion save what was asked by the clergy in their convocation, or grounded on some act of theirs precedent to it, with the advice, counsel, and consent of the bishops and most eminent churchmen, confirmed upon the postfact, and not otherwise by the civil sanction, according to the usage of the best and happiest times of Christianity." Dr. Hook, quoting this passage [*Life of Cranmer*, ii. 210], remarks, "Mr. Joyce, in his able and learned *History of Sacred Synods*, brings proof for the confirmation of this assertion in every particular." Thus,

A.D.

1534. Declaration that the Pope has no greater authority in England than any other foreign prelate.

1536. Fifty-nine Popular Errors complained of: and the Ten Articles of Religion carried [Collier, iv. 359, ed. 1852].

1539. The Six Articles approved.

1542. First book of Homilies introduced and authorized, published in 1547.

1543. Necessary Doctrine and Erudition confirmed.

1544. The Litany nearly in its present form authorized.

1547. Communion in both kinds. Repeal of Prohibition of Marriage of Clergy voted for. Edward VI.'s First Service Book approved.

1550. Revision of Liturgy considered.

1552. Cranmer's Forty-two Articles ratified. Edward VI.'s Catechism authorized by delegates of the Convocation.

1553. Only six of the Lower House own the Reformation. "It was not difficult for the Government to pack both the parliament and the convocation" [Hook. *Life of Cranmer*, ii. 321].

1554. Convocation absolved by Pole.

1558. Various matters of discipline treated of preparatory to presentation to Cardinal Pole.

1559. "It would have been chimerical to have expected anything from that convocation which assembled with Elizabeth's first parliament; and therefore the work (of reviewing the Book of Common Prayer) was entrusted to a committee" [Lathbury, *Hist. of Convoc.* p. 158].

Such in brief was the action of convocation in the former part of our Reformation. Other and less creditable determinations must be named. Convocation, which had before declared the nullity of Catherine's marriage to Henry, confirmed in 1536 the divorce of Anne Boleyn, and in 1539 resolved that the marriage of Ann of Cleves should be set aside. It is saying but little for the spirituality to remark [see *Joyce*, p. 403] that the praise or blame of these proceedings must be shared by the temporalty. Who ought to be foremost in defending the right? In the case of Anne of Cleves there must be something yet untold. Her letter to her brother, given by Burnet, cannot be explained except on the supposition that she wrote it under compulsion, or that there was something behind which she would not have dragged to light. As the matter came before convocation [see the detail in Joyce] we can only call their conduct a disgraceful compliance with the king's wickedness. Our sense of this neutralizes perhaps what otherwise might have been justly said of the former cases, that it is easy to conceive a righteous judge sincerely believing that the marriage with Catherine was null, and obliged to declare it so, however much

he might feel for Catherine, and however well aware he might be of the king's criminal passion for Anne Boleyn: and in the case of Anne Boleyn, that her confession to just and lawful impediments, coupled with the sentence of the archbishops' court, might be sufficient grounds for the convocations proceeding, so as to free them from the charge of conscious injustice. A most painful disclosure has been made of late as to Cranmer's part in these proceedings [see *Christian Remembrancer*, April 1868, p. 243]. From such disgrace, at least, the convocation is free. Probably the truth is, that the minds of men had been so familiarized by the action of the Court of Rome to the thought of dispensations and divorces, that they were ready to determine rather according to their views of expediency and state policy than according to strict rules of right and wrong. The members of convocation had denied the Pope's supremacy, but they had been all trained in the maxims of Rome.

Convocations from 1559 *to* 1662. This may be called the second part of the Reformation period. From the renouncing the Pope's supremacy to the settlement under Charles II. there was no rest. On the settlement under Charles II. we have rested during the last two hundred years. On the 20th December 1661, the Reformed Book of Common Prayer—the last version of the Use of Sarum and the other ancient uses of the English Church—was adopted and subscribed by the clergy of both houses of convocation, and of both provinces of the Church. A copy of the new Prayer Book, with the Great Seal attached, was delivered with a royal message to Parliament on the 25th of February 1662. The Bill of Uniformity having passed the Lords on the 9th of April, received the royal assent on the 19th of May, and thus became part of the law of the land [Hook. *Lives of Archbishops*, new ser. i. p. 144]. In the transactions which issued in this settlement our provincial synods bore their part.

The first parliament of Queen Elizabeth not only repealed the acts of Mary, and so restored matters to the state in which they stood at Edward's death, but also introduced certain alterations into the Prayer Book [see them in Keeling's *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*]. It has been usually thought that this was done in an irregular manner, without the concurrence of convocation [see Joyce, *S. Synods*, p. 543]; but Mr. Joyce has lately discovered a document which makes it probable that the alterations were framed by an episcopal synod [*Civil Power in relation to the Church*, p. 135]. In any case matters soon returned to their constitutional course.

The Eleven Articles of 1559-60 were intended as no more than a provisional test of orthodoxy, which in practice would be superseded when articles should be passed with full synodical and royal authority [Hardwicke, *Hist. of Art.* p. 120].

A.D.

1562. The Articles were revised and reduced to their present form and number; the Archbishop of York and his suffragans subscribing on behalf of their province. Nowell's Catechism was authorised. Nowell published also an abridgment, and a third or smaller catechism, which differs but slightly from the present catechism. It is probable that Overall abridged the questions and answers on the sacraments from this catechism [Lathbury, p. 168]. The recognition of the Homilies is involved in subscription to the Articles.

1571. The Articles are again confirmed and subscribed. Canons were drawn up and authorized by the upper house, but from some unexplained cause were not submitted to the lower house. These canons authorized Foxe's Martyrology; so that the necessity of the concurrence of the lower house has saved us from the burden of Foxe's falsehoods.

1575. A book of articles of discipline was passed, several of which are embodied in our present canons.

1584. Other articles, as in 1575.

1597. Constitutions were made in matters of discipline.

1604. The consideration of the canons was the commencement of the regular synodical business. The canons were in all probability collected and arranged by Bancroft from the Royal Injunctions, synodical acts, and articles of the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. The canons were agreed upon with the king's license.

The Prayer Book was revised and published in 1604, but it was not submitted to convocation. "The book so revised received full synodical sanction by the canons of 1603-4. As soon as their own synodical authority was established by both provinces, the alterations in the Prayer Book received the formal approbation of the whole English Church" [Joyce, p. 631].

1605. Overall's Convocation book was sanctioned, but it was not confirmed by royal authority.

1640. A Pontifical was designed, but the design failed. Seventeen canons were passed and confirmed by the king's letters patent. Regarding these canons, see the note, Cardwell, *Synodalia*, i. 380. Cardwell states that the statute 13 Car. II. c. 12, leaves them to their own proper synodical authority, and merely provides that nothing contained in that statute shall give them the force of an act of parliament.

1661. Occasional services were made: the form of adult baptism, and forms for January 30th and May 29th. But the great business was the revision of the Prayer Book, by which it was brought into its present state, solemnly subscribed and passed: after which the amendments were considered in the privy council, and the book sent to the House of Lords, that the Act of Uniformity might refer to it. "Canons were not concluded, though the convocation had been

authorized to treat of them; and it appears that some powerful influence was used to prevent the two houses from proceeding with that important business." Lathbury, p. 296. Lathbury refers to Kennet's Register, p. 630, and Barwick's Life, p. 325, English translation. Upon the whole, Mr Joyce's words quoted before regarding the former period may be fairly applied to this period also. It should be remarked that of this most important convocation, we have the original register of the upper house, and minutes of the lower house. See Gibson's catalogue of remaining acts and registers prefixed to Synodus Anglicana.

In 1664, by an arrangement between Hyde and Sheldon, the clergy waived their right of taxing themselves,—"the greatest alteration," Bishop Gibson said, "ever made in the constitution without an express law." The change has contributed greatly to the strength of other causes which led to the disuse of synods.

Into the long and dreary controversy between the two houses immediately after the Revolution it is not proposed to enter. The principles upon which a solution of the points in debate might with no great difficulty have been found have already been shewn. The action of the lower house has also been referred to as shewing the benefit which may arise from the clergy having a veto on the proceedings of bishops appointed by the crown without reference to the Church. The proposals of the commissioners of 1689 for the revision of the Liturgy are well-known. They were printed by order of the House of Commons in 1854. These proposals the lower house of convocation did not wait to receive. Their determination was shewn by their amending the bishops' address to the crown, which ranked the Church of England with other Protestant bodies. Into whatever errors (and certainly these were not a few) the lower house afterwards fell, there is no doubt that their firmness saved us from the proposals of the commissioners, which were probably transcripts of the wishes of William. The representation of Hoadly's errors was the last word of convocation, a not unfit word to close for a long period the services which that venerable body had rendered to the truth.

The recent revival of convocation is beyond the scope of this article.

COUNCILS. *To the middle of the fifth century.* More than twenty years had elapsed from the death of Christ before the first legislative council was held at Jerusalem.[1] It was the pattern followed by all others. The peculiar dignity of Jerusalem determined here the presiding authority, and James, Bishop of Jerusalem, evidently occupied the chief position; though St. Peter, through whose agency the first Gentile convert had been baptized, was naturally the first spokesman. At this council the rite of circumcision was declared to be no longer binding upon Christians; viewing the pagan class with which the Church had now to deal, the laws of purity were made more stringent, and the eating of blood was forbidden; for though in appearance this was a matter of Jewish law, it was of universal obligation, dating from the very cradle of the human race.

In primitive times, each Church having its own independent action, councils were held with sufficient frequency; their synodal acts had only a local authority; though since matters of the deepest moment were discussed in them, the decisions of each Church, so far as they agreed with Catholic consent, became the rule adopted by others. The so-called Apostolical Canons are known to have existed at a very early date,[2] before the canons of particular councils were kept distinct; and they have every appearance of being a collection of such canons as had been passed before the end of the third century by various independent churches.[3] The thirtieth of these Apostolical Canons orders that in every province two councils shall be held yearly; one four weeks after Pentecost, the other on the 12th of October[4] (Ὑπερβερεταίου ἀβ). Thus, the first Council summoned by Cyprian to meet the Novatian schism, assembled at Carthage after the bishops had celebrated Easter in their respective dioceses, A.D. 251. And again in the next year, Easter having fallen on the 11th of April, a council was held on the 15th of May. The frequency of the councils held in the African Church indicates that some such Church rule as that cited was observed in the third century; and when the Council of Nice decreed that two councils should be held every year [can. v.], it only enjoined observance of the ancient rule, the time being changed to the early year, before the commencement of Lent, while any optional time might be taken in the fall of the year.

Tertullian, writing before the close of the second century, shews that councils were already held in Greece. "Councils are held in certain localities throughout Greece of all the churches, whereat matters of deeper moment are treated in common, and the presence of all Christendom[5] is celebrated with much veneration" [*Adv. Psych.*

[1] Acts xv. Other apostolical assemblies had preceded, such as in Acts i. for filling up the apostolate, vi. for instituting the office of deacon, and ix. for receiving St. Paul into the apostolic body; but they had no legislative character, and issued no synodal letters, being purely of an administrative nature.

[2] Alexander of Alexandria appealed to them [A.D. 321], as shewing that bishops excommunicate could not be received into communion by other bishops: τῷ μήτε τὸν Ἀποστολικὸν κανόνα τοῦτο συγχωρεῖν [Theod. *Hist.*]. "Qui *apostolorum* dicuntur *canones*, ut ab ecclesiâ primitivâ constituti et collecti *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ* meritissimo jure nuncupantur [Bevereg. *Jud.* sec. 14].

[3] Firmilian, in his *Ep. to Cyprian* [ep. 75, sec. 3], says that the convention of yearly synods was a matter of course before the Council of Iconium, about A.D. 231: "Qua ex causa *necessario* apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus, ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt."

[4] The time fixed by the Council of Antioch (of the Dedication) A.D. 341, was the fourth week after Easter, and the ides, or 10th of Ὑπερβ.

[5] "Representatio totius Christiani nominis."

13]. The settlement of the Canon of Scripture had been matter of deliberation, for the same writer says that "the Pastor of Hermas would have obtained a place in Scripture if it had not been adjudged to be apocryphal and false by every council of the churches" [*de Pudic.* 10]. Eusebius mentions several councils having been held upon the Paschal question, and instances the presiding bishops and synodal letters of those held in Palestine, Rome, Pontus, Gaul, Osroena, besides private letters from the Bishop of Corinth and others.[1] He also says that the most grievous infliction under Licinius was the interdict laid by him on the synodal functions of the Church, for "in councils alone can matters of importance be determined."[2]

The spirit that animated these more primitive councils was doubtless such as Fleury has described [2me. *Disc.* tom. viii. sec. 8.] They were religious acts, and those who took part in them were guided by the will of God, as read in His Word, and exhibited in the simultaneous practice of the Church catholic; there was neither struggle for pre-eminence nor unfair advantage taken of opponents;[3] modesty of opinion was accompanied with deference for the thoughts and spiritual experiences of others; the wisest counsels were honestly sought and loyally carried into practice. Mutual respect, as a bond of union, gave to such assemblies an immense force, and as whole assemblies of honest, right-thinking men cannot be corrupted, so it is easy to guide them by rules of equity and judgment. Thus one or two prelates of sagacity and spiritual knowledge infused their spirit into the rest, who felt themselves swayed by the guidance of wisdom, humility, and charity. The *placita* of such councils easily obtained the force of law, even beyond the limits of legitimate authority.

These councils, meeting with the sanction of the metropolitan,[4] and under the presidency of the senior bishop, elected to vacant sees, the laity also having a voice;[5] no extraneous bishop having any right to interfere. They took cognizance of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, as in the case of the Paschal controversy, and the condemnation at Alexandria of Origen's opinions [A.D. 230], of Beryllus in a council in Arabia,[6] of Noëtus,[7] Privatus[8] at Carthage, and Paul of Samosata[9] at Antioch. They pronounced with authority on points of Catholic practice; thus it appears that infant baptism was the rule of primitive antiquity, because the council held at Carthage [A.D. 252] declared that the Christian sacrament need not follow the analogy of the Jewish rite of circumcision, or be limited to the eighth day.[10] The laws of the Church were administered by councils, which were also the supreme court of appeal, as a check upon any undue severity of particular bishops.

In the third century, the Novatian schism, as exterminating in its severity, gave scope to much synodal action. The penitential canons of the council of Antioch, borrowed in their leading features from the Apostolical Canons, gave the tone to many subsequent canons of the African church. Their primitive severity was gradually toned down, and whereas, at first, certain classes of penitents were never to be readmitted to communion, the council of Nice at length declared that no offender should be allowed to die without the *viaticum*. Still primitive severity was mildness, when compared with the unreasoning cruelty of the Novatian discipline in the case of those who had lapsed in the Decian persecution. The principal councils held in consequence of the Novatian schism, and to provide for the case of the lapsed, were those of Antioch, A.D. 252, and of Carthage, A.D. 251, 253.

The Novatian schism having died away, another replaced it on the question of heretical baptism, whether it were to be deemed valid or not. The Apostolical Canons xxxviii. xxxix. clearly pronounced against it, and a council of Carthage under Agrippinus[11] had committed itself to the same decided opinion.

Tertullian,[12] the great authority of the African Church, having been too implicitly followed, another council held at Iconium,[13] under Firmilian, about A.D. 231, reaffirmed the same regulation; as did the council held [A.D. 256] at Carthage under Cyprian, which included also the Numidian bishops. The Church of Mauritania[14] recognised, with the rest of the catholic Church,

[1] Euseb. *Hist.* v. 23.

[2] Eus. *Vit. Const.* i. 51.

[3] An exception to this rule helps out the proof. When Victor, Bishop of Rome, threatened to excommunicate Polycrates and the quartodeciman party in the East, he was dissuaded from his purpose by Irenæus, as the mouthpiece of the Gallican churches; a fragment of his letter remains, as evidence of the Christian charity in which it was composed. Many other churches united in the same prayer for peace [A.D. 198]. Cyprian's words to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, are also to be noted: "Honoris etiam communis memores, et gravitatis sacerdotalis, ac sanctitatis respectum tenentes, ea quæ ex diverso in librum ad nos transmissum congesta fuerant acerbationibus criminosis respicimus, considerantes pariter et ponderantes, quod in tanto fratrum religiosoque conventu, considentibus Dei sacerdotibus, et *altari posito*, nec legi debeant nec andiri" [*Ep.* xlv. p. 87, ed. Oxon.]. In sad contrast with such statements are the words of Gregory Nazianzen, when a less orderly spirit had been introduced by the Arian party [*Ep.* lv. *ad Procop.*].

[4] Euseb. *Hist.* v. 23.

[5] Cypr. *Ep.* 67 to the churches of Leon and Astorga (synodal), where he says that the presence of the laity is essential in the election of bishops, "diligenter de traditione divina, et Apostolica observatione servandum est, quod apud nos quoque, et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ac iam plebem cui Præpositus ordinatur Episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant et Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit," &c.

[6] Eus. *H. E.* vi. 20, A.D. 240.

[7] Hippol. c. *Noet.* 1, A.D. 230.

[8] Cypr. *Ep.* 59. *ad Corn.* in a council of ninety bishops, A.D. 240.

[9] A.D. 265 and 269.

[10] *Synodal letter.* *Ep.* Cypr. 64, *ad Fidum.*

[11] Cypr. *ad Jubaianum*, *Ep.* 73, p. 199, ed. Oxon.

[12] Tert. *de Bapt.* c. 15, and *de Pudic.* 19. Cui enim dubium est hæreticum . . veniam consequi, et in ecclesiam redigi? unde et apud nos ut ethnico par, immo et super ethnicum, hæreticus etiam per baptisma veritatis utroque homine purgatus admittitur.

[13] *Ep. Firmil. ap. Cypr.* Ep. 75, secs. 6, 13, 19.

[14] Cypr. Ep. 71, *ad Quintum.*

the validity of heretical baptism, provided that it were administered in the name of the Holy Trinity. Stephen, bishop of Rome, on receipt of Cyprian's synodal letter, refused to hold communion with any who held the views therein expressed. The African church, however, continued to declare itself against heretical baptism; but matters did not approach nearer to an open rupture, and the smouldering embers of discord were finally quenched by the decree of the Council of Nice, which made re-baptism necessary only in the case of the followers of Paul of Samosata, who baptized, but not with the Trinitarian formula. In fact, it was the rise of this heresy that compelled the catholic Church to draw more closely the bonds of charity and love between all whose differences were not of a vital character.

The heresy of Paul, bishop of Antioch, gave rise to two councils at Antioch within four years of each other. A Jew in all his sympathies, he explained the mystery of the Incarnation on Neo-Platonic principles, and declared that our Lord in His human nature was the outward manifestation of the Logos, as in the Platonic philosophy man is the material embodiment of the Divine idea of humanity previously existing. He denied the pre-existence of Christ, otherwise than as subsisting in the Deity from whence the Logos emanated and became united with Christ.[1] From the fusion of the two arose a third substance compounded of the Godhead and Manhood, as electrum is a mixture of gold and silver. It contained the poison of many heresies. It declared with the Ebionite of earliest times, that after the existence of the Manhood had commenced, the Divine principle was united with it; with the Sabellian, that the Logos was an emanation from the Deity; and it paved the way for the Apollinarian and Eutychian errors by a confusion of the two natures. A council was held at Antioch [A.D. 265], when Paul acknowledged his error, and judgment was deferred. But as he obstinately persisted in teaching his heresy, he was formally condemned, and deposed from the see of Antioch [A.D. 269]. His history, which in every respect is a wretched one, need not be pursued further.

No other council of importance was held during the remainder of the third century. In A.D. 305, a council was held at Elvira (Illiberis) in Spain, near Granada, the canons of which, from their number and from their application to a state of things that no longer existed in the fourth century, would seem to have been partly formed from the canons of preceding councils. The eighty-one canons imply a close contest between paganism and Christianity that might have been true enough a century previously, but was now out of date; *e.g.*, the forty-first canon forbids the faithful to tolerate idols in their houses. There was a time when the house was divided against itself, but it was now past. Also by canon lx., if a Christian be killed for breaking in pieces an idol, he is denied the honour of martyrdom. Paganism was in the ascendant, and was not to be rashly provoked; from such slight sparks the fiercest flames of persecution had been developed. There is also a tone of severity about them that was softened down in the acts of subsequent councils after the rise of Novatianism. Communion even *sub articulo mortis* was denied to those who had relapsed into idolatry or committed other mortal sin, but this was corrected at Ancyra [can. vi.] and Nice [can. xii.], as savouring of Novatian rigour. The clergy might not attend fairs and markets [can. xi.], but might send their sons to traffic for them, showing that as yet the Church of Spain was possessed of no "ricca dote." The married clergy, whether bishops, priests, or deacons, were to live apart from their wives [can. xxxiii.]. The twenty-fifth of the Apostolical Canons was reproduced, which forbids the excommunicated to be received again into communion by any but their own bishop [can. liii.]. Mural paintings were forbidden in churches by can. xxxvi.

The Donatist schism dates from the council held at Carthage, A.D. 312, for the purpose of filling the see rendered vacant by the death of Mensurius. Cæcilianus was duly elected by the clergy and laity, and consecrated by Felix, bishop of the neighbouring diocese of Aptunga. The new bishop having demanded restoration of property belonging to the church from two of the laity, Donatus headed a faction against him, and denied the validity of his consecration, inasmuch as it had not been solemnized by the Primate of Numidia. But custom required that the consecrating bishop should be of the province of Carthage, which the Numidian bishop was not; so custom enjoined that the Bishops of Rome should be consecrated by the neighbouring Bishop of Ostia. The Donatist party therefore elected Majorinus, and for many years continued to nominate their schismatical bishops. The first council summoned by order of the emperor was held at Rome [A.D. 313], to decide between the rival parties, when the election of Cæcilianus was confirmed, and Donatus excommunicated. Where two rival bishops filled one see, the compromise was effected of allowing priority of consecration to give legal possession, and some other church was found for the superseded prelate, who had the title also of chorepiscopus. It may be observed that the term "catholic" was applied to all public ecclesiastical documents from the period of these troubles.

The Donatist party obtained another hearing by the convocation of a council at Arles in Gaul, the next year, but with no other result. The canons passed, in number 22, had a certain general likeness to the Elviran. It was ordered that Easter should be celebrated by one rule on the Lord's day, and not by quartodeciman observance; that heretical candidates for admission to the church should be ordered to recite the "symbol" of faith in which they had been baptized, and if they had been baptized in the faith of the Trinity, that they should be received with imposition of hands, otherwise that they should be baptized. This gives the rationale of the nineteenth canon of

[1] The words of Justin Martyr shew that it was a revival of older error. *Tryph.* 128.

the Council of Nice which directs that the followers of Paul of Samosata should be baptized, he having rejected the Trinitarian formula in baptism.

In A.D. 314, a council was held at Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, which framed twenty-five canons. The case of the lapsed was again taken into consideration, and a relaxation may be observed in the terms of penance awarded, which might be further mitigated by the indulgence of the bishop. The duties of the presbyter are stated incidentally to be preaching and the celebration; of deacons, the collection and administration of offerings, whether in alms or in payments to the clergy as salary; and to proclaim, *i.e.* to give the names of those who made their offerings at the altar, and to dismiss the congregation. Deacons are permitted to marry upon an engagement antecedent to ordination. The chorepiscopi [can. xiii.] are spoken of as the bishop's ordinaries in country parishes, having no power of ordination; and they are said, by the council held at Neocæsarea in Pontus this same year, to be analogous to the seventy disciples who were sent forth two and two by our Lord.[1]

This council framed also twenty-five canons. Catechumens[2] are shewn to have been classified as *audientes*, who were allowed to hear the prayers and the Word read; and the *consistentes* (συνιστάμενοι), who were allowed to join in the prayers, but not to participate in the oblation of the faithful. They coincide with the second and fourth classes of penitents, the first, or *flentes*, at the porch being omitted, and the third, or *substrati* (ὑποπίπτοντες), being also passed over. Thirty is made the canonical age for ordination to the presbyterate, on the analogy of our Lord's commencement of His ministry at that age; and priests are forbidden to marry. The deacons also are limited to seven, whatever might be the size of a city. A scriptural precedent that according to Fleury "on a toujours gardé a Rome" [*H. E.* x. 17]. The primitive abhorrence of second marriages is also indicated by interdicting presbyters from being present at the marriage feast.[3]

A darker cloud than any that had preceded now hung over the Church. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, at the commencement of the episcopate of Alexander, opposed his orthodox teaching by asserting that the Son was "created in time," and that there was "a time when He was not." He and his party were condemned in a council held at Alexandria [A.D. 320]. The Emperor Constantine was now, since his victory over Licinius at Hadrianople [A.D. 323], master of the world, and had time to think of ecclesiastical matters, with him a political rather than a religious duty. He had been persuaded, by favourers of the Arian party, that no vital doctrine was at issue; that a mere matter of logomachy between rival bishops distracted the world. He sent Hosius, therefore, Bishop of Cordova, to Alexandria to compose the strife, and to bring the churches of Christendom into harmony as regarded the observance of Easter; but his mission had no success. The first general council of bishops from every church throughout the world was then summoned to meet at Nice, as being contiguous to the imperial residence of Nicomedia. Three hundred and fifteen bishops there met in the hall of the palace,[4] on June 19th, 325.

The creed, as it was drawn up by the council, was a modification of the Creed of the Cæsarean Church produced by Eusebius the historian and bishop of that see. The term ὁμοούσιον was introduced; for the future, the *lapis Lydius* of orthodoxy; but it was carefully guarded by a definition of the sense in which it was used, and the precise shade of error against which it was designed to guard.

Eusebius, the Arianizing bishop of Nicomedia, declared that he would subscribe to no creed that declared the Son to be ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός. There was no better term, therefore, to describe the common faith than the word ὁμοούσιος, provided that it was cleared from a certain amount of suspicion which attached to it from its use in the controversy raised by Paul of Samosata at Antioch. The term Logos had been used by St. John in the same way. Philosophy and heresy, her first-born, had used the term. St. John, writing by the Holy Spirit, allowed the use, but gave to the word its proper Divine meaning. The creed thus framed and explained was accepted by the council.

The Paschal controversy was also finally disposed of; for it was no longer to be tolerated that part of the Church[5] should be fasting, while the rest of the church was jubilant in the services of Easter morn. Uniformity was secured by observance of the cycle first calculated by Meton the astronomer, more than seven hundred years before; who had shewn that the recurrence of the moon's phases, as compared with the solar year, followed approximately a cycle of nineteen years. It was given in charge to Eusebius of Cæsarea[6] to draw out and explain the scheme.

The Meletian schism was also brought to an end (after twenty-four years of mischief) by the deposition of its author; and the precedent of the Roman compromise [A.D. 313] determined the claim of rival bishops in the same see.

Canons, twenty in number, were passed, applying principally to questions of discipline and prerogative; but with a marked relaxation of rigour in the prescribed periods of penance. Generally, it may be observed that canons were framed by the Church in its councils, not as introducing new matter, but as declaring Catholic practice, and as enforcing primitive discipline, with the application of well-proved tests to each novel phase of error; thus the thirteenth canon of Nice commands that in no case should the "viaticum" be denied to the dying, the precedent followed being ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος. It was proposed that the married clergy should

[1] Χωρεπίσκοποι εἰσι μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ὁ. Can. xiii.
[2] See Bingham, xviii. 1, 3.
[3] Can. 7.
[4] Eus. *V. Const.* iii. 12.
[5] Syria and Mesopotamia.
[6] Eusebius super eodem Pascha canonem decem et novem annorum circulam composuit. Hieron. *de V. & Ill.* lxi.

be charged to live apart from their wives, but all attempts in this direction were successfully resisted by Paphnutius,[1] himself an unmarried man of blameless life. The third canon disposed of a scandal, originally introduced by Paul of Samosata, and condemned by the twenty-seventh canon of Elvira. The fourth canon met the confusion caused by Donatus, and ordained that bishops should be consecrated by three of the same province;[2] introducing the term metropolitan for the first time as an ecclesiastical title. The sixth canon pronounces the three Patriarchs of Rome,[3] Alexandria and Antioch to be on an equal footing, and can. vii. reserves to the Bishop of Ælia (Jerusalem) his own prerogative of honour.[4] By canon v. two provincial councils are to be held yearly,[5] before Lent and in autumn. The same canon also forbids bishops from receiving into communion persons excommunicated in other dioceses; and it may be noted that in the preceding year, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, complained that the excommunicated Arius had been received into communion, "contrary to the Canon Apostolic;" referring to Can. Ap. x. So also the forty-first and forty-second Apostolical Canons explain the rationale of canon xix., all baptism being invalid which was not administered in the Name of the Trinity. The tenth canon exhibits the extreme penance imposed upon those who lapsed, *χωρὶς ἀνάγκης*, in the Licinian troubles, as well as the different order of penitents. They were to do penance with the "*audientes*"[6] for three years, *i.e.*, might hear the Scripture and homilies, but were interdicted from the communion of prayer; with the "*substrati*" for six years, *i.e.* permitted to hear on their knees the prayers of the Church in their behalf; and with the "*consistentes*" for two more years, in which they were allowed to be present at all the prayers of the celebration, but not to communicate.

[1] Socr. *H. E.* i. 11.

[2] When Augustine came over to England seven British bishops [Bede, ii. 2] met him in council; but the *quatuordeciman* rule that was followed as regards Easter shews that the British Church was a daughter of the Eastern. Gregory ignoring the existence of any British bishop, ordered Augustine to wait for the arrival of Gallican Bishops before he proceeded to consecrate new bishops, "in Anglorum Ecclesia, in qua adhuc tu solus Episcopus inveniris" [Bede, i. 27, viii. *resp.*]. How then was it a church at all?

[3] Constantinople was still Byzantium, an ordinary seaport, though a town of much mercantile life.

[4] Appeals lay from the See of Jerusalem to that of Cæsarea. [Hieron. *ad Pamm.* and *Lib. adv. err. Joh. Jerus.*; and Leo M., *Ep.* 62 *ad Maxim. Antioch.*] In other respects the precedent of James, Bishop of Jerusalem, Acts xv., may be observed to have been followed from various historical instances, *e.g.* at a Council held in Palestine about A.D. 196, Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, together with Theophilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, presided [Euseb. v. 23]; and at the Council of Ephesus, Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, claimed to have judicial cognizance, according to Apostolical tradition, over the Bishop of Antioch.

[5] Can. Apost. xxx. prescribes the fourth week after Pentecost for the first, which would fall after the Syrian harvest, and the 12th October (*Hyperberetæi* xii.).

[6] Compare also *Can. Laodic.* xix. See also Bingham, xviii. 1, and Cabassutius, *Not. Conc.* xx.

Synodal epistles are not of less importance than canons, and have much historical interest as indicating the circumstances that led to these marked points in ecclesiastical history, and stereotyped, as it were, the truth for subsequent ages. Such an epistle was now addressed by the council to the church of Alexandria, and to the other churches throughout Catholic Christendom.

Throughout the century, until the second general council was held at Constantinople [A.D. 381], the restless ambition of the Arian party kept the Church in a continual state of turmoil. After that period the evil was finally ejected from the Church, and became their only principle of union to the barbarian hordes that overran the Romish empire in its decline. Arian councils were held to upset, if possible, the work that had been done at Nice; the great Athanasius, as the champion of orthodoxy, being the especial mark of Arian hatred. At the Council of Tyre [A.D. 335] he was accused of the blackest crimes, even of murder, and the hand of his victim was produced; but the murdered man presented himself also before the council alive and well. Yet Athanasius was excommunicated and driven into exile, the Meletian party acting as accusers, the Arian as judge. The sentence was confirmed by a similar council, that "of the Dedication," at Antioch [A.D. 341]. For the next twelve years Arianism, supported by court influence, continued unchecked in its course of intrigue and violence [A.D. 347]. The Council of Sardica under Mount Hæmus interposed a temporary resistance, and reversed the sentence passed upon Athanasius. But he was again deposed by the Council of Milan [A.D. 355], and a price set upon his head. Five bishops voluntarily shared his banishment—Dionysius of Milan, Lucifer of Cagliari, Eusebius of Vercelles, Hilary of Poictiers, and Liberius of Rome. The answer of the latter is on record,[7] when money was offered to him for his journey by an officer of the court: "You have laid waste the churches throughout the world, and you offer me alms as a culprit, *ἄπελθε, πρῶτον γενοῦ Χριστιανός*." Si ita semper! At the Council of Sirmium Liberius signed a semi-Arian creed, and a condemnation of Athanasius, as Cabassutius says, "desiderio succumbens repetendæ pristinæ Sedis" [Concil. xxxiii.]; and in effect it procured his recall from exile.

The death of the semi-Arian Constantius [A.D. 361] made a way to the throne for the Eclectic Julian. He summoned a council at Alexandria, A.D. 362, to investigate the charges against Athanasius; they were completely refuted, and the orthodox faith once more occupied its proper position. However, precedents as regards the reconciliation of offenders were followed, and the less culpable of the Arian party were allowed to retain their sees on signing the Nicene formulary; the more active and obnoxious were received back into the Church, but only as laymen.

Somewhere about A.D. 370, may be placed the Council of Laodicea, in which sixty canons were passed, the last of which is of most importance

[7] Theod. *H. E.* ii. 16.

as giving the first synodal list of the books of Canonical Scripture. It omits the Apocryphal books, with the exception of Baruch, which is added to Jeremiah, and the Epistle of Jeremiah which follows Lamentations in LXX. The Apocalypse also is ignored. The remaining canons principally refer to ritual and to clerical life.

Athanasius closed a life of glorious struggle for the truth, at threescore years and ten, in A.D. 373, from which period the semi-Arian party passed into the Macedonian heresy which denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. This heresy, together with the schismatical conduct of Maximus the Cynic, and the necessity for reaffirming with authority the Catholic faith, caused the convocation of the Second General Council at Constantinople. The cause of schism was the appointment of Gregory of Nazianzum to the patriarchate of Constantinople. In bygone years he had been appointed to the See of Sasime, in the exarchate of Cæsarea, but a dispute arising he preferred to resign rather than contest the appointment, and retiring to his father's See of Nazianzum there assisted him in his episcopal duties. A canon of the Council of Nice, following older prescription, interdicted the translation of bishops from one see to another; and when Gregory was appointed by acclamation to the See of Constantinople, Maximus, coveting the appointment for himself, broke into the metropolitan church by night and caused himself to be enthroned as bishop, asserting that Gregory having been already consecrated to one see, and exercising episcopal duties in a second, was under a canonical disability, aud could not be raised to the See of Constantinople. Under this state of things a council was summoned by Theodosius, A.D. 381, and one hundred and fifty bishops with thirty-six of the Macedonian party, met for deliberation. Its first act was to pronounce for the validity of Gregory's appointment. The presiding bishop, Meletius of Antioch, having died at this stage of proceedings, before business could be resumed, the Egyptian bishops who had been duly summoned arrived, and taking offence because the Council had been opened in their absence, revived the objection of disqualification against Gregory. With that self-denial that was so peculiarly characteristic of him, he again declined the contest, and resigned his appointment, to which Nectarius, unknown to fame, was appointed. The council thus received its fourth president. Meletius had opened it; on his death Gregory succeeded; then Timothy of Alexandria took the presidential seat; and finally Nectarius. It is impossible to say under which of them the creed and the canons were put forth, the subscriptions including that of Meletius who died, and of Timothy who came late. At the very outset the Macedonians, as semi-Arians, declared that they would sooner symbolize with the Arians than subscribe to the Homoousion; and leaving the council, wrote to the different churches to dissuade them from accepting the acts of the council, and became openly declared heretics. The alterations made in the creed by the several added clauses may be seen under the article CREED.

Seven canons were put forth by this council: in the first the Nicene faith is confirmed, and all heresy anathematized *nominatim*, the Eunomian or Anomæan affirming the Son to be of different and inferior substance from the Father; the Arian as represented by Eudoxus; the semi-Arian or Macedonian, who denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost; the Sabellians, who explained the distinct personality of the Holy Trinity as mere temporary emanations; the Marcellians, who declared that the Son came forth in time and returned again into the substance of the Father; the Photinians or Humanitarians, and the Apollinarians, who denied the true humanity of our Lord by declaring that the Logos occupied the place of a human soul. The second canon, enforcing ancient custom, restrains bishops to the jurisdiction of their own provinces and dioceses;[1] the third canon assigns to the Patriarch of Constantinople the same prerogative of honour as to Rome. The fourth denies to Maximus all episcopal authority and function. The sixth lays down rules that late troubles had made so necessary with respect to accusations brought against bishops, and the court before which they should be heard. The last canon defines the course to be followed in receiving heretics into the church. Those whose baptism was recognised as valid were to be admitted by sacred unction;[2] all others by baptism as pagans, and after a sufficiently long course of penitential discipline. The acts of the council bearing date the Ides of July, were rendered complete by a synodal letter to the Emperor.

Important councils were held at the commencement of the fifth century in consequence of the first rise of the Pelagian heresy. But it was scarcely originated by Pelagius. On his arrival in Rome from Britain he learned his heresy from a Syrian named Ruffinus. Theodore of Mopsuestia also was infected with the same error, and in fact it may be traced far back, to the teaching of Origen with respect to free-will. See PELAGIANISM, under which article will be found an account of the principal councils held in consequence of that heresy.

Nestorius was enthroned at Constantinople, A.D. 428, and at once broached the heresy that there was no hypostatic union between God and man in Christ; that God was in Christ, but not by personal unity of the two natures in the one being of Christ; that the union of the two natures did not commence as the Catholic faith had always taught, with the creation of the first rudimental germ of humanity, but that Christ was born into the world, and then that the Divine Nature was superadded to the human. The term θεοτόκος had been used more than a century previously by Alexander, Patriarch of Alexander, in his First Epistle on the Arian ques-

[1] The word diocese had a wider meaning than at present, embracing several provinces.

[2] Or by the imposition of episcopal hands, which was tantamount to chrism. [Amalari. Fortunat. *de Eccl. Off.* c. 27.]

tion to Alexander of Byzantium,[1] and it exactly expresses the union of two natures in one Christ, as taught from the beginning by the Church. Nestorius affirmed that the Blessed Virgin was ἀνθρωποτόκος or Χριστοτόκος, but not Θεοτόκος. The point at issue, therefore, was very clear, and Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, having expostulated with the heretical patriarch in vain, wrote to him his celebrated epistle, A.D. 430, containing an appendix of twelve anathemas that exhibit in the clearest point of view the difference between Nestorian error and orthodox doctrine.

The Emperor Theodosius, urged by all parties, summoned a council for Pentecost, June 7th, in the following year, Ephesus being named as a place of most convenient access by sea and by land. It was also highly appropriate, since the Mother of our Lord, "Blessed among women" as the θεοτόκος, had there closed her eyes in death. On the day appointed[2] all had met there with the exception of John, Bishop of Antioch, and the Syrian clergy; after a fortnight's delay it was determined to commence the business of the meeting, which was opened accordingly, June 22nd, in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Gospel being placed on the central throne in token of the Saviour's presence.

Nestorius not having presented himself, the council sent a citation, but found his house surrounded by the soldiers who had accompanied him. The letters written by Nestorius were therefore read by the votary, and the heretical doctrine they contained was condemned *uno ore*. Sentence of deposition and excommunication was accordingly passed. Heresy, however, had here also the ear of the court, and the Count Candidianus entered a protest against the acts of the council as being invalid without the presence of the Syrian bishops; on the 27th of the month they at length arrived, and a deputation of bishops and clergy delegated by the council to wait upon the Bishop of Antioch and to report the proceedings, were driven away with blows. The legates from the See of Rome having arrived, a second session was held on the 10th of July, at which the former sentence of deposition and excommunication was confirmed, and synodal letters were written to the emperor and to the clergy of Constantinople.[3] John, Bishop of Antioch, who had held a meeting of the Nestorian party and excommunicated Cyril, refused to obey the citation of the council;[4] he and his party were cut off from communion, and debarred from the exercise of all episcopal function. The six canons passed by the council have reference only to the difference caused by the schismatical behaviour of the Syrian party. Maximian was consecrated to the vacant see of Constantinople, October 25th of the same year.

Twenty years later [A.D. 451], complaint was made to Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, while celebrating his provincial synod, that Eutyches, archimandrite of the monastery in that city, was teaching the opposite error to Nestorius; viz., that the Godhead and the Manhood were not distinct in the Person of Christ, but that a third nature neither wholly God nor wholly man was the effect of the union of the two substances. After the customary tactics, Eutyches first obtained a respite of delay, and used it to gain the support of the secular power. Backed by an armed force he appeared to his metropolitan's citation, but obstinately maintaining his error was deposed from the presbyterate, and deprived of his office as archimandrite. Eutyches now threw off all restraint, and set about collecting a party round him, by whose means the emperor Theodosius was prevailed upon to summon a council to meet at Ephesus. The council met [A.D. 449], but is known in history as ἡ λῃστικὴ σύνοδος, *Latronum Synodus*, its acts being altogether invalidated by the violent partizanship of Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, and the compulsory signature of them by the council in the presence of a military force [*Conc. Chalc.* art. i.]. Theodosius having died [A.D. 450], his successor Marcian summoned a general council, now rendered inevitable. Nicæa was appointed in the first instance, but Chalcedon was substituted as being more conveniently situated on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, immediately opposite to Constantinople. The council[5] opened on October 8th [A.D. 451]. Dioscorus was excommunicated for his violent conduct and advocacy of the heretical Eutyches at Ephesus, the sentence remaining unaltered. The Nicene symbol was affirmed, and newer phases of heresy were condemned by a synodal definition of its creed. Thirty canons were framed confirmatory of preceding canons, and regulating the lives of the clergy. The authority of the See of Constantinople over the Churches of Pontus and Asian Thrace was asserted, and a co-ordinate rank with the see of Rome was given to it [Hefele, *Concilien Gesch.*].

COUNSELS OF PERFECTION. It is the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" [Matt. v. 48]. Every Christian, therefore, is called to strive towards this standard. St. Paul, in accordance with this, declares to the Corinthians, while setting aside the mere wisdom of the world, that nevertheless "we speak wisdom among them that are perfect" [1 Cor. ii. 6], spiritual, heavenly wisdom, suited to their position as "perfecti" [ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ]. There can be no per-

[1] First termed Constantinople, A.D. 330, it being rebuilt by the emperor. Hitherto the Bishop of Byzantium had recognised the Bishop of Heraclea as his metropolitan. It has been seen that the third of the Constantinople Canons raised the See to an equality of honour with Rome, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.

[2] St. Augustin, was summoned, but death had anticipated the summons.

[3] In this letter it is affirmed that the Blessed Virgin resided at Ephesus with St. John, and there ended her days.

[4] *Ex abundanti cautela.* In all cases of excommunication it should be understood that the Church universally followed the precept, "an heretic after a first and second admonition reject" [Tit. iii. 10].

[5] The clergy being seated within the chancel, the emperor and a full body of senators in the nave, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πρὸς τῶν καγκέλλων τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου θυσιαστηρίου.

fection naturally in fallen man, for the Fall was the loss of an inherent perfecting power of supernatural life, but this power is restored in Holy Baptism. We are therein made partakers of the Divine nature, and the Divine nature is the summary of all possible perfections.

Christian perfection is to be understood in various ways.

1. *Immanent*, or habitual perfection, which is communicated by the sacraments, being the substantive perfection of Christian life. This is made complete at our confirmation. This is to be distinguished from *operative* or active perfection, which consists in the exercise of great virtues.

2. *Personal* perfection is to be distinguished from *perfection of state*. The one consists in the exercise of virtues according to individual inspiration. The other is attained by exactness in fulfilling the special duties of our calling. We must not, however, suppose that the one can really be without the other. Exactness in the duties of our calling is one of the highest tokens of personal perfection in other acts, and other acts without this are little worth.

3. The perfection of the *pilgrim state* is not the same as the perfection of the *heavenly home*. The expression is a very beautiful one by which devotional writers have been used to designate our life of probation and our future life of acceptance. This life is *via*. That life is *patria*. In this, our state of wandering or exile, absolute perfection cannot be attained. That belongs to those who have reached the home. It is a heresy to maintain, as the Pelagians, Beghards, Illuminati, and Quietists did in various ways, that spotless perfection is attainable in our present state; nevertheless there is such a perfection attainable in this life, that the soul may be united to God in unbroken love.

4. The perfection attainable in our present state is itself divided into the *lower* or *essential*, and the *higher* or *accidental*. The first is necessary to the life of the soul; any mortal sin by which the soul forfeits the love of God being a violation of this perfection. The higher perfection consists in the observance of those counsels by which the soul advances more and more in Divine love.

5. As the natural life has its various stages of progress, so also has the heavenly life: and consequently perfection is divided into the perfection of *beginners*, the perfection of the *proficient*, the perfection of the *perfect*. This last is that to which the name truly belongs. It is applied to the two former as leading on to this. This must be the aim of all Christians, who would walk worthy of their vocation, and fulfil our Lord's bidding, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" [Matt. v. 48].

The foundation of all true perfection must be in the healthful performance of all duties belonging to our station. Perfection, however, is something beyond natural rectitude of conduct. It is the aspiring of the soul to God with the energy of supernatural love; and this will find its special mode of exercise according to the varying circumstances of individuals. To the rich man our Lord said, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, . . . and come and follow Me" [Matt. xix. 21].

Every possible human perfection was summed up in the life of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is at once the source of all perfection and the model of all perfection. Whatever may be the perfection which God may set before us, it is contained within those words, "Follow Me." As all receive grace from Christ, so all are called to show forth the likeness of Christ. The call to imitate Christ is universal. "Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto Him." But inasmuch as we cannot attain to all His perfections, we are called each one to be like Him in some special character of His life according to our several positions. His obedience to the Father's will is set before us all as our necessary example. Each loving heart among His people will be eager to choose some special feature of our Lord's life for particular imitation. Love is not satisfied with a merely necessary obedience. Love, even natural love, desires to spend and be spent for the object to which it is directed. Much more does supernatural love demand some opportunity of self-sacrifice, supernatural love which has been kindled by the love exhibited at Calvary. It is God has given us this natural faculty of love, and He being the Author both of nature and of grace, has quickened this faculty for supernatural exercises by the gift of His Holy Spirit; He gives us therefore the opportunity of exerting this faculty in spiritual matters as in natural. While He requires from us certain acts as acts of necessary obedience, He leaves us free to choose in various matters whether or no we will make certain acts of self-sacrifice, and submit ourselves to certain forms of self-sacrifice under the simple impulse of love to Himself. The exercise of this love is the practice of true perfection.

This perfection is regarded by theologians as threefold, being correlative to our threefold temptation as arising from the devil, the world, and the flesh, and connected with our mind, our body, and our estate. The lust of the flesh or sensuality, the lust of the eye or covetousness, and, finally, the pride of life, are the threefold root of sin. Chastity, poverty, and obedience, the discipline of the body, the discipline of the estate, the discipline of the will, are the threefold cord of perfection. These are called the counsels of perfection, because they train the soul for the perfect following of our Lord Jesus Christ. Our Lord exhibited these three conditions in the most perfect manner. Without them, the outer life cannot be wholly detached from the world. As the outer life cannot be wholly detached without them, so they are also great means whereby the inner life may become detached. For, it is to be remembered, perfection does not consist in these three states as such, but they are "counselled" or recommended to us as helps by the faithful use of which we may attain it.

Chastity, when thus technically spoken of, in

Counsels of Perfection

cludes both virginity and chaste widowhood. This is commended to us by our Blessed Lord when He says, "There be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" [Matt. xix. 12]. While our Lord's mystical life has sanctified matrimony, so that it represents the spiritual marriage or unity which is between Christ and His Church, His life as a man upon earth was a virgin life, and therefore virginity is a special means of likeness to Him. It is also naturally greatly conducive to the purposes of religion. "He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord" [1 Cor. vii. 32]. Marriage of necessity entangles persons in the things of the world, and gives them less opportunity of devoting themselves entirely to God's service. It is ordained by Him that there shall be this means of filling His Church, and of bringing into it on earth those who will be the jewels of Christ's crown in heaven; but He has also ordained for those "who can receive it" the state of holy virginity, in which there may be no care but the care for His glory. Accordingly our Lord Jesus invites to the celibate life, saying, "Every one that hath forsaken . . . wife, or children, . . for My Name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life" [Matt. xix. 29]. We find, moreover, a special promise in the Revelation bestowed upon those who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are virgins. These, it is said, "are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb. And in their mouth was found no guile: for they are without fault before the throne of God" [Rev. xiv. 5, 6].

Poverty is the discipline by which the lust of the eye is especially corrected, the discipline of temptations arising from estate. The Son of God in coming into the world was free to choose what condition He pleased, whether of wealth or poverty. He chose poverty. In choosing poverty He sanctified it, commended it to our choice, made it a special means of grace when faithfully accepted. "When He was rich, yet for our sakes He became poor" [2 Cor. viii. 9]. He had not where to lay His head. When a certain man said unto Him, "Lord, I will follow Thee whithersoever Thou goest," our Lord put before him this condition of utter poverty as the condition upon which alone such close discipleship could be attained [Luke ix. 57, 58]. Our Lord's poverty was, moreover, a voluntary poverty. He might at any time have surrounded Himself at will with all the affluence of this world's luxury, even as He fed the thousands in the wilderness. But He never did exert His supernatural power for His own deliverance from any necessity. To have done so would have been a violation of that entire trust in the Divine Providence of the Father's will which was the law of His life. Sufferings of His that arose from poverty would have been no consolation to us, if whenever He felt so disposed He had removed the difficulty by miraculous agency. And as He lived a life of poverty, choosing it from His birth, and willingly abiding in its afflictions and manifold sufferings, so He commends it as a means of special union with Himself. The rich young man came to Him and said, "Good Master, what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?" and when Jesus put before him the necessity of obedience, he replied that he had kept this from his youth. "What lack I yet?" "Jesus then said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" [Matt. xix. 16-22]. Thus He invited him to a life of voluntary poverty. He set before him for his personal choice that blessing which is, so to speak, the foundation-stone of His Church: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" [Matt. v. 3]. He showed that this beatitude was not to be explained away, as some would do, to signify a mere detachment from the world's glory, a metaphorical poverty. He intended that those who would win this blessing in its fulness should feel along with Himself the pinch of poverty in its reality. St. Peter asks what he and the other Apostles should have since they had forsaken all in order to follow Him. Jesus tells them of the glory of the kingdom which by the terms of His beatitude they were to share, and extends to others the reward which the Apostles had obtained, saying, in the words quoted with reference to chastity, "Every one that hath forsaken . . . lands for My Name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life" [Matt. xix. 29].

Obedience is the third counsel of perfection. Its object is to perfect our inner nature by the mortification of the will and by destruction of that which is the tap-root of sin, namely, pride. In the same chapter in which our Lord sets before us virginity and poverty as special means of attaining the life of the kingdom of heaven, He seems to invite us to obedience by setting before us the example of little children. Of such, said He, is the kingdom of heaven [Matt. xix. 14]. Thus this chapter appears to be intended to offer a complete view of the highest calls of the religious life. It might have been imagined that this virtue, however necessary for ourselves, would have been inconsistent with our Lord's character, or that herein we must have deviated from His example. But, on the contrary, so truly did He, the Son of God, become man that He exhibits in His own person the obedience which His words command. He was not only obedient to the general Providence of His Father, but as He condescended to become a child, He was subject, giving a child's obedience to His parents, His mother, and His foster-father. From the beginning of His Incarnation, He, the Wisdom of God, possessed all knowledge. He did not therefore submit to His parents out of the mere necessity of childhood or the prudence of conscious ignorance. He submitted to them, the All-Wise submitted to the fallible, as a high exercise of the virtue of humility, to exercise the surrender of the will by which the sacrifice of His whole Being was per-

fected. Thus He teaches men that no amount of intellectual power exempts from the blessedness of a surrendered will. He must often have been conscious of the imperfection of the parental commands which He had to obey, but this consciousness perfected the obedience with which He obeyed those commands. So it may sometimes happen that persons living under religious obedience to a superior are aware that things which are enjoined are unwise, yet if they are not sinful that they are to be done. Such obedience, however, never involves the doing of anything which the conscience perceives to be plainly wrong. It cannot do this, for our prior obedience to the law of God precludes any such violation of conscience. Obedience to an earthly superior covers all the ground which obedience to God's law leaves open, but it reaches no further. In like manner, obedience to the laws of the Church is prior to obedience to the command of any individual director. Nevertheless, in matters where our own will is left free to act, great blessedness, great wisdom, and great power, will be found to result from submission.

These three counsels, chastity, poverty, and obedience, constitute the basis of the religious life. They are called counsels of perfection because our Blessed Lord commends them to us by word and example, although not enforcing them upon us by universal command, and they are instruments of perfection to such as are really called by God to follow them out. [VOCATION.]

CREATION. The causation of the existence of all things, animate or inanimate, which are not uncreated.

In the creeds of the Church, the fact of creation is asserted as an attribute of God in the inclusive forms, "Maker of heaven and earth," and "Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible." The first appearance of this article is in the account of the creed given by Irenæus, who states it in the words of [Exod. xx. 11, and Acts iv. 24] *τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς* [*Hær.* i. 2], which shews that the form used in the Nicene Creed had been substantially in use from the beginning. This expression of belief in God as the First Cause of all things was, indeed, made necessary by the errors that arose as soon as ever Christianity became the subject of philosophic thought. The fables of heathen poetry had long ceased to have any hold upon heathen philosophers, and yet they had no better substitute to offer than that matter was eternal, or that some element such as fire or water had given existence to all things else. The Gnostics built up a theory of Æons, subordinate eternals, Demiurgi, or working gods, who created all things, while the Supreme Eternal remained at rest. In answer to these and all other theories the Church declared, "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible."

Scripture evidence. The derivation of all things from a first cause may be reasoned out with some degree of certainty by NATURAL THEOLOGY; but, the fact of inspiration admitted, we have the highest possible evidence on the subject in the statements, direct and indirect, of Holy Scripture. Natural theology leads up to the conclusion that there must have been a First Cause, and that the First Cause must have been God: Holy Scripture says there *was* a First Cause, God who has Himself vouchsafed to be the historian of His work. It is by no means so certain as is sometimes assumed that there would have been any reasoning out of the evidence at all, if there had not first been the direct evidence afforded by the statement of revelation.

The first words of Genesis do indeed give the key to the whole subject of creation. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth . . . and God said, Let there be . . . and there was" [Gen. i. 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, &c.]. For these two statements declare [1] that all created things were created by God, and [2] that they were created by the power of His will. Assuming that these two statements proceed from God, all other evidence will be of the nature of illustration rather than of proof: the exhaustive character of the Divine words carrying them beyond the region of rational controversy, and the circumstance that they are spoken on a subject outside of the reach of history or experience making it impossible to give them any rational contradiction.

The corroborative statements contained in later parts of the Holy Bible are very numerous; but it is only necessary to quote a few of them for the purpose of this article. The 104th Psalm is thus a hymn of praise founded either on the statements contained in the Book of Genesis, or on information derived by inspiration from the same Divine source. It attributes the creation of light, water, angels, the earth, the vegetable world, birds, the sun and moon, quadrupeds, and, lastly, man, to God. "O Lord, how manifold are Thy works: in wisdom hast Thou made them all. . . . Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created: and Thou renewest the face of the earth." In a similar manner, but in a more condensed form, the 148th Psalm enumerates the different existences, animate and inanimate, of the universe, and says respecting all, "Let them praise the Name of the Lord, for He commanded, and they were created," which is in exact agreement with the "Let there be . . . and there was" of Genesis. Going forward in historical order we find Isaiah writing, "Thus saith God the Lord, He that created the heavens, and stretched them out: He that spread forth the earth and that which cometh out of it; He that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein" [Isa. xlii. 5]. Jeremiah writes, "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens. He hath made the earth by His power, He hath established the world by His wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by His discretion" [Jer. x. 11, 12; li. 15]. "Thou," was the song of the Levites on the return from Babylon, "even

Thou art Lord alone: Thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth, and all things that are therein, the seas and all that is therein, and thou preservest them all" [Neh. ix. 6]. And so the constant stream of testimony flows from the Old Testament, through the intermediate times [2 Macc. vii. 28], and through the enlightened Apostolic age [Rom. xi. 36; 2 Cor. viii. 6; Heb. xi. 3], right on to the triumphant song of Heaven revealed in the last pages of Holy Scripture, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power; for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are and were created" [Rev. iv. 11]. This continuous consistency of statement by many writers, and in many ages, is, in itself, a proof that in its various forms, the one statement is a divinely revealed truth.

The work of the Son of God in Creation is expressly stated in the Nicene Creed, in the words "By whom all things were made." It is stated with equal distinctness by St. Paul: "For by Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible . . . all things were created by Him, and for Him" [Col. i. 16]. "And to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, Who created all things by Jesus Christ" [Eph. iii. 9], and by St. John, "All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made" [John i. 3]. In similar language the ancient Psalms had said, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made" [Ps. xxxiii. 6], and "Who by His excellent Wisdom made the heavens" [Ps. cxxxvi. 5]. This mystery cannot be much more than stated and that in such words as are given in Holy Scripture, especially in our Lord's words, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" [John v. 17]. It can only be explained further that the Word made all things, not as an instrument, not as a deputy, but as a co-worker, in one united will, with the Father, and as co-equal with the Father in Almightiness.

Many ancient and modern writers have endeavoured to set aside the idea of an immediate creation by God, and to substitute for it, *e.g.*, creation by intermediate beings [Demiurge]; the eternity (in some more or less modified theory) of matter; or the development of all existent things out of some extremely attenuated matter by inherent force, or law of being. But no such theories attain any very wide acceptance, nor do they exhibit anything like stability. All experience shews that there is as yet no such thing as "finality" in the matter of scientific knowledge; and amid the many theories respecting creation which human wisdom has originated, there is none which can compete for stability and general acceptance with that which Divine Wisdom has set before us. [Nature. Emanation. Matter.]

CREATIONISM. There were controversies in the Church from an early period respecting the origin of the soul; the Gnostics and Manichæans believed that the soul was an emanation from, and thus formed a portion of the Divine Nature or Substance—a view for manifest reasons rejected by the Church as making the Divine Essence liable to change or deterioration.[1] Another opinion which the Church condemned was that of Origen, who believed in the pre-existence of souls, or that God at the creation had formed all finite spirits or souls, which were infused into different bodies, as of angels, demons, stars (which he supposed were animated beings) or men, and that souls passed from one body to another in a higher or lower state, rising or falling according to their merits.[2] This opinion was condemned by one of the councils,[3] and by St. Epiphanius,[4] St. Leo,[5] and other Fathers. The false or heretical opinions mentioned being rejected, only two theories are possible respecting the origin of the soul: the one, that the soul created by God is infused into a child before birth, which is called Creationism; and the other theory, which is termed Traducianism, that the soul and body of a child are derived by propagation of his parents.

We first find a reference to these theories in Tertullian, who advocated Traducianism. "He imagined," says Neander in his *Antignosticus*, "that the soul of the first man was the source of all other souls which were developed in the continuation of the race, and that the soul of the first man was propagated along with the body—the so-called *propagatio animarum per traducem* —Traducianism. Thus he imagined that Adam's soul was at first uniform: it had not yet developed that multiplicity of properties which might be educed from the individualizing of all those germs of humanity which were existing in Adam.[6] Not without reason could he recognise a deeper connection in the development of the human race, a deeper unity (which he explained by means of that Traducianism) in the expression of family peculiarities, in the propagation of qualities and propensities. Thus Tertullian opposed his Traducianism to an Atomistic, Nominalist theory of the development of mankind. In this manner also he explained the propagation of a sinful tendency from the first man."[7] Tertullian, also, it may be remarked (which

[1] St. Augustine, *De Genesi ad literam*, lib. ii. c. 2; *De Hæresibus*, vi.

[2] Naturas enim omnes ratione præditas, hoc est mentes a Deo ante mundi opificium, procreatas, liberoque instructas arbitrio fuisse putavit; qua recte vel male agendi facultate diversis utentes modis, diversis inde vel gloriæ vel ignominiæ ac pœnæ gradus fuisse consecutas; alias siquidem angelorum adeptas esse naturam quæ leviorum essent noxarum fontes: quæ contra, liberi arbitrii munere in deterius fuissent abusæ in crassiora corpora siderum puta vel dæmonum vel hominum esse depressas; sic tamen ut quocunque sint loco, proficere possint in virtute, vel contra, relabi in vitia; et vel regressus sui vel progressus ratione ad superiorem evehantur statum, vel ad inferiorem detrudantur. Huet, *Origen.* lib. ii. c. 2, sec. 6.

[3] Constant. [A.D. 540].

[4] *Hæres.* 64.

[5] *Epist.* xxxv. c. xi., *ad Julianum.*

[6] "Apparet quanta fuit quæ unam animæ naturam varie collocavit" [*De Anima*, c. 20]. "Uniformis natura animæ ab initio in Adam" [*Ibid.* c. 21].

[7] Neander, *Antignosticus*, p. 463. Bohn's transl.

might seem to support his theory), thought that the soul was of a certain material form.[1]

Again, the origin of the soul became necessarily a subject of dispute during St. Augustine's controversy with Pelagius. St. Augustine believed that Adam's sin had passed to all his descendants by propagation, and the whole human race became "massa damnata"—morally and physically corrupt. This may seem to imply Traducianism, but St. Augustine did not think this inference necessary or inevitable; he cannot, he says, determine the truth of either one theory or the other. "As therefore," he says, "both soul and body are alike punished, unless what is born is purified by regeneration, certainly either *both* (*i.e.* soul and body) are derived in their corrupt state from man (Traducianism) or the one is corrupted in the other, as if in a corrupt vessel where it is placed by the secret justice of the Divine law (Creationism). But which of these is true, I would rather learn than teach, lest I should presume to teach what I do not know."[2] Again, he says, "Blame my hesitation as to the origin of the soul, because I do not venture to teach or maintain what I do not know. Bring forward on this so dark a subject what you please, if only that sentiment remain firm and unshaken, that the death of all is the fault of that one (Adam), and that in him all have sinned."[3]

After the time of St. Augustine, we find that orthodox writers generally, though not without exception,[4] held the theory of Creationism. Thus St. Jerome[5] and St. Leo[6] expressly state that this doctrine is orthodox, or the belief of the Catholic Church. In the Middle Ages, as Hagenbach shews, the great Catholic writers maintain and defend the doctrine of Creationism, as St. Anselm, Hugo, St. Victor, Peter Lombard, and St. Thomas Aquinas. This doctrine may now be considered as the orthodox view on the origin of the soul. The chief objection against Traducianism is the material conception of the soul which it implies, as if it could be transmitted like the body by generation, since the inference would generally, or at least might plausibly be made, that if the soul be subject to the same laws and conditions as the body, it is also perishable like the body, only a part of a material organization. This inference, though not really inevitable, would generally be made, and the Traducianist theory, *in some degree* at least, seems to sanction it. We cannot doubt, therefore, that the Church has, by a wise and unerring instinct, adopted the theory of Creationism as being really in accordance with the true meaning of Scripture, and clearly setting forth the immaterial and divine origin of the soul.

CREEDS. The word "creed" represents the "credo" of the Latin churches. The creed was also termed "regula fidei," as the equivalent of the Eastern κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, the "standard" of faith, κανὼν being a "builder's square;" but more generally Σύμβολον, *symbolum*. This latter term meant either the "earnest-money" paid as security for the future fulfilment of a contract, whence συμβόλαιος δίκη was an action to compel such fulfilment, or it meant also the "pass" of military life, and as such it soon acquired a permanent significance. For the heresies that from the beginning troubled the infant Church rejected these compendious forms of faith, the possession of which was a "tessera" of church membership throughout the world,[7] whereby the faithful were known to each other in every church and clime.

As the creeds were the earliest development of the formal faith of the Church, so they are the first and most authentic form of her oral tradition. They were learned and confessed by the candidates for baptism, and openly recited as the rule of faith, one and the same from one generation to another. The creeds, subserving in this way the growth and edification of the Church, are anterior to the Gospels. There are traces of them in fact observable in Scripture. The earliest Gospel, that of St. Matthew, did not appear before A.D. 42. The earliest Epistle, 1 Thessalonians, not before A.D. 52. But the use of the creeds commenced so soon as converts were to be baptized into the Name of Christ; and their first growing germ was supplied by our Lord Himself, when He bade His disciples "go into all nations and baptize in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." Thus the first converts of Samaria, believing the things preached concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, were baptized, and in a few days their acceptance was sealed to them by receiving at the hands of the Apostles the Holy Ghost, according to the sure promise of the Lord. Their faith in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit was approved, and through that faith they were justified by the baptismal remission of sins. The necessary truths into which converts were baptized form a tolerably full account of symbolical doctrine, comprising belief in God the Father, God the

[1] *De Anima*, c. 9. *De Carne Christi*, c. 11.

[2] *C. Julianum*, v. 15.

[3] *Opus Imperf.* iv. 104. The following passages were alleged in favour of Traducianism:—Gen. v. 3; Ps. li. 5; Rom. v. 12-19, comp. with 1 Cor. xv. 22; Eph. ii. 3; Heb. vii. 10; and of Creationism:—Ps. xxxiii. 15, "qui fingit singillatim corda hominum;" Zech. xii. 1, "qui fingit spiritum homine in ipso;" and Eccl. xii. 7, "the Spirit to God who gave it." The passages in favour of Creationism, as St. Augustine admits [*Epist. ad Optatum* cxc. sec. 17], are inconclusive, and may readily be answered by the Traducianist:—God can truly be said according to *this* theory, "to make" or "give" souls. We may quote as the best proof from Scripture of Creationism, Eccl. xii. 7, and of Traducianism, Heb. vii. 10, though neither passage can be considered absolutely conclusive.

[4] As *e.g.* St. Gregory of Nyssa, who maintains the Traducianist theory: see *De Hom. Opificio*, c. 29.

[5] After quoting Eccl. xii. 7, he adds, "Ex quo satis ridendi qui putant animas cum corporibus seri, et non a Deo sed a corporum parentibus generari. Cum enim caro revertatur in terram, et spiritus redeat ad Deum qui dedit illum, manifestum est Deum parentem animarum esse, non homines" [*Comment. in Ecclesiast. in loc*].

[6] Catholica fides . . . quæ omnem hominem in corporis animæque substantia a conditore universitatis formari atque animari intra a materna viscera confitetur. [*Epist. ad Turribium*, c. 9].

[7] τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων. *Symb. Alex.*

Son, and God the Holy Ghost, faith in the historical facts of Christ's death, His Resurrection on the third day and Ascension; faith in the Second Coming of Christ in glory, and in the meantime in the judicial power and authority of the Lord delegated to His Church in the doctrine of Repentance and of the Forgiveness of sins [cf. Luke xxiv. 47]. All these are necessary particulars connected with the preaching of the kingdom of God and faith in the Lord Jesus, and instruction upon these points must from the first have preceded baptism.

Next we find early evidence of such a formula of faith as the creed in the various addresses of the Apostles recorded in the Acts, and in conformity with "the principles of the doctrine of Christ" delivered to them by the Lord. Indeed, this is so generally the case that the Articles of the Creed may be tabulated from the instruction of our Lord and Divine utterances of His Apostles.

BELIEF IN

Articles of the Creed.	God the Father.	God the Son.	God the Holy Ghost.	Passion.	Descent into Hell.	Resurrection.	Ascension.	Second Advent.	Repentance.	Remission of Sins.	Church.
Matt. xxviii.	19	19	19			10	Mark xvi. 19				Mt. xxviii 19, 20
Luke xxiv.	49	49	49, Acts i. 4, 8	46	Acts ii. 24, 31	46	51, Acts i. 9	Acts i. 11	Luke xxiv. 47	47	49, Acts i. 8.
John xx. .	17	17	22			9, 20, 28	17	xxi. 22		xx. 23	xx. 21, 23
St. Peter, Acts ii. .	17	22, 33, 34	17, 33, 38	23		24, 31, 32	33		38	38	32
Acts iii. .	13	13, 15		15		15	21	19-21	19, 26	19	15
Acts iv. . .	24	12, 27, 30		10, 27		10					
Acts v. . .	30	31	32	30		30	31		31	31	32
Acts x. . .	34, 36	38	38	39		40, 41		42		43	41, 42
St. Stephen, Acts vii. .	2, 32, 37, 55	52, 55	51	52		55, 56	55, 56				
St. Paul, Acts xiii.	17, 23	23, 33, 35		28		30, 33, 34, 37				38	31
Epistle to Hebrews vi.	1	1-6	4	6		2		2	1, 6		

The first indication of a Rule of Faith contained in the Sacred Canon is in Heb. vi., where we have six distinct articles [see Tabular view] cited as first "principles of the doctrine of Christ" [Heb. v. 13], the milk of babes. Such "principles," as we believe, were collected together in a concise form for the use of catechist as well as catechumen; for it was no necessary part of the Apostolic ministry to baptize [1 Cor. i. 14, 17; cf. John iv. 2]; the first sacrament was usually administered by subordinates, and a formula of the leading principles of the Christian faith would be of much service to the teacher, that he might give to each doctrine its due weight according to the analogy of faith. St. Paul in all probability alludes on two occasions [1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 14], to such a form, when he charges Timothy to keep the "good deposit," *τὴν καλὴν παρακαταθήκην*, for it was something capable of being received, and held fast as a "form (*ὑποτύπωσιν*)[1] of sound words," and committed "to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also" [2 Tim. ii. 2]. It is almost impossible to find any other meaning for the Apostle's words, if they do not refer to such a formulary as the creed; and other traces of similar allusion may be found.

The use of the creeds, as has been stated already, was in the first place: [i.] *catechetical*. The vital doctrines of Christianity were kept both before the teacher and the taught, and when the sacrament of baptism was administered, the candidate, at least in the Western Church, repeated it aloud, so that all the faithful who were present might hear that nothing was omitted and nothing was added to the venerated form. In the Church of Rome, says Ruffinus, "an ancient custom prevails that those who are about to receive the grace of baptism should recite the Creed publicly; that is, so as to be heard by the congregation of the faithful; and of a truth the ears of those who precede them in the faith tolerate no addition of whatever kind to the words."[2] The creeds had also [ii.] a *commendatory* character; they were the test of Church membership whereby, in the first troubled years of the existence of the Church, Christians proceeding from one part of the world to another were at once known and received into unreserved communion as brethren in one common Lord. For this reason

[1] *ὑποτύπωσις*, 1 Tim. i. 14.

[2] Ruffinus, *de Symb.*, § 3; cf. also Iren. i. 3.

the creeds never occur in an unbroken form in the first centuries. They were committed to memory by the faithful,[1] but never to writing, that heresy might not learn to simulate the faith. Gnosticism in its most repulsive phases was perpetually confounded with Christianity by the heathen; every precaution, therefore, was adopted to keep wolves without the fold, and this Disciplina Arcani caused the creeds as a sacred deposit to be reserved from vulgar gaze, and committed to memory alone as evidence of a true faith. Afterwards, when creeds were amplified to meet heretical errors as they came to light, they served [iii.] as a *test* of truth and error. All that was within the symbolical terms was of the Church Catholic, all that militated against their tenets was heresy. And lastly, the creeds obtained a [iv.] *liturgical* character when they were formally incorporated in the services of the Church; but this, in the case of the Constantinopolitan, or Nicene Creed, did not take place before A.D. 471, when Peter Fullo introduced it into the Liturgy of Antioch. The Apostles' Creed has been a portion of the Anglican "Order" from the beginning, but the date of its first liturgical use in the Western Church cannot be defined with similar exactness.

A few observations with respect to the development of the Eastern creeds will not be superfluous. Such development was held to be permissible, each church having authority, by its own independent action, of defining its rule of faith, in conformity with the faith of the Church catholic; just as it had power to mould its own liturgy upon catholic principles. Even the Western church was not wholly stiff and unbending; the Church of Aquilegia having added the terms "invisible and impassible" to the confession of faith in God the Father, to meet the Sabellian and Patripassian heresies; for these terms are not found in the Roman or Apostles' Creed. A tabulated form is added: [A] of the Western form of creed, as being the more ancient and simple; [B] of the Eastern Creed, as more elastic and varied.

CREEDS OF THE LATIN COMMUNION.

I.—Roman or Apostles' Creed. Among the spurious writings of Augustine, *Serm.* ccxl. ccxli. *de Symb.* 4, 5.	II.—As Explained by Augustine. *De fide et Symbolo.*	III.—Aquilegian, as explained by Ruffinus.
I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth;	I believe in God, the Father Almighty,	I believe in God the Father Almighty, invisible and impassible,
and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord,	and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord,	and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord,
Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,	Who was born of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost,	Who was born of the Virgin Mary by the Holy Ghost,
suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried;	was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried,	was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried.
He descended into hell,		He descended into hell,
the third day He rose again from the dead,	the third day He rose again from the dead,	the third day He rose again from the dead,
He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty,	He ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father,	He ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father,
from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.	from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.	from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Ghost,	I believe in the Holy Ghost,	I believe in the Holy Ghost,
the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and life everlasting.	the Holy Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh.	the Holy Catholic Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh.

[1] This continued to be the practice for many years in the Western Church, as we read in the ancient Gallican Liturgy, "Symbolum fratres carissimi, non in tabulis scribitur, sed in corde receptum memoriter retinetur. Et ideo juvat iterare, quod nunquam convenit oblivisci"—the Symbolum being the Apostles' Creed. Mabillon, *de Liturg. Gallic.* p. 340, Paris, 1729.

CREEDS OF THE LATIN COMMUNION.

IV.—*Adv. Prax.* 2.	TERTULLIAN. V.—*De Præscr.* 13.	VI.—*De Virg. vel.* i.
We believe in one God, yet . . . of the one God there is	There is one God, and no other Creator of the world, who made all things of nothing by His Word; first of all sent forth;	Belief in one God Almighty, Creator of the universe,
the Son, His Word, Who proceeded forth from Him, by Whom all things were made, and without Him was nothing made.	the Word, termed His Son, was by the Patriarchs variously seen, and in the Prophets heard.	and in His Son Jesus Christ
He was sent by the Father, and was born of the Virgin, Man and God, Son of Man and Son of God, and named Christ Jesus,	He was sent down, and made flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and that which was born of her was Jesus Christ; He proclaimed a new Law, and a new promise of the kingdom of heaven; He wrought miracles,	born of the Virgin Mary,
He suffered, died, and was buried, according to the Scriptures,	was crucified,	who was crucified under Pontius Pilate,
He was raised again by the Father,	the third day He rose again,	the third day He rose from the dead,
and was received into heaven, He sitteth at the right hand of the Father;	and was received into heaven, He sitteth at the right hand of the Father;	and was received into heaven, He sitteth at the right hand of the Father;
He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.		He shall come to judge the quick and the dead,
He sent from the Father, according to His promise, the Holy Ghost the Comforter and Sanctifier of faith in those	He sent the vicarious energy of the Holy Ghost, Who forms believers.	
who believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.	He shall come with glory to receive His saints to the fruition of eternal life and of His heavenly promises, and to doom the profane to everlasting fire, either class being quickened again with restoration of the flesh.	in the resurrection of the flesh.
Further articles of baptismal faith.	TERTULLIAN, *de Bapt.* ii. Remission of sins. The Church.	CYPRIAN, *Ep.* LXXV. *ad Magn.* Remission of sins. Everlasting life, by the Holy Church.

CREEDS OF THE SYRIAN AND GREEK COMMUNIONS.

I. JERUSALEM.	II. CÆSAREA.	III. NICE.	IV. CYPRUS.	V. CONSTANTINOPLE.
We believe in one God the Father Almighty,	We believe in one God the Father Almighty,	We believe in one God the Father Almighty,	We believe in one God the Father Almighty,	We believe in one God the Father Almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;	Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;	Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;	Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;	Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;
and in one Lord Jesus Christ,	and in one Lord Jesus Christ,	and in one Lord Jesus Christ,	and in one Lord Jesus Christ,	and in one Lord Jesus Christ,
the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, very God,	the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begotten Son, first born of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all ages,	the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father,	begotten of the Father before all ages, of the substance of His Father, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father,	the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father,

CREEDS OF THE SYRIAN AND GREEK COMMUNIONS—*Continued.*

by whom all things were made;	by whom all things were made;	by whom all things were made in heaven and earth;	by whom all things were made in heaven and earth;	by whom all things were made;
He was incarnate and made man, of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost,	who, for our salvation, was incarnate, and had His conversation among men,	who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down, and was incarnate, and was made man,	who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary, and was made man,	who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary, and was made man,
He was crucified and buried,	He suffered	He suffered	and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, He suffered, and was buried,	and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, He suffered, and was buried,
the third day He rose from the dead,	and rose the third day,	and rose the third day,	and the third day He rose again, according to the Scriptures,	and the third day He rose again, according to the Scriptures,
and ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God,	and ascended to the Father,	and ascended into heaven,	and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father;	and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father;
and shall come in glory to judge the quick and the dead;	and shall come in glory to judge the quick and the dead;	He shall come to judge the quick and the dead;	and shall come in glory to judge the quick and the dead;	and shall come in glory to judge the quick and the dead;
of whose kingdom there shall be no end;			of whose kingdom there shall be no end;	of whose kingdom there shall be no end;
and in one Holy Ghost the Comforter, who spake by the prophets.	We believe also in the Holy Ghost. *Finis.*	and in the Holy Ghost. *Finis.*	and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets;	and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets;
In one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and in one Holy Catholic Church; in the Resurrection of the flesh, and life everlasting.			and in one Catholic Apostolic Church. We confess one Baptism for the Remission of sins, and we look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.	and in one Catholic Apostolic Church. We confess one Baptism for the Remission of sins, and we look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.

CREEDS OF THE SYRIAN AND GREEK COMMUNIONS.

VI. Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 41.	VII. Lucian M. Antioch.	VIII. Alexandrian.	IX. Athanasius.
One unbegotten only true God, Almighty Father of Christ,	One God the Father Almighty,	One God the Father Almighty,	One God the Father Almighty,
the Creator and Maker of all things, of whom are all things,	Maker and Designer of the Universe, of whom are all things,		Maker of all things visible and invisible,
and in the Lord Jesus Christ His only begotten Son,	and in one Lord Jesus Christ His Son, God the only begotten, by whom are all things,	and in God the Word, begotten of Him before all ages,	and in one only begotten Son,

CREEDS OF THE SYRIAN AND GREEK COMMUNIONS—*Continued.*

first-born of every creature, who was begotten by the good pleasure of the Father before the worlds,	begotten of the Father before the worlds, God of God, Whole of Whole, Only One of the Only One, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the Living Word, the Living Wisdom . . .		
by whom all things visible and invisible in heaven and earth were made,		by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things on earth,	
who in these last days came down from heaven, and took upon Him flesh, and was born of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and led a holy life according to the laws of God His Father,	who in the last days came down from above, and was born of the Virgin, according to the Scriptures, and became Man, the Mediator between God and Man . . .	who came down and was incarnate,	who, having come down from the bosom of the Father, took upon Him our Manhood, Christ Jesus of the Immaculate Virgin Mary,
and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and having suffered,	who suffered for us,	He suffered	in which Manhood having been crucified, and having died for us,
He rose again from the dead the third day,	and rose again the third day,	and rose again,	He rose from the dead.
and ascended up into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God,	and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father,	and ascended into heaven,	and was received up into heaven,
and He shall come again with glory in the end of the world to judge the quick and dead,	and He shall come again with glory and power to judge the quick and dead;	and cometh again to judge the quick and the dead;	in which (Manhood) he shall judge the quick and the dead;
whose kingdom shall have no end;			
and in one Holy Ghost, the Comforter, who hath wrought in all Saints from the beginning, and was sent forth by the Father on the Apostles . . . and upon all of the	and in the Holy Ghost, vouchsafed to believers for their comfort, and sanctification and perfection. *Finis.*	and in the Holy Ghost,	in like manner in the Holy Ghost. *Finis.*
Holy Catholic Church, that believe in the Resurrection of the flesh, in the Remission of sins, in the kingdom of heaven, and in the life of the world to come.		the Resurrection of the flesh, the life of the world to come, the kingdom of heaven, and in one Catholic Church of God, that is from end to end of the world.	

On comparing these columns it will be seen at once that the primitive creeds which have come down to us are referable to two distinct families, both of which derive their origin from the baptismal formula enjoined by our Lord. There is the same substructure, in both cases, of faith in the Holy Trinity, and to a certain extent the same development, though this proceeds further in the case of the Eastern than of the Western creeds; owing to the multiplied forms of heresy that the former section of the Church catholic had to meet. Thus, since nearly every form of early error was based on the dualistic principle of Oriental theosophy, the Eastern creed took care to express faith in one God. If Docetism denied the reality of our Lord's true human nature, and affirmed that the Æon Christ descended upon the Lord Jesus at His baptism, and left Him at His crucifixion, dividing into two the person of Jesus Christ, the Eastern creed declared faith in "one Lord Jesus Christ." Similarly as regards other added clauses. Every Gnostic heresy denied that the Supreme God, Bythus, as they termed it, was creator of all things, and affirmed that the Demiurge, a remote emanation from Bythus, reduced the world into

cosmic order, and that the spirits of the invisible world came into being as successive emanations from their immediate antecedent cause. Therefore the Church was compelled to assert in the creed that God the Father was Creator of all things visible and invisible. And with respect to the filiation of the Son, there was no name of venerated use in the Church but what had been polluted by the harpy touch of heresy. Christ, the Logos, the Only-begotten, were terms well known to heresy; hence the more careful definitions of the Eastern Church asserted the true filiation of the Son, as inheriting the perfect nature and every attribute of the Father, saving only paternity, even as the Father has the perfect nature and every attribute of the Son saving only sonship; and the Second Person in the Godhead is declared to be God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, in terms that varied in the different churches of the East. It was for this same reason that in Arian times the term Homoousion, or "of one substance," was formally embodied in the creed by the Council of Nice. By this council the process of symbolical development was finally estopped by the Eastern Church: and the Nicene creed in the East, as the Roman creed in the West, became the one form of faith for the catechumen, the teacher, and the divine.

Hence when the churches of the West declared that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, the churches of the East, though not denying the scriptural truth of the definition, refused to accept it as being an addition to "the faith," and the ultimate schism of East and West was accepted as a less evil than the alteration of a single word in the symbol that had been put forth by the holy 318 Fathers at Nice. The Nicene Creed, as preserved to us by Eusebius, breaks off with the words "and in the Holy Ghost," as being all that was germane matter to the pending controversy; but within a few years Epiphanius supplies to us the fuller form as the creed of the Church of Cyprus, which was reproduced almost verbatim by the Council of Constantinople; and has ever since been the recognised creed of the Church Catholic, the Nicene Creed.

The so-called Athanasian Creed, critically speaking, is scarcely of equal authority to its more venerable predecessors. Waterland has traced its origin to the early part of the fifth century, immediately anterior to the Ephesine Council in A.D. 431; and to the Gallican Church. [NICENE CREED. FILIOQUE. QUICUNQUE VULT. Pearson, Barrow, Waterland, King, and Harvey *on the Creeds.*]

CRITICISM. The so-called "higher criticism" of modern times is a department of a more extensive science. What the Germans style "Kritik" is, in general, the passing judgment on, or testing any object; and hence, the science which enables to pass such a judgment. Thus criticism is "philosophical," "historical," "philological," "æsthetic," &c. Philological criticism is the testing written documents, particularly ancient documents, either for the purpose of removing from the text foreign interpolations, or of establishing the claims of the reputed author. Strictly speaking the "higher criticism" (as distinguished from the "lower," or criticism based merely on conjecture) is the inquiry as to the genuineness and authenticity of a document, resting either on external or on internal grounds. Internal evidence, as opposed to external or historical, appeals to the contents, spirit, style, language of the writing itself; and, as a matter of fact, the criticism which at the present day arrogates to itself the title of "higher," practically ignores the value of evidence which is merely *external.* On the other hand, it may confidently be affirmed that the only safe test of either genuineness or authenticity is external evidence. There are certain cases, no doubt, where internal evidence is seriously to be considered, *e.g.*, in such writings as the Scriptures profess to be, the occurrence of immoralities or inconsistencies would seriously affect the conclusion that such or such a Book was the composition of a person inspired by the Spirit of God. But, apart from such charges (which are at times erroneously urged against portions of the Bible), internal evidence, if it stand alone, and *à fortiori* if opposed to external evidence, is almost totally valueless as an argument against the reception of any ancient work or passage in a work. *E.g.* in the well-known text, 1 St. John v. 7, no one can maintain that the Apostle *could* not have expressed the thought that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost ἓν εἰσι, who knows what he has actually written in his Gospel [St. John x. 30]; but, in the absence of all manuscript authority of any weight, nothing remains but to admit, without reserve, that the text of "the Three heavenly witnesses" is not a genuine text.[1]

But our modern critics rely upon a further principle. Criticism, writes M. E. Rénan, cannot dream of accepting a miraculous narrative as it stands, "since the essence of criticism is the negation of the supernatural. . . . He who speaks of 'above nature,' or 'outside nature,' in the order of facts utters a contradiction."[2] To give an example: The "higher criticism" has decided that the latter portion of Isaiah [chap. xl.-

[1] Mr. Grote's commentary on the application of the "higher criticism" to the writings of Plato illustrates the worthlessness of this method. He examines the course pursued by Schleiermacher and his followers in reasoning as to the authenticity of each dialogue from the evidence afforded by the style, the handling, the thoughts. A fixed residence and school at Athens had been founded by Plato, and transmitted to his successors: "It appears to me," writes Mr. Grote, "that the continuance of this school . . . gives us an amount of assurance for the authenticity of the so-called Platonic compositions such as does not belong to the works of other eminent contemporary authors [Plato, vol. i. p. 136]. . . . I have reviewed the doctrines of several recent critics who discard this canon [that of Thrasyllus] as unworthy of trust, and who set up for themselves a type of what Plato *must have* been, derived from a certain number of items in the canon, rejecting the remaining items as unconformable to their hypothetical type." It is surely hazardous, he adds, to limit the range of Plato's varieties "on the faith of a critical repugnance, not merely subjective and fallible, but withal entirely of modern growth" [*Ibid.* p. 206].

[2] *Etudes d'Hist. Religieuse,* 5me ed. p. 207.

lxvi.] must be ascribed to an unknown prophet living towards the end of the Babylonian captivity—a prophet whom Ewald styles "the great unnamed," "der Grosse ungenannte."[1] The whole weight of this assertion rests on the principle declared by M. Rénan to be "the essence of criticism," viz., that to predict the future is impossible; a prophet's foresight, it is dogmatically laid down, being bounded, as that of other men, by the horizon of his own age. The other reasons assigned—*e.g.* that the *manner*, the *usus loquendi*, the *style*, are not those of Isaiah—are confessedly subordinate. Thus, Ewald writes:[2] "One cannot assign to Isaiah, as to other prophets, a special peculiarity and favourite colour of expression. . . . As his subject demands every kind of diction, every change of expression is at his command. . . . His diction is calm and stern, hortatory and menacing, sad and joyful, sportive and serious; but always returns, at the right time, to its original elevation and repose."

As to the confidence to be placed in the "higher criticism" as a "scientific" method for attaining results on which we can rely, the treatment of the writings of St. John supplies a lucid illustration. "While the older critical school," writes Lücke,[3] "upheld the Apostolic authenticity of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, and thence inferred that the Apocalypse is not authentic, the more recent critical school of Dr. Baur, on the other hand, infers that the Gospel and Epistles are as certainly *not* the composition of John, as the Apocalypse *is* the only sufficiently attested,—the only authentic writing of that Apostle to be found in the New Testament." This conclusion has been lately reproduced in England: "If the Apostle John," writes Mr. Taylor, "be the author of the Apocalypse, he cannot have written the Gospel;" and were the evidence to be balanced as to which of the works "best corresponds with the character of their reputed author, we could hardly hesitate in replying—the Apocalypse."[4] [Canon.]

CRITICISM, COMPARATIVE. The phrase "comparative criticism" has been employed by Dr. Tregelles to designate the process by which the comparative value may be determined, and the mutual relation traced, of the various authorities by the aid of which we seek to ascertain the original text of the New Testament. There are two leading systems according to which the study of "comparative criticism" is pursued at the present day. Dr. S. T. Tregelles [see his *Account of the printed text of the New Testament*] may be taken as the representative of the one system, and Mr. F. H. Scrivener [see his *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*] as the representative of the other.

According to Dr. Tregelles, the true reading of any passage in the New Testament is to be sought exclusively in the most ancient documents, especially in the earliest uncial codices:—"The mass of recent documents," he writes [*i.e.* those written in cursive characters from the tenth century downwards], "possess no determining voice in a question as to what we should receive as genuine readings" [p. 138].[5]

Mr. Scrivener, on the other hand, maintains "that the few most ancient records, whether MSS., Versions, or Fathers, do *not* so closely agree among themselves as to supersede all further investigation, and to render it needless so much as to examine the contents of later and more numerous authorities" [*l. c.* p. 404]. "Does any one," he asks, "suppose that the mass of our cursive documents are only corrupt copies, or copies of copies drawn from existing uncials? . . . Let us frankly accept the sole alternative, that they are representatives of other old copies which have long since perished, respectable ancestors (as one has quaintly put the matter) 'who live only in their descendants.' . . . That the testimony of cursives ought to be scrutinized and suspected, and (when unconfirmed by other witnesses), as a rule, set wholly aside, may be conceded even by those who have laboured the most diligently to collate and vindicate them" [*ib.* p. 407].

CROSS. In accordance with the main scope of the present work, the subject of "The Cross" will here be treated mainly in its connection with Christian theology and ritual. It would be impossible, within the limits of this article, to follow up its various ramifications into the regions of Jewish, classical, and mediæval history, of art, architecture, archæology, and other subjects with which it is more or less closely connected. Such readers, however, as desire further information of this kind, may find it in the books mentioned below, and in others of similar character.

Writers on the cross have been accustomed to classify its varieties into simple and compound. The simple cross was merely a pole set up in the earth, or a naturally growing tree, and the victim was fastened to it with chains, cords, or nails. Sometimes it was a sharp-pointed stake, on which he was impaled. The compound cross was of three kinds, the *Crux Decussata*, *Crux Commissa*, and *Crux Immissa*. The first was formed of two pieces of wood fastened in the centre in the form of the letter X, and is called the cross of St. Andrew, on account of the ancient tradition that this Apostle suffered martyrdom on such a cross. The second, or Tau cross, is so called from its resemblance to the Greek letter T, and it is possible

[1] *Die Propheten de alten Bundes*, b. ii. sec. 403.
[2] *Ibid.* b. i. § 173.
[3] *Einleit. in die Offenb. des Johannes*, 2te. Aufl., Abth. ii. § 748.
[4] *An Attempt to ascertain the character of the Fourth Gospel*, London, 1867, pp. 14, 144.

[5] Uncial MSS. are written in capital letters, formed separately, having no connection with each other, and, in the earlier specimens, without any space between the words—the marks of punctuation being few. The cursive, or running hand, comprises letters more easily and rapidly made, those in the same word being usually joined together, with a complete system of punctuation not widely removed from that of printed books. Uncial letters prevailed in the Greek MSS. of the New Testament from the fourth to the tenth century—as in the Alexandrine MS. or A, the Vatican or B, &c. "The earliest cursive Biblical MS. we can mention is Sylvestre, No. 78, Paris 70, Wetstein's 14 of the Gospels, A.D. 964." [Scrivener, *l. c.* p. 36.]

that our Lord may have suffered on a cross of this kind. But it has been much more generally believed that the Holy Cross was the *Crux Immissa*, or Latin cross, as we usually see it represented. The traditional "sign of the cross" points to this form, and St. Jerome, speaking of it as made by the Christians of his day, says it was like the *ancient* Hebrew final letter Tau, which was not like the Greek letter, but had the perpendicular stroke going a little way above the other, thus †. The cruelty of man devised other forms of the compound cross, which may be seen figured and described in Lipsius *De Cruce*, and other works, but we need only concern ourselves with that form on which our Lord is believed to have suffered. The Jews had been accustomed to hang malefactors on trees, and they may have derived this usage from the Egyptians [Gen. xl. 19], who practised it in common with other ancient nations. But there is no evidence that they hanged persons before death: they rather adopted this method of exposing their dead bodies *in terrorem* and for public execration, and every one who hanged on a tree was held "accursed of God" [Deut. xxi. 23].

Crucifixion proper was rather a Roman than a Jewish punishment, and as such it was inflicted on our Lord by the authority of Pilate the Roman governor. We know from the Gospels that Jesus was nailed to the Cross, but we do not know whether this was before or after the fixing of the Cross in the ground, whether with four nails or three, or whether the Cross had a *suppedaneum* or support for the feet to rest on; questions which have been discussed at great length by some writers. We know that the title or accusation was according to custom set up above the Sacred Head, and in the Greek Church this is often conventionally represented by a shorter additional cross-piece above the other, and the support for the feet by a cross-piece below made oblique as if moved in the agonies of death.

The material of the Cross of Christ was foreshadowed by the Tree of Life, by Noah's ark, by the wood which Isaac carried up Mount Moriah, by the pole on which the brazen serpent was hung, by the wooden spit to which the Paschal Lamb was fastened, by the lintel and the door-post: its form, by the hands of Moses stretched out, and perhaps by the crossed hands of dying Jacob. Indeed the real or supposed types of the Cross are almost innumerable. The ancient Fathers delighted to trace in the four principal dimensions of the Cross the "breadth and length and depth and height" of the love of Christ, as shewn pre-eminently in His painful and ignominious death thereon.

The Cross soon became surrounded with holy memories that tended, though slowly, to displace its disgraceful associations: and where St. Paul says "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," he is probably expressing the same feeling as that which led the early Christians to sign themselves with the sign of the cross, a practice which Tertullian [A.D. 200] speaks of as traditional in his time (frontem crucis signaculo terimus, *De Cor. Mil.* iii.). Lactantius [A.D. 306] speaks of the sign of the cross as putting demons to flight, and frustrating the magical devices of the pagans. The same holy sign has been used by the Church from the earliest times in sacraments, benedictions, private and public prayers, &c., in recognition of the efficacy that all acts of devotion acquire through the Cross of Christ, and of that which the very sign itself may in like manner possess when used in faith. The gesture of signing with the cross has from ancient times been made in three ways. 1. When the sign is made separately on the forehead, mouth, and breast, it is made with the thumb only, which mode is also used in signing anything by contact, or with chrism, as in sacraments and benedictions. 2. In the second method, the person first raises his hand to his forehead, then draws it down to the lower part of the breast, then to the left, and then to the right. Sometimes all the fingers, sometimes one, two, or three have been used in making the sign; according to the symbolical reasons uppermost in the minds of the faithful at various times. The Eastern Christians make the sign first towards the right and finish at the left side. 3. The third method is to make the sign in the air with the whole hand, or with three or two fingers, as in blessing the congregation. The right hand is always used, as more honourable than the left as well as more convenient. Spiritual writers have enumerated many reasons why Christians should use this holy sign; the chief of which are the following. It is a mark of distinction between Christians and Jews or heathens; it incites us to the imitation of Christ crucified; it kindles charity; it cherishes faith and hope; it is the sign of our redemption; it excites our sorrow for Christ's sufferings and for our sins; it is most terrible to evil spirits.

The sign of the cross as a gesture has been dwelt on here immediately after the Cross of Calvary, because it is one of the most ancient modes of keeping alive in the hearts of the faithful the memory of the Passion. St. Jerome [A.D. 390] speaks of Christians frequently using it also in inscriptions, "Frequenti manus inscriptione signatur" [*In Ezek.* ix.]. We should expect to find it in the early monumental inscriptions in the Catacombs, but although these abound in Jewish and Christian symbols, including the monogram of the name of Christ, it is doubtful whether the sign of the cross occurs during the first four centuries. It appears, however, on coins and in a mosaic at Ravenna of about the middle of the fifth century, and from about a century later is found on tombs, fonts, &c., pretty generally. The crucifix or cross bearing a figure of our Lord does not appear till considerably later, and in the earliest the figure is always robed, and sometimes crowned with a royal diadem instead of the crown of thorns. The Sacred Body has always been represented in both manners, as dead and as living. The earliest examples have a nail in each foot, later ones have the feet crossed, with a single nail transfixing both. The earliest existing

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crucifixes are supposed to be of the ninth century, but there may have been earlier ones than these.

The cross came first, then the crucifix, then representations of the scene of the crucifixion; "each forming," as Lady Eastlake says, "a stage in the development of the same idea, and each overlapping the other in the attempt to anticipate the next step." And if we inquire into the reasons for the absence of the cross and crucifix in early times we shall find it sufficiently accounted for by the ignominy and horror that were associated with the idea of crucifixion, until the edict of Constantine prohibited the employment of the cross as an instrument of punishment. Even then it would require an interregnum of some generations to efface the traditional ideas that were connected with the "arbor infelix," and to bring it to be regarded not as an indication of ignominy but as the most glorious of trophies.

When Christians came to regard the cross in this way, it was but natural that they should give it a place of honour in churches, and accordingly it was set up over the altar, either with or without the figure of Christ upon it. It adorned the topmost points of the exterior, as it now does the domes of St. Peter's and of St. Paul's and the gables of Gothic churches. Sacred vessels and vestments were marked with it, to shew that they belonged to Christ. Children were taught to make the sign at the beginning of their alphabet, which was accordingly called the "Criss-cross Row." It was used at the beginning of all sacred inscriptions, and as the "signature" to the subscription of documents. Altar slabs were marked with five incised crosses, in memory of the five sacred wounds. The last resting places of the faithful were hallowed by the cross, to shew that through it they had overcome sin and death. Wayside crosses were erected in villages and public roads that all who passed by might think on Him who died for them. Crosses, in short, were multiplied in every conceivable way in mediæval times, partly for the above and other like pious reasons, partly, perhaps, for superstitious reasons, and partly because it was the fashion of the time. But there is no doubt that there is one great and deep theological principle underlying the wonderful esteem in which the Cross has now long been held as a Christian emblem, and in which the sign of it appears to have been held from apostolic times; namely, that the death of our Lord upon the Cross was the consummation of that life of sacrifice by which He redeemed mankind. It was the most distinctive feature in His human life that He should die as mortal man, and at the same time it was the passage to His Resurrection and to ours. Through His falling asleep on that painful bed of sorrows, He became the First-fruits of them that slept, and His Cross became the Tree of Life in the midst of the Paradise of God. This idea is strongly impressed on many symbolical uses of the cross in Christian ritual. Whether we look at the altar cross, the churchyard or wayside cross, the gravestone cross, the gable cross, or the cross in any embroidered work or surface decoration, we shall seldom see the perfectly plain cross except in work of debased character, or where there are no pretensions to exact taste. The reason is partly to be found in the hard and angular form, harmonizing so ill with all around, but partly also in the symbolical meaning of the decorated cross. The first thing was to adorn it with jewels, but as Christian art developed the cross assumed various outlines and combinations, which tended to banish its painful associations, and to suggest only those of glory and triumph. So we see the arms terminating in the trefoil or fleur-de-lys, and the circle surrounding the intersection; while in many beautiful grave-slab crosses the upper part and stem together have, like Aaron's rod, budded and borne blossoms. The same feeling is beautifully expressed in the words of the well-known hymn for Passion-tide—

> "Crux fidelis, inter omnes
> Arbor una nobilis;
> Nulla sylva talem profert
> Fronde, flore, germine."

The idea was sometimes elaborated so far, particularly in illuminations, as to make the branches bear prophets and kings arising out of their foliage, and fruits inscribed with the names of virtues. Such representations are supposed to be based on St. Bonaventura's exposition of the second verse of the twenty-second chapter of the Revelation [cir. A.D. 1300]. In these the figure of our Lord was introduced, but it is to be noted that wherever the dead or suffering Saviour is represented on a decorated cross there is a confusion of ideas. The plain cross is properly the cross of suffering, and the flowering cross the cross of triumph—the sign of the Son of Man in glory. The vacant cross, like the empty tomb, speaks of Him as not here, but risen, and when adorned or combined with the circle, it speaks of Him as clothed with majesty and honour for ever and ever.

[Lipsius, *De Cruce;* Gretser, *De Cruce;* Beyerlinck, *Magnum Theatrum*, s. v. *Cruce;* Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. iv.; Lady Eastlake, *History of our Lord*; Dr. Rock, *Hierurgia;* Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, articles, "Cross" and "Crucifixion," and works there cited or referred to. Those interested in village and churchyard crosses may find references to a great many in the *Manual of English Ecclesiology*, and in the works of Petrie, Blight, and Pooley, on *Irish*, *Cornish*, and *Gloucestershire Crosses.*]

CULDEES. This name was given to a religious order established in various parts of Ireland, Scotland, and the adjacent islands; but chiefly in the island of Iona. The name is very variously derived. According to Buchanan it is an abbreviated form of "cultores Dei." Others have thought that the name arose from the cells in which they lived. Bishop Nicholson [*Pref. to Irish Hist. Library*] gives as the origin of the word, the Irish *Culla*, which denotes a cowl. Another derivation is given by O'Brien [*Irish Dictionary*] from the Irish *keile*, a servant and *De*, God, a derivation supported by the fact, that in ancient MSS. the

word is written *Keledei*, not Culdei. In the life of St. Columba by Dr. Smith, the same derivation is given, and the word is said to be the Latinized Gaelic of *Gille De*, servants of God. In the *Statistical Account of Scotland* [ii. 461, 462] the name is referred to the Gaelic *cuil* or *ceal*, a cave, cell, corner, &c., those inhabiting such places being called *Cuildich*, or in the Latinized form *Culdei*.

According to Irish historians, the Culdees were established in Ireland A.D. 546, and some years later in Scotland, by St. Columba, who had, at the age of twenty-eight, founded the monastery of Dairmeagh, understood by some to be Armagh. There is no evidence to prove that the Culdees were established in Scotland before that period, though their doctrines and usages were known long before.

St. Columba, having crossed over from Ireland and converted the Northern Picts, received from their king a grant of the island of Iona, for the purpose of founding a monastery. In A.D. 563, he founded there a society which rapidly extended itself to many places in the mainland, Iona, the principal seat of the order, receiving from him the name of I-colm-kill, the Island of Colum of the Cells. Iona was devastated by the Danes in A.D. 801, and about seventy years later the relics of St. Columba were removed for greater safety to Ireland. The Culdees did not constitute a monastic order so much as a body of seminary priests, who taught various branches of useful learning, and trained others for the priesthood.

In each of their colleges there were twelve brethren presided over by an abbot, elected by and from among themselves. Bede says of them, "proprio labore manuum vivunt." They allowed the marriage of priests, and held it in honour. In after times, the principle of hereditary succession was allowed to prevail, as under the Jewish law, and we learn from St. Bernard that at Armagh there was an hereditary succession of Culdees for fifteen generations [*Vit. Malach.* c. 7].

The Culdees did not acknowledge the authority of the See of Rome, and differed from it in several of their usages. Bede, writing of St. Aidan, who was one of them, says that he observed Easter after the manner of his own people. They opposed auricular confession [St. Bernard *Vit. Malach.* c. 2], rejected the tonsure, and baptized infants without the consecrated chrism. So bitter was the mutual hostility, that Bishop Dagan, one of the Culdees, refused to eat or remain in the same house with Lawrence, who succeeded St. Augustine in the See of Canterbury; and in a synod held at Streneshalch, now Whitby, in A.D. 662, for the purpose of settling the Easter controversy, the Culdees, headed by Bishop Colman, answered to the claims of the successor of St. Peter, that the authority of St. John, by whose disciples their forefathers had been taught, was of equal weight with that of his fellow Apostle. Even after the Northumbrian priest Egbert had prevailed on the Culdees of Iona in 716 to receive the tonsure, and to follow the general custom of the Church as to the observation of Easter, the Council of Cealchyth decreed that no Scottish priest should be allowed to minister in England. [PASCHAL CONTROVERSY.]

The principal seats of the Culdees were at Abernethy, St. Andrews, Brechin, Dunblane, Monimusk, Scone, Kirkcaldy, and Lochleven. In the twelfth century, many of these bodies were suppressed, the means employed being the promotion of their abbots to bishoprics, the introduction of canons regular, and the suppression of churches in favour of the newly erected abbeys, the consent of the Culdees being gained by the reservation of their rights during their own lifetime. There continued, however, to be Culdees at Iona until 1263, and at St. Andrews until 1297, when their prior, William Cumming, was sent to Rome to plead their cause before Boniface VIII.

CURATE. A priest having CURE OF SOULS. The term has been extended in quite modern times to priests and deacons acting as deputies to rectors and vicars, but it belongs in strict propriety to the latter only, *i.e.* to priests who have received institution, the Anglican ceremony by which MISSION is given.

CURE OF SOULS. The pastoral care of souls is vested primarily in the bishop of each diocese, and every priest intrusted with it acts as his deputy. Parish priests hold a cure "in foro interiori tantum," over the residents within their parish only; archdeacons, being "sine pastorali cura," have authority "in foro exteriori," being able to suspend, absolve, and excommunicate; but bishops having jurisdiction over the entire diocese, have cure "in interiori et exteriori foro simul." Gerson, the theologian of Paris [c. A.D. 1408], held that all clergy having cure of souls are the successors of the seventy disciples who were the assistants of the Apostles in preaching and ministration of sacraments, and are called apostles by Origen [*in Ep. ad Rom.* c. xvi. lib. x. sec. xxi; tom. vii. p. 465, ed. Caillau; and St. Chrysostom, *in* 1 *Cor. Hom.* xxxviii. sec. 4, tom. x. p. 327, ed. Migne; compare Aquinas, p. iii. *qu.* 67, art. ii., *ad* ii; *et Sec. Sec. qu.* 188, art. 4]. He adds that their right of burying the dead, of administering discipline, and receiving tithes and other parish dues, constitute them in the second order of the hierarchy and minor prelates. The general opinion of the Church was that, as the seventy were appointed by our Lord Himself, and received a distinct commission, so "de jure divino" curates succeed to their jurisdiction and authority received immediately from Christ (as bishops are the successors of apostolical authority): and their position was regarded as analogous to that of the priests and Levites under the Law. Upon the first consideration was grounded the belief that they ought to be summoned to a general council. The episcopate is, in this view, the source and fulness of the priesthood, the fountain which, without diminution, supplies the lesser streams; just as the Holy Spirit put on the seventy elders a portion of the spirit of Moses, without any loss to the plenitude of the latter; curates hold a delegation of jurisdiction and authority from God, only in degree differing from

that of bishops. Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres [A.D. 1006], mentions as a custom of his own and neighbouring churches, that the newly ordained priest received from the bishop a single host, which he consumed in portions day by day during forty days after his ordination, as a token that he had been entrusted by him as one of his vicars and coadjutors, with the instruction of the people committed to his charge [*Ep.* iii. p. 195, ed. Migne; Patr. tom. cxli].

The parish clergy in early times formed the cathedral chapter, and in this sense we must understand the prohibitions given by the Councils of Elvira [A.D. 305, c. xxxii. Bail, *Summa Concil.* tom. ii. 20] and Arles [A.D. 314, c. xix. *ibid.* p. 25] against such clergy acting without episcopal permission, or in cases of necessity administering reconciliation or holy communion. In the country the parish clergy had the latter right, but in cities only the privilege of preparing the candidates for baptism at Easter and Whitsuntide. Anastasius and Platina attribute the division of parishes to Evaristus, but their view has been contested. The Third Council of Carthage [A.D. 397] permitted priests to reconcile penitents and consecrate virgins with the bishops' license, but not to make chrism [c. xxxii., xxxvi. Bail, *Summa Concil.* i. p. 99]. The power of excommunication was given to priests [St. Jerome, *Epist.* xiv. (al V. Bened. Edit.) *ad Heliodorum*, sec. viii., ed. Migne, tom. i. p. 352; St. Augustine, *Ep.* cviii. sec. xx., ed. Caillau, tom. xxxix. p. 333], and also that of absolution and preaching.

The Apostolical Canons permit priests to baptize [Can. xlix. l; Bever. *Cod. Canonum*, Works, xi. p. 51, ed. 1848] with the bishop's permission; and the Council of Gangra [c. A.D. 324] condemned all assemblies of laymen with a priest who had not the episcopal license [Canon vi. *ap.* Bail, i. p. 99]. Examples are not wanting of bishops acting as parish priests [*Conc. Nicæn.* c. viii. *ap.* Bail, i. p. 167; comp. *Conc. Chalc.* Act. iv., can. xxviii.; *Ibid.* p. 258]. The Apostolical Constitutions [l. iii. c. 26; ed. Ultzen, 1853, pp. 84, 170] permit baptism and confirmation to be administered by priests. See also St. Jerome, *contra Lucif.* c. ix., ed. Migne, ii. p. 165; Second Council of Seville, A.D. 619, c. viii. [*Summa Concil.* i. p. 480], and Council of Verne [A.D. 755; c. viii.; *Ib.* p. 636], for priests baptizing under restrictions.

Until the sixth or seventh century, all priestly functions were reserved to the bishops when present, but owing to their negligence, or rather the impossibility of constantly visiting parish churches, the clergy of the latter began to celebrate more independently; and the lingering trace of the old discipline is seen in the Canon of the Council of Auxerre [A.D. 590], which forbids a priest to celebrate at the same altar and on the same day as his bishop [Can. x. *ap.* Bail, ii. p. 230], but the bishop clearly could celebrate after the priest. The Council of Riez [A.D. 439] allowed priests to give the benediction in the country, in the field, and private houses [Canon iv. *ap.* Bail, i. 140], but the Council of Agde [A.D. 505] forbids the priest to give the benediction in church to the congregation or a penitent [Can. xliv. *ap.* Bail, ii. 176]. The First Council of Orange [A.D. 441], however, permitted priests in the absence of a bishop to administer chrism and benediction to a heretic reconciled at the point of death [Can. ii. *ap.* Bail, ii.], and the First Council of Orleans [A.D. 511] allowed him to celebrate, and in absence of the bishop even to give the blessing [Can. xxviii. *ap.* Bail, ii. 179].

The cure of souls is given to priests in the Church of England by the ceremony of institution to a benefice: the "license to a curacy" not conferring it, and being given to deacons (who cannot receive cure of souls) as well as to priests. In this ceremony the priest kneels before the bishop, and holds the seal of the deed of institution while the bishop reads the document "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," committing unto him "the cure and government of the souls of the parishioners of the said parish." It is usually performed in private, but occasionally in the presence of the priest's future parishioners [Thomassin, *de Disciplina Ecclesiastica;* ed. Bourassé, *s. v. Curé;* Hooker, V. lxxx. 2; Field, *of the Church*, bk. v. c. 28].

CYCLE. [Paschal Controversy.]

D

DAMNATION. [1] The judgment to be pronounced upon the wicked at the last day; and [2] the punishment by which that judgment is to be followed. The use of the term in the New Testament (κρίσις, κρῖμα, words which are applied indiscriminately to the sentence and its execution) is nowhere accompanied by any description of the nature of the punishment to be inflicted,[1] and these details have to be supplied from such passages as Matt. xviii. 8, xxv. 41. The doctrine of the eternity of its duration is also a deduction from these expressions and from Mark ix. 44, 46, 48.[2]

I. *The nature of the punishment of the wicked.* The expressions used in the New Testament to describe the punishment of the wicked were received by the early Fathers, with but few exceptions, in a literal sense. Thus Clement of Alexandria speaks of an actual fire,[3] Minucius Felix uses similar language,[4] and Tertullian in a famous passage describes the physical sufferings of the wicked with terrible minuteness.[5] Even Origen, whose spiritualizing temper led him to construct a more lofty ideal of heaven than his contemporaries,[6] and who in some passages of his works appears to have formed the conception of a hell of mental torture,[7] yet displays on other occasions a tendency to the same materialistic views. But a figurative interpretation of these expressions gained ground in the succeeding centuries, and although in Basil the Great[8] and Chrysostom[9] allusions are still found to the torments of a material fire, yet the Gregories in the East,[10] and Augustine[11] in the West, agree in describing the punishment of the wicked as a mental torture arising from the separation of the soul from God and its consciousness of its own guilt. After the references to the character of final punishment in the works of John Scotus Erigena[12] in the ninth, and Thomas Aquinas[13] in the thirteenth century, by both of whom it is represented as being of a spiritual nature, we find no further recurrence to the material view, nor indeed further speculation on this branch of the subject. The more important question of the duration of the sinner's sentence seems henceforth to have occupied the attention of those theologians who constructed any theory of the last things. The Church, as a whole, has never lent her authority to any special interpretation of the words of Scripture upon the point.

II. *Of the duration of the punishment of the wicked.* Save in the bold speculations of Origen upon this subject,[14] we find amongst the early Fathers no trace of a belief in the final remission of punishments. There are indeed in some of their writings signs of the doctrine which was afterwards propounded by Arnobius,[15] that namely of the ultimate annihilation of the condemned. But with this exception, they are unanimous in asserting the sentence of condemnation to be irreversible.[16] Nor does the opposite view seem to have gained any prevalence in the succeeding centuries, at least amongst the more eminent of the Fathers. Augustine argues that the punishment is everlasting from Matt. xxv. 41, 46, and on the ground that the word ἀιώνιος must have the same meaning in reference to both life and punishment.[17] Chrysostom, though a pupil of Diodore of Tarsus, who held Origenist views, strenuously maintained the same doctrines as Augustine;[18] and Gregory of Nazianzum, though he expresses hopes of a final remission, never ventured to propound it dogmatically.[19] Gregory of Nyssa, however, speaks more plainly on the point.[20] The Anabaptists in the sixteenth century, and

[1] Matt. xxiii. 33, Mark xii. 40, Luke xx. 47, Matt. xxiii. 14: the parallel of these latter two is rejected by Alford.

[2] The phrase "eternal damnation" in Mark iii. 29 is a translation of ἁμαρτήματος αἰώνιου, which Alford would prefer rendering *peccati non delendi.*

[3] Clem. Alex. *Cohort. ad Gent.* sec. 35, p. 47, πῦρ σωφρονοῦν.

[4] Minuc. Fel. 35—ignis sapiens.

[5] Tert. *de Spect.* sec. 30.

[6] Orig. *de Princ.* ii. 11.

[7] Orig. *de Princ.* ii. 10, *Opp.* i. p. 102.

[8] Basil, *Homil. in Ps.* xxiii.

[9] Chrys. *Opp.* I. iv. 560, 561.

[10] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xvi. 9.

[11] August. *de Morib. Eccl Cat.* c. 11.

[12] J. S. Erig. *de Div. Nat.* v. 29.

[13] Thom. Aquin. *Elucid.* 80.

[14] Origen, *de Princ.* i. 6.

[15] Just. Mart. *Dial. Tryph.* c. 5. ἓς τ' ἂν αὐτὰς καὶ εἶναι καὶ κολάζεσθαι ὁ Θεὸς θέλῃ. It should be added, however, that the common interpretation of this passage has been questioned [Gallandii *Bibl. vet. Patrum*, i. 467, *n.* 4]. Cf. however Iren. ii. 34, quoadusque Deus et esse et perseverare voluit.

[16] Clement of Rome, *Ep. ad Cor.* c. 8. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 8; Minuc. Felix, c. 35; Cyprian, *Treat.* viii. (*ad Demet.*) 23.

[17] Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 23.

[18] Chrys. *Hom.* xxxix. in *Ep.* 1 *ad Cor.* xv. 28.

[19] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl.

[20] Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Cat.* c. 8.

the Universalists of our own day, represent the more modern efforts to propagate a belief in the final restitution. The Church, although by its conciliar condemnation of this amongst others of Origen's doctrines at Constantinople [A.D. 544] it has indirectly asserted the eternity of future punishment, has never promulgated it as a positive dogma. The Anglican Church, although we are not permitted to doubt its mind upon the subject, has nevertheless adopted the same course. Accordingly the forty-first of the Articles of 1552, entitled "All men shall not be saved at the length," was struck out at the revision of 1562, nor has any authoritative statement of doctrine of the Church upon this point been promulgated since that period. [EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT.]

DARK AGES. A name applied either to the whole or to some part of the period between the first and the sixteenth centuries. Its application to the whole of this transition-period indiscriminately is now rarely found except in popular or rhetorical writers; but is due originally to the Baconian reaction against the Scholastic method, and to the strong antagonism of popular Protestantism to the influence and claims of the Latin Church. In literary history, the "dark" period is that between the extinction of classical and the rise of vernacular poetry, or between the decay of Greek studies and the Renaissance, or again between the closing of the schools of Athens by Justinian and the growth of modern science. Fleury, Guizot and Hallam agree in placing the lowest depth to which the European mind has sunk in historic times in the seventh century, the century before Charles the Great. Milner and Robertson, on the other hand, apply the term "dark" to the interval between the beginning of the ninth and the end of the twelfth centuries; and it is this period of which the late Dr. Maitland treats in his essays on the *Dark Ages*.

To prove with Dr. Maitland that kings were not so illiterate, ministers of religion not so unfit, the administration of church ordinances not so slovenly, the learning of the monks not so useless, their morality not so questionable, as Milner and Robertson had asserted them to be, is scarcely enough by itself to vindicate this period against the accusation of darkness. The real answer to the charge is found in the consideration, that Western Society was saved, after the collapse of the Roman Empire, by the growth of the Latin Church into a great political institution, by the organization of feudal land-tenure within its bosom, and by the ultimate culmination of suzerainty in the Holy See itself; and that, in these four centuries from Charles the Great to Innocent III., this process of reconstruction attained its highest consummation. Religiously too, it might be said, these four centuries were anything but "dark;" when, by reason of the very antagonism of the Church and the world, the higher spiritual life reached, in the isolation of the cloister, a degree of intensity which is rarely found amidst the altered conditions of modern Christendom. Æsthetically again, these centuries are the age of the great Gothic cathedrals, and of the beautiful barbaric incidents of the tournament; whilst the latter half of the period was enlivened and refined by the romances and lyrics of the troubadours. In the sphere of intellect, lastly, the undisputed sway of Realism preceding the age of Roscelin and Abélard will only be a sign of darkness to those who find it most easy to explain the universe upon the assumption that "universals" are merely fictions of the understanding or of the organs of utterance. [CONCEPTUALISM.]

Darkness is matter of degree; and, in one sense, every fresh period of light and civilization is preceded by one of comparative darkness and barbarism, arising out of the immaturity of the new, and the decay of the old, constituents of social well-being. Hence the so-called darkness of the Middle Age belongs rather to the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation, when the Holy See, hitherto the source of civil as of ecclesiastical authority, was declining in influence and becoming corrupt; when the obscuration of the true Object of worship by superstitious and abusive practices had begun to awaken the scepticism, before it alarmed the reason and devotion, of Christendom; whilst the political fabric of mediævalism was giving way before the growth of an urban industrial population which it lacked the means of adequately dealing with. Such periods of decay seldom pass over into a new order of things without a crisis more or less prolonged and aggravated. And from a crisis demoralization and anarchy—religious, moral, intellectual—are inseparable. The anarchical and Antinomian tendencies which darken the two centuries preceding the Reformation were gathering strength, as the ephemeral literature of the time abundantly proves, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, until they reach a second and final crisis in the French Revolution. [ATHEISM.] Thus the darkness of the last part of the Middle Age may be said more properly to be due to the modern movement to which it forms a kind of background; and these considerations, if correct, indicate also the true limits within which the "Dark Ages" *par excellence* are to be found, *i.e.* not in the mediæval period itself, but immediately preceding it. We may conveniently consider the characteristics of this period under the three headings of the Empire, the Barbarians, and the Church.

[I.] The Roman Empire, when its hour had come, gave way much more suddenly than the mediæval polity. M. Renan speaks of its decline as "rapide ou, pour mieux dire, tout à fait subite" [*Les Apôtres*, p. 329, follg.]. This was not so much owing to the invasions of the Teutonic barbarians, many of whom were already half-romanized, as from the enormous size of the empire, the consequent remoteness of the heart from the extremities of the organism, and the ultimate discontinuance of vitality at the centre. As Horace had long ago prophesied.

Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

From the first the Roman state had been a mili-

tary system; as it expanded it became of necessity more exclusively so, and its very existence as a military system depended upon its continued ability to expand. The defeat of Varus by the Germans being the first effectual check to its expansion, may therefore be taken as the date at which its decline definitively began, and consequently as the extreme limit, in one direction, of the Dark Ages. Chronologically it would be an inaccuracy to say that the Dark Ages commenced so early; but this defeat was the first shadow cast upon the Old World, and the first harbinger of the New. The limits in the opposite direction may be identified roughly with the rise of the Papacy in the seventh century, of Feudalism and of the Germanic Empire in the eighth and ninth, of Scholasticism in the twelfth, of vernacular literature in the fourteenth. The age of darkness may be said to culminate in the fifth century, between the capture of Rome by Alaric and the battle of Chalons. But for many generations on each side of this interval the dissolution of imperial society, the decay of law and government, the ruin of the middle classes in the provinces by bad taxation, the depopulation of whole regions by chimerical attempts at re-conquest, the concentration of enormous wealth in the hands of the Roman nobles, the pauperization of the masses of the metropolis by a wholesale system of public charity, the demoralization and at the same time the omnipotence of the army, —combine to make this the darkest age in history. These tendencies were beginning to appear as early as the time of Tacitus, whilst in the perhaps somewhat highly coloured accounts of Ammianus Marcellinus (fourth century) we see them in full operation [Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxxi.; Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6; xxviii.].

The trial of Theodorus for magic [A.D. 371] led to a wholesale destruction of libraries throughout the Eastern provinces, in the hope of suppressing magical treatises. "Deinde congesti innumeri codices, et acervi voluminum multi . . . concremati sunt" [Ammianus, xxix. 1, 40]. And again: "Inde factum est per Orientales provincias ut omnes metu . . . exurerent libraria omnia: tantus universos invaserat terror. Namque, ut pressius loquar, omnes eâ tempestate velut in Cimmeriis tenebris reptabamus" [*Ibid.* ii. 1]. A generation later [A.D. 408] the last remnant of pagan culture was extinguished in the West, through the dispersion of the educated classes by Alaric. "Nulla est regio," writes St. Jerome [*Ep.* 98], "quæ non exules Romanos habeat." It was to convince these exiles that Christianity was not the cause of the ruin of society, and at the same time to lift the mind from the miseries of the earthly to the glories of the heavenly city, that St. Augustine wrote his treatise *de Civitate Dei*.

A century later we find Britain, Gaul, Rhætia, Pannonia, Vindelicia, reduced to desolation, foreign commerce well-nigh extinguished, home trade reduced to the exchange of the rudest commodities, the mercantile classes crushed by the invading Goths and Vandals under the supposition that they were favourable to Rome. [Finlay's *Byzantine Empire*, i. p. 62, 329, &c.]. At the same time the wholesale extortions of the Eastern Empire are producing "the death of thousands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities and desolation of provinces." In Italy under the strong and in many respects beneficent government of Theodoric the Great, Boethius, the last representative of the old culture, is awaiting his execution; "the mind of man is sunk to the lowest depths of dulness, and the lamp of thought extinguished in outer darkness" [*De Consolatione*, i. 2].

Perhaps few things better illustrate the hopeless deterioration of the population of the Roman Empire in the Dark Ages than the following facts. The army since the time of Augustus had begun to be, and by the time of Theodosius was wholly, recruited from the barbarian tribes. In the great battle with the Huns at Chalons [A.D. 450] the imperial army consisted entirely of Saxons, Franks, Burgundians, and Visigoths: and there is no evidence that the provincial populations, when abandoned to themselves, attempted any resistance whatever to the barbarian incursions.

[II.] Of these barbarians it is now necessary to give some account. They were essentially the same Germanic race as those who had defeated Varus, and who being nomadic peoples, had, like the Arabians in the time of Darius, and the Scythian hordes, successfully resisted all attempts at conquest. Unlike the lower tribes of Huns and Avars, who swept again and again over the face of the Empire without effecting a settlement, these Germanic nations had hovered long upon the borders of the Empire, and as the provinces became depopulated, small bodies of them had crossed the frontier and occupied the waste lands. Their youth had gradually become, as was said above, the staple element in the Imperial army; their great men had not infrequently disgraced or adorned the purple itself. In the busts of the Roman Emperors which have come down to us, the transition from the classical to the Germanic type of face is unmistakeable. Above all, whether within or without the frontier-line, their imaginations were filled with the greatness of the Roman name, the phantom of which they were destined in after times to resuscitate and to keep alive until almost the end of the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, the German nations, especially those upon the eastern bank of the Rhine, have always manifested a remarkable backwardness in development. At the time of their first incursions into the Empire many of them had scarcely passed beyond the "hunting and fishing," few beyond the nomadic, stage of barbarism: so that they had to make the transition from the nomadic to the agricultural condition of life, from the chase to the military, and from the agricultural and military to the political state of existence, after they had already entered and begun to form the dominant and most lively element in the population of the Empire.

This immaturity in the Teutonic barbarians was further aggravated by two very characteristic

tendencies of the German race in its infancy. One of these is the tendency to personal independence, and the other is the shallowness of sentiment respecting right and wrong. It is sometimes said that the Teutonic race is incapable of conspiracy; but however that may be, it is certain that in the separated and personal character impressed upon the feudal polity, in the identification of sovereignty with property, in the trial by judicial combat, in the infliction of legal penalties by private revenge, in the degeneration of feudal laws into class-privileges, not to speak of the perpetuation of small independent fiefs even into modern times, what has been called the individualism of the German race has attained an historical and permanent expression.

The German customary codes, again, are singularly inadequate in their conception of the nature of crime. Murder, for example, as Tacitus tells us [*Germ.* c. 21], is regarded not as a crime against the community, but as injury committed against an individual and his family, which may be recompensed by a fine of sheep or oxen. In the Salic law, all crimes are brought under the two heads of robbery and violence, and except in the case of slaves or labourers, there are no corporal punishments, no imprisonment, few capital penalties, all of which can be redeemed by the payment of composition.

These considerations with respect to the immaturity, want of coherence, and vagueness of moral sentiment in the German races, are confirmed by the history of the earliest barbarian kingdoms. The kingdoms of the Salic Franks in Gaul, of the Ostrogoths in Italy, of the Visigoths in Spain, of the Vandals in Africa, of the Suevi, Burgundians, and Lombards, were all immature, all lacked cohesion, and passed away in a few generations. Even the empire of Charles the Great broke up after his death.

Coincident with this, lastly, is the curious fact of the rapid deterioration and extinction of the first barbarian reigning families. The Merovingian "rois fainéants" declined both physically and mentally with a rapidity unequalled even in Oriental dynasties. The later monarchs of that family were all parents at fifteen years of age, and old men at thirty; while out of thirteen, six died at or before twenty-seven years.

This unripeness of the barbarian immigrants rendered them peculiarly susceptible of all the evil influences of the fast subsiding empire into which they came. "Half the vices," says M. Ozanam, "attributed to the barbarians were those of the Roman decline, and a share of the disorders charged upon nascent Christianity must be laid to the account of antiquity. In this category must be placed the vulgar superstitions, the occult sciences, the bloody laws put in force against magic, which do but repeat the old decrees of the Cæsars; the fiscal system of the Merovingian kings, which was entirely borrowed from the imperial organization; the corruption, lastly, of taste and the decomposition of language, which already prognosticated the diversity of idioms" [*Civilization in the fifth Century*, vol. i. p. 71].

We have thus made out two characteristic conditions of the "Dark Ages," viz.: the rapid internal decline of the Roman Empire, and the immaturity, slow growth, and anti-social qualities of the German immigrants. The result was that human life became little else than the struggle for foot-room and existence; education, learning, culture, literature, law, government, even physical well-being, seem for a time to have deserted the world.

[III.] The Mediæval Church, and especially the Papacy, is not uncommonly held accountable for the darkness of the Dark Ages. So far is this from being just, that it would be more true to say that it was the Church which saved society, art, literature, government, out of the degradation into which they had fallen; which educated the barbarians, and deepened with religious sanctions the shallowness of their moral feelings; which refined the gross military chieftains by the spirit of chivalry, and at length united and sanctified them through the presentation of a great religious aim in the Crusades. The first onset of Islam and the rise of the Papacy as the centre of the new world, *i.e.* pressure from without and organization within, Christendom, are coeval.

On the other hand, there are certain conditions surrounding the early existence of the Church which require to be taken into consideration to account for the fact that it was able to do so little to regenerate the world during the period of the Dark Ages.

a] First, the effect of persecution upon the religious life of the Church was to lash it into a state of feverish excitement. The mere fact of recent conversion is sufficient to do this amongst masses of rude population, and in the case of many of the barbarian tribes, who were originally Arian, the excitement of conversion was repeated when they were re-converted to the Catholic faith. The rivalry, too, of the two forms of Christian belief deteriorated into the merest political intrigue. Clovis, for example, owed his success in great measure to the support of the Catholics; in Italy, Theodoric's party were Arian, the Imperial party Catholic; Genseric, in Africa, was aided by the Donatists; the death of Hilderic was compassed by the Arians. This rivalry, combined with the entrance of many of the barbarians into the ranks of the clergy, had the effect of impairing the moral power of the Church in the world.

b] Then, again, these same causes tended to produce an intellectual decline within the Church during this period, which was increased by the position that Christianity had of necessity to assume towards the prevailing remnant of Greek philosophy, which simulated, whilst secretly corrupting, its doctrines. This, and the libertinism prevailing amongst the old Roman population, brought the Church by degrees into direct opposition to the existing remnant of pagan cultivation. Thus St. Jerome condemns classical study, the Church discouraged it, until at length the Council of Carthage [A.D. 398] prohibited the bishops from reading pagan literature. Under these

circumstances it is scarcely to be wondered at that many, even of the bishops who sat in the early councils, were almost wholly uneducated men.

c] More than all, the withdrawal of the Christian life—the only really active regenerative force in these times—into the desert and the cloister, was a cause of the darkness of the antemediæval period. The conditions of this seclusion did not lie in the spirit of Christianity itself, as M. Renan has suggested, but in the barbarism and violence of an age in which the mere struggle for existence reached an unparalleled intensity [see MONASTICISM]. The darkness of the world necessitated that the light should be put under a bushel, and this increased the darkness. It was not till Gregory I. that the Church really began to hold its own in and against the world.

The new spirit, which was thus at first condemned to work underground in catacombs, prisons, and monasteries, emerged in due time in a variety of forms to take possession of the different sides of human life—the Latin Church, the new Christian empire of Germany, the feudal system, the Scholastic philosophy, Christian art and poetry. But the interval between the decay of the old and the rise of the new forms an hiatus in human history and civilization, through which we obtain instructive glimpses of the abyss upon which society reposes.

DEACON. The word διακονία in the New Testament [Acts i. 17, 25, vi. 4, xx. 24, xxi. 19; 2 Cor. iii. 8, ix. 12; Rom. xi. 13] generally refers to religious or spiritual service and ministration for the edifying of the Church. The Apostles themselves are called deacons of Christ and the Church. The term Levite was restricted to the deacon properly so called. The order of a deacon is designated by διάκονος, a Greek work Latinized in canon law as "minister," as the Fourth Council of Carthage says the deacon is consecrated to a ministry. The word ὑπηρέτης used in Acts xiii. 5 for a deacon was afterwards attributed to sub-deacons, who discharged the subordinate duties of the diaconate. Thorndike and others consider that deacons represent the Pauline ἀντιλήψεις, or helps. The diaconate always existed in the Church: deacons, like priests, being ordained by the imposition of hands, and with the "*si quis*," or consent of the people.

The diaconate was founded by the Apostles, seven men of good report and full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, being ordained by them as almoners of the Church [Acts vi. 1-7]. Their office is mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians, and St. Paul regulates the indispensable qualifications for its tenure in 1 Tim. iii. 8-13. The original ministry of the diaconate was service at the altar in church, assisting the bishop or priest in the distribution of the Eucharist, warning the faithful when to pray, when to kneel, and when to rise, when to come forward, when to retire at the time of Holy Communion; to maintain order and silence, assisted by the porters and sub-deacons. Before acolyths were instituted the deacons attended the bishop when preaching. The duties at length were extended to the giving of instruction to the catechumens, to baptizing in case of necessity, and to preaching if licensed by the bishop. The Council of Elvira [c. lxxvii.] recognises baptism by deacons, and also their tenure of parochial cures, and ministration of the holy Eucharist at the bidding of the priest. The deacons acted as visitors of the faithful out of church, had charge of all the temporal works of charity, received alms and distributed them according to the directions of their superior: they reported to the bishop any quarrels or notorious sins within their district; they attended bishops on their journeys, and acted as their messengers to the priests of distant missions, and are hence called by Apostolical Constitutions the bishops' angels or messengers, and prophets or interpreters. These privileges occasioned insubordination on the part of deacons towards priests. All that is rare is more eagerly sought, said St. Jerome: deacons because few, are honourable; priests because many, are lightly esteemed; for in imitation of the Apostolical number at Rome, and by the Council of Neocæsarea [c. xv.], seven permanent deacons only, the number mentioned by Sozomen, and at Rome by Eusebius, were appointed in a single city; but Edessa possessed thirty-eight at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, and Justinian raised the number to one hundred at Constantinople. Sozomen mentions that the number varied in places. In the early English Church deacons are rarely mentioned, and it is probable that then, as now, deacons soon became priests.

Thomassin says that the diaconate was not only an order and office, but a benefice in the Church for twelve centuries: the archdiaconate, though now held only by a priest, being a relic of this fact. In the fifteenth century in England, however, deacons usually held the office. [Du Maillane, *du Droit Canonique*, ii. 319; Palmer, *on the Church*, i. pt. vi. c. iii.; Thomassin, p. I. lib. ii. cxxxiii. lib. 1. c. li.]

DEACONESS. The necessity of feminine attendance at the baptism of adult women originated a distinct class of religious women in the early Church; and when other duties arose, such as attending upon the sick, they gradually acquired the name of Διακόνισσα. St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Chrysostom and Theophylact, consider the γυναῖκας of 1 Tim. iii. 11, to have been deaconesses, and Phœbe is said to be διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς in Rom. xvi. 1. In Pliny's Epistle to Trajan, two *ancillæ quæ ministræ dicebantur* [Plin. *Ep.* xcvii.] are mentioned by him; St. Ignatius salutes "the virgins who are called widows" [Ignat. *ad Smyrn.* xiii.]. The Apostolical Constitutions decree that deaconesses were to be chosen from among the virgins, or from among the widows who had been only once married [App. Const. vi. 17, i.]; the nineteenth Canon of Nicæa [A.D. 325] names schismatical deaconesses, and the Council of Chalcedon [A.D. 451] expressly enjoined, "Let not a woman receive imposition of hands as a deaconess

[Διάκονον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι γυναῖκα] before she is forty years old" [Can. xv.]. It thus appears that for some centuries there was a recognised class of women going by this name in the Church, and that at their appointment they received formal benediction with the ceremony of imposition of hands, then commonly used in all benedictions.

In the Eastern Church deaconesses continued to be appointed so late as the twelfth century [Balsamon, i. p. 381], yet they had been forbidden, if they are really meant by πρεσβύτιδας, by the eleventh Canon of the Council of Laodicea [circ. A.D. 365]. In the Western Church their appointment was also forbidden by several councils in the fifth and sixth centuries [Araus. can. xxvi.; Epaun., can. xxi.; Aurel. can. xviii.]; yet Cardinal Bona [*Rer. Liturg.* I. xxv. 15.] considers that they did not altogether cease until the tenth or eleventh century.

The duties of the deaconess were to attend to women at their baptism, and to catechize them in private during their preparation for that sacrament; to visit sick women and attend when they were anointed; also to minister to the confessors and martyrs when men could not gain access to them. They also had some humble feminine duties to perform in respect to the churches. Probably these duties were undertaken in later ages by nuns, and thus deaconesses were absorbed in the female religious orders [Baronius, i. A.D. 44; Bingham, II. xxii.; Döllinger, i. 214].

DEATH. The separation of the soul and spirit from the material body. By it the latter being deprived of that by which its molecular integrity was preserved, enters immediately upon the process by which it is eventually resolved into inorganic substances. Nothing is more certain than that one of the consequences of death is the return of the body to the dust: a few ounces of dust being its final residuum. For the results of death as regards SOUL and SPIRIT, see the articles under those words.

That death was originally a consequence of sin is distinctly stated in Gen. ii. 17, iii. 3, 19 [ORIGINAL SIN]; and it is the opinion of the best theologians that our nature would in some manner, perhaps by the sacramental virtue of the Tree of Life, have been secured against death if sin had not "entered into the world" [Rom. v. 12]. This is expressed in clear terms in the Book of Wisdom: "For God created man to be immortal, and made him to be the image of His own eternity. Nevertheless, through envy of the devil came death into the world" [Wisdom ii. 23]. Death was not, however, the consequence of an arbitrary decree of the Creator, but of that moral lapse by which man shut himself out from the means by which immortality might have been preserved.

The ancient writers of the Church unanimously maintain that death, as a consequence of sin, was a merciful provision of the Creator: since it was a means by which the spiritual results of sin might cease, the holy dead being no longer included in the category of sinners, although they must needs be so as long as they are living in bodies capable of ministering to sin.

SPIRITUAL DEATH is so called by analogy, being that privation of grace which is the present consequence of original, and of persistent actual, sin.

ETERNAL DEATH is also a term used by analogy, signifying that privation of the life of blessedness in Heaven which will be the final lot of those who die impenitent. The term SECOND DEATH [Rev. ii. 11, xx. 6, 14, xxi. 8] appears to be synonymous with this. [EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT. HELL.]

DEATH OF CHRIST. The morally immaculate character of our Lord's Human Nature, and the incorruptibility of His Body, made the mode of His Death an exception to the ordinary law by which human nature dies, as His Conception and Birth were an exception to the ordinary law by which it enters on existence. And, considering how close an association there is between the inheritance of original sin and inheritance of the capacity for dying, it may be doubted whether the immaculate Human Nature of Christ could have been *naturally* subject to death, any more than His holy Body could be subject to molecular dissolution.

Its voluntary character was asserted by our Lord beforehand: "I lay down My life that I might take it again. No man taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." [John x. 17.] It was also indicated by His words on the cross, and by the manner of His death. For, "knowing that all things were now accomplished . . . He said, It is finished; and He bowed His head, and gave up the ghost" [John xix. 28-30]: having previously said, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit" [Luke xxiii. 46].

Its miraculous character was also asserted beforehand in the words quoted: for the power of resurrection, which was undoubtedly miraculous, is put in apposition with the power of death, shewing it also to be so. This was also indicated by the circumstances of Christ's death. For crucifixion was, and is, a lingering mode of death, as is testified by ancient writers, and by those who have witnessed it in the East and in Madagascar within our own time [Origen, *Opp.* ii. 237; Ellis, *Hist. Madagascar*, i. 371; Wiseman's *Connection between Science and revealed Religion*, i. 265-275], and although it was inflicted as a capital punishment, actual death was usually effected by stabbing, unless the criminal was left to die of thirst and hunger. But our Lord died within a few hours; and that immediately after He had signified that the time for His death had arrived, although He had previously spoken, and "cried aloud," with the appearance of still vigorous vitality.

Whether natural means were used to effect this miraculous and voluntary death of Christ is a question of very little importance, because the Will which effected original creation, and which manifested its miraculous power so often during His ministry, could equally operate in the separa-

tion of His body from His soul. But if He was pleased to work the miracle of His death by natural means, it is probable that rupture of the heart was the means used; it being certain that death was not effected (as some Rationalists have irrationally asserted) by the piercing of His side, and being improbable that it was effected by the crucifixion itself. For evidence on this particular point, and for much other useful and learned information on the general subject, the reader is referred to a "Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, &c., by William Stroud, M.D.," 1847. For the relation of the death of Christ to His work as Redeemer see the articles ATONEMENT, SATISFACTION.

DECREES, ETERNAL. The Scripture speaks of God's purposes or decrees as being eternal, and clearly intimates that events are not fortuitous or accidental, but are known and foreordained by infinite Wisdom [Ps. lxxvi. 10; Prov. xvi. 1, 9, xix. 21; Isa. xlvi. 10; Dan. iv. 24, 25; Acts ii. 23, xv. 18; Eph. i. 11]. The teaching of the Word of God on this subject has been brought forward in support of the Calvinistic tenet, that man's salvation or condemnation are not dependent upon his good or evil works, but on God's eternal decree, founded on wise though inscrutable reasons [CALVINISM]. The chief objection against this Calvinistic theory is that it is partial and one-sided. We are reminded by its advocates that we are not competent to judge of God's dealings:—He is a Sovereign and doeth what He will in the armies of heaven and amongst the inhabitants of earth,—that He is the Potter and we are the clay—statements which rightly understood are undoubtedly true. But at the same time it must be remembered, that we cannot infer from God's sovereignty as our Creator that He acts, according to the representation of Calvinism, unjustly or from mere caprice, as men too often do when possessed of unlimited power. In judging of God's dispensations, we must not look merely at His absolute sovereignty, and then from our own earthly notions and experience presume to judge of His conduct, but we must remember His other attributes of love and justice, without which His character and dealings cannot be rightly known or understood. Viewing these attributes it is impossible to suppose, that God's decrees respecting individuals or nations, though necessarily immutable on account of His Omniscience and eternal foreknowledge, can, speaking generally, originate from any other cause than His foresight of man's own voluntary conduct—his improvement or abuse of free-will. How God's foreknowledge of, and foreordaining all things, can be reconciled with man's free-will is a profound, unfathomable mystery; which cannot at least be solved (if we admit the authority of Scripture) by denying either one doctrine or the other.

DECRETALS. [LAW, CANON.]

DECRETALS, FALSE. This is the title commonly applied to a number of fictitious canons and canonical *dicta* contained in a collection of which the authorship and the exact date are alike uncertain, but which was (at least partially and for some time) received as a genuine body of canonical law.

[I.] *Contents.* The oldest edition of this collection of canons is divided into *three* parts, of which the *first* contains (after a preface extracted from the genuine collection of Isidore of Seville) [LAW, CANON] the Canons of the Apostles, followed by fifty forged briefs and decrees of the thirty earlier Popes from Clemens [A.D. 91] to Melchiades [A.D. 313]. The *second* part contains, after an introduction, the celebrated forged Donation of Constantine, more extracts from the preface to the Spanish collection, one extract from an old Gallic collection of the fifth century, and the canons of several Greek, African, Gallic, and Spanish Councils, also taken from the Spanish collection in its augmented edition [A.D. 683]. The *third* part, after another extract from the Spanish preface, contains in chronological order the decrees of the Popes from Sylvester [A.D. 335] to Gregory II. [A.D. 731], amongst which are thirty-five forged decrees, and the canons of several doubtful councils, the genuine passages being from the Gallic and Spanish collections, and from that of Denis le Petit, many of these however falsified by interpolations. After the Decree of Gregory II., which appears originally to have closed the manuscript, there follow (in the same handwriting) several pieces under the name of Symmachus [A.D. 498-514], notably two fictitious Roman councils; this supplement being followed by a second from the same hand. To the whole is prefixed the name of St. Isidore of Seville. The forged portions treat of dogmatical questions: of the dignity, advantages and privileges of the Romish Church; of the prosecution of bishops and other clergy; of appeals to the Papal chair; and of the due performance of a multitude of church ceremonies.[1]

[II.] *Authorship and date.* Criticism has been far more successful in exposing the falsity of this work than in discovering its true author; and neither on this point nor on that of the date of its publication is there anything like unanimity amongst inquirers. The inscription at the head of the preface in the most ancient manuscript runs thus: "Incipit præfatio S. Isidori episcopi libri hujus. Isidorus *Mercator*[2] servus Christi lectori conservo suo et parenti in Domino fidei salutem." It will thus be seen that the author, whoever he was, was desirous of passing off his production as the work of St. Isidore of Seville, upon whose genuine collection it was, as has been seen, principally grounded. That it was not Isidore's is evident from a variety of evi-

[1] Walter, *Manuel du Droit Eccl.* sec. 89 (*traduit par Roquement*), Paris, 1840. Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* I. xliv. 22; *Encyclopédie, sub verb. Decretales Fausses.*

[2] The existence of this form of the surname in this the oldest edition is very singular, and is opposed to the theory of De Marca and others, that the reading "*Mercator*" is a corruption of an earlier title "*Peccator*," adopted by the forger in imitation of a mark of humility then common amongst bishops. On the other hand it is still evident (as against the *Encyclopédiste, sub. verb. F. D.*) that the title was meant to be taken for that of Isidore of Seville from the prefix "*sancti.*"

dence internal and external. [1.] The oldest manuscript in existence contains Papal decrees of a date at least one hundred years subsequent to the death of Isidore. [2.] Even if we assume this MS. to be an augmented edition of a later date than the original, still there has never been a single manuscript of the pseudo-Isidorian collection discovered in Spain,[1] while specimens of the genuine collection of Isidore have always been plentiful in that country. [3.] Again, on the assumption made in [2], it is utterly inexplicable that a work of so famous an author as St. Isidore of Seville, and compiled, as stated in the preface, at the request of twenty-four bishops, who must necessarily have known of its publication, should have remained concealed for at least one hundred years. They were not the work of Isidore, nor even of Spanish origin. The weight of later historic authority has fixed them at a date considerably subsequent to that formerly assigned to them,[2] and is nearly agreed in attributing to them a Frankish origin.[3] The fragments of Canons of the Council of Paris, A.D. 829, and of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 836, are found in them. They cannot, on the other hand, be of a later date than the years 840-847.[4] Their locality has been fixed with great semblance of probability at Mayence, the place at which they appear to have been first promulgated under the pretext that Riculphus, Bishop of Mayence, had received them from Isidore of Seville. Walter, the writer of the greatest research on the subject, assisted by the earlier labours of David Blondel (a Protestant preacher of the seventeenth century, who finally demolished these long-doubted decretals) and of the two Ballerini, has ventured on assigning them to an individual, Benedict of Mayence—author of a supplement to the *Capitularies of Adelgesius* [A.D. 840-847]—on the following grounds: [1] a striking general similarity in matter between this work of Benedict and the decretals, yet without the one appearing to be either a paraphrase of, or a body of extracts from, the other. [2] A similar stress laid upon the same points in both works, and similar repetitions of these points. [3] A great resemblance of *tone* in the prefaces of both works. [4] Similar attempts in both to ground their dogmas upon Apostolic authority. [See Durand de Maillane, *Dict. du Droit Can., sub. v. Droit Can.;* Walter, *Manuel du Droit Can.;* Blondel, *Pseudo Isidorius et Turrianus vapulantes*, Geneva, 1628; Ballerini, part iii.; Colquhoun, *Summary of Rom. Civ. Law*, vol. i.; Fleury, *Dict. Eccles.* vols. xiii. ix. xi. xvi. &c.; Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* v. ii.; Milman, *Hist. Lat. Christ.* vol. ii.; Johannis Devoti, *Just. Can.* vol. i., *Encyclopédie, sub verb. Dec. Fauss.*]

[1] Walter, sec. 91.

[2] Fleury, *e.g.*, would date them earlier than A.D. 785, from their being quoted in the *Sententiæ Ingelramnes*, the Canons of Enguerrand, Bishop of Metz [Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* bk. xliv. 22]; but these canons are themselves forged, probably by the forger of the False Decretals [Walter, *Droit Eccl.* sec. 93, following Ballerini].

[3] Walter, sec. 91; Milman, *Hist. Lat. Chris.* ii. 375; Blondel, *Pseud. Isidorus;* Ballerini, &c. Eichhorn alone maintains a *Roman* origin for them [see Walter, *contra*, p. 109, note K].

[4] They were known by Benedict of Mayence writing in this period.

DEDICATION. [Benediction. Consecration.]

DEGRADATION originarily meant deposal, that is a public and lawful deprivation of order and ecclesiastical rank: the confusion of the terms took its rise in a want of exactness in distinguishing between simple or verbal, and solemn or actual deposal. The latter constitutes degradation proper. *Simple* or *verbal degradation* is the sentence of deprivation pronounced by a bishop on an ecclesiastic for some grave fault, by which he loses all his offices and benefices; or of privation from administering his benefice, as in the case of physical incapacity; this is ordinarily expressed by deposal. *Solemn degradation*, probably no longer practised, actually stript the clerk of his orders visibly. The clerk, robed in all the insignia of his orders, appeared before the bishop, who, seated upon a large raised gallery, and attended by assessors and the secular judge, deprived him of his insignia one by one, commencing with the instrument of his latest order, which he laid upon a side-table covered with a white cloth; and finally he obliterated his tonsure, by cutting some hairs with a pair of scissors, and with the further aid of a barber, leaving him without any mark of the ministry. The archbishop lost his pall; from the bishop were taken his mitre, cross, and ring; from the priest the chasuble and stole, the chalice and paten; from the deacon the book of the Gospels, the dalmatic and stole; from the sub-deacon the book of Epistles, the tunic, maniple, amice, and cruets of wine and water; from the acolyth a candlestick and burning taper; from a lector the book of lections; from an exorcist the form of exorcism; from the porter his keys. In the case of a bishop or priest, his head and hands, where they had received the chrism, were scraped with a knife or piece of glass. In the tenth century, a bishop's robes were rent, and his pastoral staff violently broken. The form was accompanied by these solemn words: "We take from thee the priestly vestment, and deprive thee of the honour of the priesthood"—concluding thus: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, we take away the habit of a clerk, and deprive and despoil thee of all order, benefice, and privilege appertaining to clerks" [*Decret. Bonifacii* VIII. *degrad. de Pœn. in* VI^to^]. This form of degradation was only observed when the clerk was to be given over to the secular arm, and in three cases only, namely heresy, as in the case of Cranmer, falsification of a papal letter, or calumny of his own bishop; the secular judge was present at the solemnity, and at its conclusion took the offender into his custody. The bishop was, however, bound to take every means of saving the criminal from death.

Verbal degradation was made according to the canons, by the bishop or his vicar, and a fixed number of assessors; it did not deprive the convicted person of the privileges of the clergy, and gave him protection against personal violence under pain of excommunication; it could be made in the absence of the person to be deposed: its

sentence remitted the offender not to the secular arm, but to a monastery; it deprived him of his office, yet left him his benefices, or deprived him only of his benefices, instead of the loss of both, as in solemn degradation; it left his restoration within the power of those who had deposed him, and even of a chapter in the vacancy of a see, on his shewing himself to be worthy of forgiveness, whereas the sentence of solemn degradation could be reversed only by a dispensation from the Pope.

Both forms had these features in common: in both the formal sentence was indispensable; both deprived of the functions of the ministry, right of jurisdiction and ecclesiastical honour (in this respect reducing the person to the position of a layman); and by both the indelible character was left. Thus, degraded clergy could celebrate, although the act would be sinful; they were incapable of marriage, they were bound to say their office, but without the power of giving "Dominus vobiscum." Every priest who was sentenced to death was previously degraded. [*Can.* iii. xii. *No. Summa Conciliorum*, 1706, tom. i. p. 78, 79; André, *du Droit Canon.* p. 921; Pascal, *de la Liturgie*, 480; Martène, *de Sac. vit. Eccles.;* Maillane, *du Droit Canonique*, ii. 234; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* iii. 261; *Beyerlinck*, ii. 713.]

DEGREES, FORBIDDEN. The restrictions which seem to be imposed by nature on the intermarriage of persons connected by ties of relationship were recognised by most systems of human law. The Mosaic code contained a list of such prohibitions, upon which those in force from time to time at various periods of Christianity were for the most part founded. This list [Lev. xviii.] included relationships not only of *consanguinity*, *i.e.* between persons connected in right of a common ancestor, but also of *affinity*, *i.e.* that *quasi-consanguinity* arising from the adoption of a wife or husband into the family with which they respectively ally themselves. The extent to which these restrictions were carried in the Christian Church, including of course the English branch of it, was regulated in times previous to the Reformation by the successive canons of the Romish See, as received into and adopted by our own Canon Law. Up to the thirteenth century intermarriage was forbidden between persons connected with each other by ties either of consanguinity or affinity to the *seventh* degree.[1] This prohibition of the foreign Canon Law was adopted by the English Church apparently very shortly after the Conquest. In the Council of London, A.D. 1075, held under the presidency of Lanfranc, we find a canon promulgated to this effect,[2] and a similar enactment in the Council of Westminster, held A.D. 1102. But at the fourth Lateran Council [A.D. 1215] the restriction was relaxed, and marriage was forbidden only in cases where the contracting parties were connected in or within the fourth degree.[3] The prohibition, as thus modified, became, probably shortly afterwards, the generally received law of the English Church. We find a canon to this effect in the Sarum Constitutions of 1217, held under Bishop Poore;[4] in the Durham Constitutions of 1220;[5] and in another set of Constitutions of the year 1237, distinguished in Spelman by the title of "Anonymous."[6] The general acceptance by our Church of this alteration in the law is also testified by the dispensations granted for English marriages in times subsequent to this date. We find none sought for or obtained by English subjects for any marriage between persons more distantly connected than in the fourth degree, though many were required for persons connected *in* this degree.[7] This seems to point to the conclusion that beyond that limit marriages were legal. Again, we find that an Act of Henry VIII., placing all prohibitions of this nature on a statutory footing, recites the then existing restrictions of the Canon Law as extending only to the fourth degree.

The law on this subject remained in this condition until the re-establishment of the Royal Supremacy under Henry VIII. An Act [25 Hen. VIII. c. 22] was then passed prohibiting marriages between persons within certain degrees of relationship therein specified by name; and a subsequent Act [28 Hen. VIII. c. 7] repealing the former Act, contained similar prohibitions with a like specification of the forbidden degrees. This Act passed through the same vicissitudes as did all others of a similar tendency during the succeeding reigns, being repealed under Philip and Mary, and revived as to part of its enactments under Elizabeth. There has been considerable difference of opinion as to whether either, and, if either, which of these statutes of Henry VIII. continued afterwards (on this point at least) in force:[8] but the question is only of importance so far as it affects the decision of a point which has since been frequently litigated—the legality of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. By the 32 Hen. VIII. c. 38 (recognised, as to this enactment, by 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 21; and, after its repeal under P. and M., revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1) all marriages are prohibited between persons "*within the Levitical degrees.*"

The peculiar form of this enactment is to be observed; indicating, as it does, the probable intention of the legislature to give the statute a wider disabling operation than merely in restraint of marriages within the *express Levitical prohibitions.* To carry out this intention lawyers have been guided by two rules in the interpretation of this Act. [1] The word "degrees" must not be considered as referring to *steps* of *vertical* relationship; and thus the Levitical prohibition of marriage between *parent* and *child*, extends to all marriages between persons in the ascending and descending line "ad infinitum" (*e.g. grand-*

[1] *Decret.* pars ii. caus. 35, quæst. i.-v. *Corp. Jur. Canon.* ed. 1687, a canon of Gregory the Great.

[2] Spelm. *Conc.* 8.

[3] Fourth Lat. Conc. can. l. Du Pin. *Eccl. Ant.* xi. 101.

[4] 2 Spelm. *Conc.* 154.

[5] *Ibid.* 179.

[6] *Ibid.* 240.

[7] Stephens' *Eccles. Stat.* i. 271.

[8] Gibson considers 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22 as repealed, but Hawkins inserts it in his *Statutes* as unrepealed.

Gibson also thinks [*Cod. Eccl.* ad loc.] 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7, sec. 9 repealed, but Vaughan, C. J., in *Harrison* v. *Burwell* argues from it as unrepealed. Burn, *Eccl. Law* [ed. Phill.], i. 439, 439A.

parent and *grand-child*, &c.) as being persons within the same *degree*. [2] The express Levitical prohibition of marriage between persons connected by a certain degree of relationship is to be extended to all marriages which are "in paritate rationis;" *e.g.* marriage being expressly forbidden between a woman and her husband's brother, it is also forbidden by implication between a man and his wife's sister, as being within the same degree of relationship as a marriage between the former parties. Agreeably to this principle a table of forbidden degrees was promulgated in 1563 by Archbishop Parker,[1] which contained several prohibitions not expressly insisted on in Lev. xviii., but capable of being deduced from the Levitical prohibitions by the application of the above-stated rules of interpretation. This table received formal recognition in the Canons of 1613.[2] And the course of subsequent legal decision has constantly affirmed these principles of interpretation, not only positively by annulling all marriages which are impliedly forbidden "paritate rationis" by the Levitical law, but negatively, by refusing to interfere with any marriage which could not be brought within the analogy of the Levitical prohibitions. Thus in Hill *v.* Good,[3] Vaughan C. J. makes it the main ground of his adjudging void a marriage with a deceased wife's sister, that its unlawfulness was implied in the prohibition against a woman marrying her husband's brother. And in Wortly *v.* Watkinson, a marriage with a wife's sister's daughter was set aside as being within the same degrees as a marriage with a father's brother's wife.[4] But Harrison *v.* Burwell[5] is an instance of the opposite operation of this principle of interpretation. There a prohibition issued against the impeachment in the spiritual courts of the marriage of a man with the widow of his great-uncle, such a marriage being held not to be within the Levitical degrees. And from many later decisions[6] the law upon this point may now be taken to be established.

But as regards the status of persons who have married within the forbidden degrees an important alteration has been effected by a statute passed within the present century. Previously to this enactment, marriages of this kind were not void but merely what is called *voidable;* that is to say, they might by impeachment in the ecclesiastical courts, and on proof of their illegality, be annulled and rendered void "ab initio," and the issue of such marriages bastardized. These proceedings might be taken at any time during the lifetime of the offending parties; but after their death, or the death of one of them, the common law forbade such marriages being impeached in the spiritual courts for the purpose of bastardizing the issue; and prohibitions to that effect were in such cases sought for and obtained from the common law courts. But by 5 and 6 William IV. c. 54, all marriages within the forbidden degrees whether of *affinity* or *consanguinity* were rendered absolutely and "ab initio" void *for the future*. With regard to *past* marriages, however, a distinction was made. Those which previously to the passing of the act had been entered into between persons within the forbidden degrees of *consanguinity*, and so were *voidable*, were suffered to remain *in statu quo*, *i.e.* in the position of marriages valid until set aside by impeachment in the ecclesiastical courts. But those which at the passing of the act were voidable merely on the ground of *affinity*, were (provided no proceedings were pending for their impeachment) thereby rendered absolutely good and valid in law and unassailable in any court. This act regulates the legal status of all marriages within the forbidden degrees at the present day.

DEIFICATION. This bold term is occasionally used by the Fathers to express the ultimate effect, the final perfection, of Christ's work in the sanctification of mankind. "Christ became man," says St. Athanasius, "that we might be deified" [Athan. *Orat. de Incarn.* liv.]. The expression is analogous to, and doubtless grounded on, that of St. Peter, "Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the Divine nature" [2 Pet. i. 4].

DEIPARA. The Latin form of Θεοτόκος. [Theotokos. Communicatio Idiomatum.]

DEISM. Deists may be divided into two classes; those who, believing in one God, deny that He takes cognizance of men and of their actions and reject the idea of any historical revelation made to man; and those who allow the work of Providence. Limiting to the former the name of Deist, Kant has applied to the latter the designation of Theists. Deism synchronises with the Reformation. The coincidence of corruption with the high mission of the Church was fatally mischievous; and men learned not only to question her authority, but to deny the truth of all revealed religion. As Spinoza's system was the result of reaction from Jewish Talmudism, so Deism sprang naturally, as it were, from the condition into which religion had subsided in the sixteenth century.

Viret, a contemporary of Calvin, and his *locum tenens* at Geneva during his banishment, first mentions "Deism" by name in a work published in 1563 [*Instruction Chrétienne*, tom. ii.]. Switzerland, therefore, may be considered to be its birthplace, as it was of modern Unitarianism. "It treated," he says, "the work of Evangelists and Prophets as idle dreams, and denied that the Divine Being concerned Himself with human affairs; everything being determined either by fortune or by the prudence and folly of men." England, however, was the forcing-bed that brought the noxious plant to its full develop-

[1] Card. *Doc. Ann.* i. 316; Gib. *Cod. Eccl.* 412; Burn's *Eccl. Law*, ii. p. 447.

[2] *Canon* xcix.; Card. *Synod.* i. 122.

[3] Vaughan 314; Stephens' *Laws of the Clergy*, i. 714. See also Bishop Jewel's Letter, *Strype's Parker*, App. No. 19.

[4] 2 Levinz, 254.

[5] Vaughan, 242, and see the elaborate judgment of Vaughan C. J. in this case, and Hill *v.* Good for a complete exposition of the law on the subject.

[6] See in especial, Ray *v.* Sherwood, 1 Curtis 193, and the judgment of Sir H. Jenner therein.

ment, from whence it ramified into France as the school of Encyclopedists, and into Germany as Rationalism. Confining our view to English Deism, the first name is that of the earnest and chivalrous Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the friend of Lord Bacon and Casaubon; he was born at Powys Castle, in Montgomeryshire, A.D. 1581, and died in London, A.D. 1648, a few months before the miserable trial and execution of King Charles. There can be little doubt that the essays of Montaigne and Charron had become known to him in Paris A.D. 1609, and that the current of Deistical thought in him owed its first impulse to these writers. His system was based on five points common to every form of religion, and innate, as he held, in the soul of man:—[1] The existence of a Supreme Being; [2] that He is the object of worship; [3] virtue and piety being the chief elements of that worship; [4] sorrow for sin, and forsaking it by a true repentance, are wholly necessary acts; [5] there is a system of rewards and punishment both here and hereafter. These points were reproduced in a more condensed form in the three postulates of Kant—God, Freedom, and Immortality. Lord Herbert admitted the possibility of an immediate revelation from heaven, but under such a multiplicity of close restrictions as left little room for belief. It could only be of a primary nature, as vouchsafed to its original recipients; afterwards it was mere tradition, and subject to doubt or proof like any other history.

The memorable illustration of the watch with which Paley opens his treatise on Natural Theology had already occurred to Lord Herbert [*De Rel. Gent.* xiii.]. He always spoke with respect of the Christian religion, and disclaimed any wish to disturb the best form of religion [*Rel. Laici et de Rel. Gent.*]; yet its promises of forgiveness were too easy, its obligations to virtue too loose [*Rel. Laic.*]. His five principles wholly commended themselves to man's reason, but no one could be sure that he understood the demands that faith, under the so called revealed religion, made upon his moral nature. To this uncertainty he traced sectarian difference. Christianity was thereby broken up into specialities, and never could be universal. It could never impart worthy notions with respect to Divine Providence and its care for the human race. A corrective to these notions will be found in Richard Baxter's *More Reasons;* Whitby's *Nec. and Usef. of Chr. Rev.;* Haliburton's *Nat. Rel. insuff.*; Leland's *Method with the Deists*, and Butler's *Analogy*. See Tennemann, *Phil.* x.; Ritter, *Chr. Phil.*; Thorschmidt *Freidenk. Biblioth.* iv. 2; Wetzer u. Welt. *K. Lexic.;* Herzog, *Real Encycl. Deismus;* Lechler, *Eng. Deismus.*

T. Hobbes, born at Malmesbury A.D. 1588, was a friend of Lord Bacon, and a travelling tutorship brought him into contact with Gassendi, Descartes and Galileo. He was tutor to Prince Charles, and resided with him at Paris, and there published his first political treatises in 1653. Charles II. gave him a pension upon the Restoration, which Hobbes lived to enjoy till his ninety-second year. He is styled by Thorschmidt the patriarch of English freethinkers. He declared that in state matters the prince or civil power was paramount, and even the Divine Law had no other authority but that which the State enforced. If the prince were to compel a subject to apostatize, the persecutor and not his victim would be the renegade; and no guilt would be incurred by the latter. That right and wrong is only such as the State declares it to be. Social life in its first principles is a state of internecine warfare, resembling the destruction that the microscope exhibits as going on in a drop of putrid water; only the outburst of extreme violence is kept in check by the will of the strongest, whose interest is on the side of maintaining peace. Nothing can exist, according to Hobbes, apart from body; therefore, the Nature of the Deity is corporeal. Similarly the soul is material and mortal; the doctrine of a future state is nothing else than an assertion of the rumour of a revelation. Soul and body also are one, and their distinction a mere poetical figment of Greece. The source of every idea, however abstract, lies in the senses.

Subsequent Deistical writers have borrowed largely from Hobbes' *Leviathan* and other works, forty-two in number, and Spinoza was his great admirer. The assault made by this Deist on religion was ably repulsed by Archbishop Bramhall, *Catching of the Leviathan;* Bishop Seth Ward; Archbishop Tenison, *The Creed of Mr. Hobbes Exam.;* and the Earl of Clarendon. Bishop Parker also, and Bishop Cumberland, wrote in reply. The treatise of Dr. Ralph Cudworth, *Eternal and immutable Morality*, would have been of especial value had it been published at once during his life time [Cudw. *Intel. Syst.* i. 31, ed Birch. See also Leland, *Deist. Wr.*; Tennemann, *Phil.* v. x.; Ritter, *Chr. Phil.* iv. 3.]

Charles, son of Sir H. Blount, born A.D. 1654, enlarged into seven the five points of Lord Herbert, and adopted from Hobbes the notion of the transcendental materiality of the soul; warfare as the natural condition of society; and might as the rule of right. Hence Lechler [*Engl. Deismus*] says that he was a product rather than a factor of Deism. His first work, *de Anima Mundi*, as preferring natural to revealed religion, was suppressed by desire of Compton, Bishop of London [A.D. 1679]. In the next year he put forth the two first books of a translation of the life of Apollonius of Tyanæa by Philostratus; which were suppressed by authority. It led the van in the Deistical attacks upon the Christian miracles that followed. In his *Summary Account of the Deist's Religion* [*Oracles of Reason*] he denies that God is to be propitiated by sacrifices, and consequently that the idea of a Mediator is superfluous. He defended the geologist Burnet when charged with attempting to subvert the Mosaic cosmogony [*Misc. W.*, March 1693], and deduced from the repetition of the history of man's creation [Gen. i. 27 and ii. 7, 22] the idea of a pre Adamite race; the faithful stock alone commencing with Adam [*ib.* ii. 218]. His posthumous

work, *The Oracles of Reason*, is in great measure a plagiarism from preceding writers. The book was answered by Dr. Nichols, A.D. 1696, in his *Conference with a Theist*. Blount shot himself because his sister-in-law refused to marry him.

John Locke, though no professed Deist, gave considerable impulse to Deism in England, more especially in Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke. His aim appears to have been to consolidate the various forms of belief into which professed Christian thought had ramified. If it had not been for his belief in the miracles of the Old and the New Testament, the Law, the Gospel and the Koran would have stood with him on the same level. He said nothing with respect to the Divinity of Christ, and swerved from the subject whenever his argument led him in that direction. Hence Leibnitz said of him, "inclinasse eum ad Socinianos." Immortality was the connecting link between the Father and the Son, and the Resurrection was its proof. The necessary "credenda" of the Gospel are brought by him within very narrow limits, the Mahometan formula being scarcely less meagre. In his *Reasonableness of the Chr. Rel.*, A.D. 1695, he professes to set aside the subtleties of theologians, and to recur to the Bible alone for the elements of faith; the result of his examen being that the only necessary articles of belief are the Unity of the Deity, and that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah [*Works*, VI. p. 156, 1824]. He distinguishes between the Gospels and the Epistles, and between the history of their actions and their legendary miracles. There was a difference also to be noted between such Apostolic doctrines as were suited only to the earliest times, and others that were universal. If man could fulfil the law of God, he would be above the power of death, but all have sinned against that law, and Christ alone, the first-fruits of the dead, can restore to man the forfeited gift of life. The law of God is the law of reason and of nature. Revealed truth was imparted from heaven, because the generality of mankind have no leisure for such courses of reasoning as would lead them to the truth. The benefit conferred by Christ is a knowledge of the true God and of our duty, spiritual service, a desire for repentance, the hope of immortality, and the certainty of a future state of rewards and punishments, in which not misbelief, but a corrupt life, will be the measure of man's condemnation. Locke had already given a practical application to these principles in his *Ep. on Toleration*, addressed to Limborch [A.D. 1689], and in the Constitutions drawn up by him for the government of Carolina, which Charles II. had handed over to eight of his lords [A.D. 1669]. The three tests proposed, before any member of the State could be admitted into any religious community, being: [1] belief in a God; [2] admission that public worship is necessary; [3] and that it is the duty of the subject to give true evidence when called upon by the civil governor. [See Locke's *Controversy with Bishop Stillingfleet*].

John Toland, born, A.D. 1671, in Ireland, a vain but vigorous writer of politico-religious pamphlets and flying sheets, renounced the Roman communion for dissent, and subsequently declared himself a Latitudinarian. He studied in Glasgow and Edinburgh, where he proceeded to his M.A. degree. From thence he crossed over to Leyden, and studied under Frederick Spanheim. In A.D. 1696 he put forth the first and only instalment of his *Christianity not Mysterious*; the most important Deistical work that had yet appeared; in which he professed to shew that the religion of Christ was in its essence simple, that mysteries were an aftergrowth, and no part of the substance of Christianity. Reason was the sole standard of revelation, which was only a "mean of information." "Mystery" was but an emphatic way of saying "Nothing" [p. 39]. The two theses proposed are: [1] That the doctrines of the Gospel are not contrary to reason; [2] that they contain nothing mysterious or above reason. The book was referred to a Committee on Religion in the Irish Parliament, when it was found that—[1] the title of the book was heretical; [2] that the Divine authority of Scripture was therein called in question; [3] that it withheld irreverently from Christ the title of Lord; [4] that it spoke unworthily of the Sacraments in making them mere ceremonial rites, and in comparing them with Bacchic orgies. The book was sentenced to be burned by the common hangman, and the Attorney-general was directed to institute proceedings against the author, which, however, were forestalled by flight. Bishop Stillingfleet's work on the Trinity was called forth by this treatise, which he styled *Socinian Objections*, and which he identified with John Locke's principles.

Toland published the *Life of Milton* in 1699, and supported the poet's view as to the non-genuineness of the Icon Basilike, the work, some think, of Bishop Gauden. The subject led him to declare that Christian antiquity also had its spurious writings; and the expression having been construed as applying to canonical Scripture, he put forth his *Amyntor*, or defence of Milton's life [Guizot, *E. Rev.*]. He denied that he thought of Scripture when he spoke of primitive corruption, and gave a catalogue of the apocryphal writings of apostolic times, that must have been interesting and instructive to an age that had never yet heard of them. So far from wishing to curtail the canon, he would add to it the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas, with the Shepherd of Hermas. This defence brought Samuel Clark into notice as an acute reasoner and clear writer; and after the lapse of nearly thirty years called forth Lardner's exhaustive work on the *Credibility of the Gospel History* [A.D. 1727], as also Mosheim's *Treatise on the Objections raised in the Amyntor* [A.D. 1722]. In 1700 the Lower House of Convocation appointed a Committee for the examination of books written against the Christian religion, the *Amyntor* being especially indicated. But the jealousies of High and Low Church and of the two Houses caused a diversion for Toland, and nothing came of it. His *Nazarenus*, a Gentile-Jewish syncretic Chris-

tianity, was an attack on all professed revelations; as his *Tetradymus* was upon all existing rituals and liturgies, and more especially on the Anglican Order. His *Pantheisticon* [A.D. 1720] is directed against all who hold the Personal existence of the Deity. Toland held a kind of modified Spinosism. His *Tribe of Levi* was a scurrilous attack on the Christian ministry. Toland died in 1722. [See Mosheim's *Tol.* and Des Maizeaux.]

Anthony Collins [born A.D. 1676, died A.D. 1729], though a follower of Locke, advanced far beyond the previous Deistical writers, and openly attacked the outworks of religion. First, however, he opened fire upon the Church of England. In his *Priestcraft in Perfection* [A.D. 1709] he denied the genuineness of the opening clause of the Twentieth Article, in which it is said that "the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith;" and returned to the subject in his *Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles* [A.D. 1724]. He stated that the clause had the authority of neither Convocation nor Parliament; that the original draft signed by both houses of Convocation in A.D. 1562 [*penes Corp. Chr. C.* Cantab.], and that signed by them again in A.D. 1571, omitted the clause. It was also wanting in the Articles of Edward VI., A.D. 1552 [Hardwicke's *Hist. of the Articles*, p. 140]. Bishop Browne supposes that the council inserted the clause by the Queen's wish, from the Wirtemberg Confession, and that it received the royal sanction, though copies still continued to vary. If convocation did not embody the words in A.D. 1571, it is strange that the Queen's printer should have done so, as may be seen in Dr. Cardwell's *Synodalia* [i. 98]. Collins next took wider ground, and published his *Discourse of Freethinking* [A.D. 1713], in which much was said about the narrowness of the clerical mind, pious frauds, corrupt MSS. of Scripture, forgeries, interpolations and patristical misstatements. The treatise met with a full answer from Hoadly, Whiston, and Ibbot, as Boyle lecturer for the year. But the most severe castigation was administered by Bentley, under the assumed name of Phileleutherius Lipsiensis, who anatomatised each fallacy with a minuteness that is more like vivisection than ordinary criticism. Collins, with characteristic coolness, covered his worst blots in a French translation of the *Discourse*, prepared under his eye [A.D. 1714], thereby giving to Bentley's critique an appearance of inconsequence to foreigners. In A.D. 1724, Collins published his *Discourse on the grounds and reasons of Christian Religion*, in which he assumed, though with transparent falsity, that the whole proof of Christianity lay in the fulfilment of prophecy; that prophecy was allegorical, and hence that Christianity exhibits only the allegorical meaning of the Old Testament, and in fact was a mere mystical Judaism; much as the modern intellectual Jew styles Christianity Paganism tempered by the Gospel, and Mohammedanism the same, tempered by the Korân [Phillippson, *Lect.*]. Answers were prompt and plentiful from Bishop Chandler and the Presbyterian Dr. S. Chandler, Dr. Bullock, Dr. Sykes, Whiston, and Sherlock in his *Use and Intent of Prophecy;* many of whom also answered the last work of Collins [*The Scheme of Literal Prophecy*, A.D. 1727]; the most notable feature in which was an attack on the antiquity and authority of the Book of Daniel. The writings of Collins were the text-book of the French Encyclopedists, who met in Paris at the house of Holbach; and Diderot incorporated his *Philosophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty* as a separate article in the *Encyclopédie* [Schlosser, *Gesch. d.* 18, 19, *Jahrh.*].

Anthony Ashley Cooper [born A.D. 1671], third Earl of Shaftesbury, and grandson of the statesman and member of the Cabal under Charles II., was self-educated by travelling in France and Italy, and by a diligent study of Locke. On his return through Holland he became acquainted with Leclerc and Bayle. He is scarcely to be termed a Deist, but nearly approached the German Rationalist of the last generation. Although Voltaire's keen sight detected in Shaftesbury the fatalism of a Pantheist, yet he spoke in mere bitter irony when he said that he was too open in his dislike of Christianity; for nothing could be more covert than Shaftesbury's attacks, and for the simple reason that it was the State religion, which, on his own principles, it was an act of profanity to assail. Truth, he said, should only be spoken with discretion: "We never do more injury to truth than by discovering too much of it on some occasions; it is a real humanity and kindness to hide strong truth from tender eyes" [*Characteristics*, A.D. 1714]. Hence his writings barely aroused the suspicion of contemporaries, though not unnoticed by Berkeley, Wotton, and Warburton. Balguy's *Letter to a Deist* [A.D. 1729] was directed against them, and a more thorough answer, by J. Brown, appeared nearly forty years after Shaftesbury's death [*Essays on the Characteristics*, A.D. 1751]. Shaftesbury was a professed humorist, and dealt with deep questions in a tone of polished irony and banter that made his writings especially dangerous to those who by education could appreciate it. He took this line on principle, in accordance with the Horatian maxim—

"Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res."

He even ventured to call Christianity "in the main a witty, good-humoured religion" [*Char.* iii. 98], and speaks of a "burlesque Divinity" [iii. 251]. Hence it is not always easy to see when he is in earnest, when in jest. He agreed with Hobbes in maintaining that the civil governor was the proper judge of religious truth, and that the subject was bound to submit his judgment to the State. But he differed from Hobbes in giving its own independent character to morality. With him right is right, whatever the State might determine. His wit and satire is nowhere more pungent than when dealing with fanatics of his day, who held that to preach up social morality was to be disloyal to the specific doctrines of Christianity. To set the inducements to virtue on the hope of future reward, he said,

was to place the matter on a wrong basis altogether. Virtue was to be followed for its own sake, it had its own present reward. Kant has said the same thing. He did not deny the inspiration of sacred writers, but no external proof could be given of it; the recipient must judge for himself what manner of spirit he was of. There was no external difference between inspiration and the self-delusion of enthusiasm. The former is a genuine, the latter a mistaken notion of the present Deity, and "Bartholomew Fair" [*sic*] raillery is its best solvent. Inspiration itself is, in fact, a Divine enthusiasm. Revelation, to be true, should be its own justification, and stand in need of no external testimony. It should fear neither critic nor analyst. Its very nature may cause men's judgments to differ. The way in which he masses together [*Char.* iii. *last misc.*] all kinds of objections against Scripture, on the score of want of genuineness and authenticity, textual variation, discordant interpretation, and apocryphal fraud, sufficiently shews what his real regard for Scripture was. Miracles he held to be no necessary proof of the truth of religion; if wrought in confirmation of a believer's faith, they are superfluous; if opposed to it, they would be rejected as an imposture, even though wrought by an angel. A main defect in the Christian religion he held to be its silence with respect to the sacred character of human friendship and patriotism, as though the former were not included in the wide category of Christian love; while the latter is held in check, as it ought to be, by the more enlarged sympathies of an universal humanity. Brotherly love, he says, only leads its advocates to plague each other's hearts out for the good of the soul. Intolerance and persecution has too often been its outward expression. Religious zeal leads only to self-deception and the misguidance of others. Leibnitz was an especial admirer of Shaftesbury. [Schlosser u. Bercht's *Archiv. f. Gesch.* p. 22, and 18, 19 *Jahrh.*; Leland; Thorschmidt; Lechler.]

Passing over W. Whiston, Fellow of Clare Hall, and Lucasian Professor in the University of Cambridge, who for his Arian opinions was deprived of his fellowship and office and expelled the University [A.D. 1710], and whose impugnment of the truth of prophecy led Collins to publish his *Discourse of the Grounds*, &c. [A.D. 1724; Lechler, iii. 1], the next Deistical writer to be noticed is the mystic recluse Woolston, a fellow of Sidney, who likewise was deprived of his fellowship [A.D. 1720] for upholding Quakerism as the nearest approach to primitive Christianity, and endorsing the dictum of that sect, that the clergy were blind leaders of the blind, priests of Baal, &c. He had the effrontery to challenge the bishops and clergy to discuss the question, whether the clergy of the day were not worshippers of the Apocalyptic Beast, and servants of Antichrist. In his self-constituted office of moderator between Collins and his opponents [*Moderator between an Infidel and an Apostate*, 1725], he attacked the Christian miracles, and treated as an idle tale the cardinal miracle of our Lord's Resurrection. Everything with him was allegory. Voltaire, who was in England in this year, says that 30,000 copies of his six scurrilous pamphlets on *Miracles* [A.D. 1727-1730] were sent over to America. The author was prosecuted to conviction by the attorney-general, fined £25 for each pamphlet, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. Being unable to obtain recognizances for good behaviour, he died in prison, A.D. 1731. With characteristic insolence, Woolston dedicated his *First Defence* to the Queen, to whom the Bishop of St. David's had inscribed his answer; and the second to the Lord Chief Justice, under whose sentence he was imprisoned. Each of his six pamphlets also had been dedicated to a member of the Bench of Bishops in terms of offensive sarcasm. Woolston was answered by Bishop Gibson, in his *Five Pastoral Letters* [A.D. 1728]; Lardner, in his *Vindication of Three of the Miracles;* Dr. Zachary Pearce, *Miracles of Jesus Vindicated;* Smallbrooke, Bishop of St. David's, *Vindication* [all three A.D. 1729]; and in the same year by T. Sherlock in *The Resurrection of Jesus Considered*, the most remarkable work of all, in which the witnesses of the Resurrection give their evidence as in a court of law. A reply to this from Peter Annet [A.D. 1744] produced a rejoinder from Sherlock [A.D. 1749] and two years previously from Gilbert West, a reputed freethinker, who received the thanks of the University of Oxford and the honorary degree of LL.D. Annet's principal opponent as regards St. Paul's witness to the truth of the Resurrection was Sir George Lyttelton, himself formerly a freethinker, but reclaimed by West.

Woolston's extravagances had produced sufficient disgust to cause a strong reaction from Deism; when Matthew Tindal [born A.D. 1656], a student of Lincoln College and Fellow of All Souls, the "great apostle of Deism," put forth his *Christianity as Old as the Creation* [A.D. 1730], of which a fresh edition was required in four consecutive years. It is the standard work of Deism. The work is complete, although the materials for a second part were left by him on his death. The title seems to bespeak an unobjectionable work, but it is a thoroughgoing advocacy of natural religion, Christianity being only allowed to be true so far as it agrees with this. Morality in obedience to the will of God is the substance of religion. Reason, the connecting link between earth and heaven, the creature and the Creator, is the source of morality. It is identical with religion, a sense of which is the distinctive character of human reason, as Lord Herbert had also asserted. Every religious system in proportion as it diverges from natural religion is superstition. Mystical doctrines and ceremonial pomp have been introduced by the clerical order from motives of self-interest, though he is careful to add that this refers to the Church of Rome. Nothing can be added to the force of natural religion, and nothing subtracted from it; hence revelation is superfluous, and all pretence to it may be resolved into enthusiasm or imposture. Christianity is no novelty, but is the religion that God stamped upon man's soul from the beginning: the name alone is recent.

It is a republication of the Law of Nature, and nothing more. Reason is the sole judge of all articles of faith and of the truth of Scripture. Everything may be accepted as revealed truth that has a manifest tendency to promote the honour of God and the welfare of man. The maxims of Confucius and those of Christ stand upon the same level; and obscurities in the latter may receive light from the more simple and clear teaching of the Chinese Moses; but Scripture is only likely to perplex and misinform the uninitiated. He gives up the prophecies of the Old Testament as hopelessly confused. Neither can reliance be placed in those of the New Testament, because the immediate followers of Christ were misled by them to expect the Second Advent and end of the world in their own generation; and if Apostles were deceived in this matter, what security have we that they were not equally mistaken throughout? Tindal termed himself a Christian Deist; ordinary Christians were Demonists, who venture not to call in question the authority of Scripture: whereas he places not his faith in doctrines because they are contained in Scripture, but honours Scripture so far as it contains the doctrines that he deems worthy of right reason. The importance of this work called forth many answers; those of shorter compass are Bishop Gibson's *Pastoral Letter*, Dr. T. Burnet's *Review*, Waterland's *Scripture Vindicated*, Law's *Case of Reason*, Jackson's *Remarks*, Stebbing's *Discourse* and *Defence of Dr. Clark's Evidence*, Balguy's *Two Letters to a Deist* and the *Essay on Redemption*, Atkey's *Main Argument*. More exhaustive answers are Foster's *Usefulness of the Christian Revelation*, Conybeare's *Defence*, and Leland's *Answer*, an abstract of which is given in his work on the Deistical writers. See also Lechler's *Engl. Deismus*.

Deism now descended to men of low estate. T. Chubb [born A.D. 1679], son of a Wiltshire maltster, a glover's apprentice, and shopman to a tallow chandler in Salisbury, was the next to achieve distinction. He was a man of little education, but gifted by nature with a flow of thought that was not always either logical or consistent. The Deistical writings of the time were eagerly read by him, and he gained a certain degree of facility with his pen by making copious notes and observations on his readings. A critique of his on Whiston's *Primitive Christianity Revived* having fallen into the author's hands he urged its publication, and it duly appeared under the Socinian title, *The Supremacy of the Father asserted* [A.D. 1715]. A collection of *Tracts* appeared in A.D. 1730. Pope writing to Gay speaks with admiration of his power as a writer. Two posthumous volumes [A.D. 1748] were preceded in his lifetime by *The true Gospel of Jesus Christ* [A.D. 1738]. It purposes to show that Christianity in its essence is not doctrine but practice. Moses Mendelssohn declared the same thing of the religion of the Jew. Christ is our Saviour, because He declares to us God's favour and happiness in another world; yet he treats with ridicule the notion of a future state of retribution derived from the unequal condition of men in this life. "Horses," he says, "have cruel masters, but there is for them no compensation." He denied an overruling Providence. Everything befals us by the steady action of second causes: his Deity was as that of Spinoza, the vital energy of nature; and he speaks in doubt whether or no the soul be of a material substance. Christ, he says, demands that our lives should be regulated by the eternal rule, the "reason of things," a summary of which is exhibited in the Ten Commandments. Christ preached his own life, and lived the doctrine that he preached. Repentance is efficacious, and there comes a day of judgment: ideas that coincide with the three last of Lord Herbert's five points. Christianity teaches nothing new, it is but a republication of the law of nature. Its name alone is recent. It was preached to the poor before the main facts of the Gospel history were known, therefore they are irrelevant. It is a simple matter that simple men may understand. The palpable Socinianism of his Christology need not be indicated. The rapid establishment of Christianity he allows to be a proof that Christ lived and taught, and died, as the Gospel declares: and He was the Son of God, because unto Him "the Word of God came;" but our hope of salvation has no more relation to the sufferings of Christ than colour has to sound. As regards the Gospel, he says that the truth must be sifted out from the private opinions of the Evangelists. The opening of St. John's Gospel is only an expression of the writer's own human thought. Even the recorded maxims of Christ are made the subject of cavil. To "love our enemies" is to make no distinction between good and evil. To take "no care for the morrow" is to encourage reckless living; so little could he understand the duty of doing God's work with no earthly hope of reward, and merely because it is God's work. A sharp line of distinction, he said, is to be drawn between the words of Christ and the writings of the Apostles. Church dogma is a clear enunciation of the spirit of Antichrist. "Do this and live," says the Saviour; except a "man believe faithfully he cannot be saved," declares the Athanasian anathema. The germ of the Rationalist distinction, therefore, between the doctrine of Christ, and doctrine concerning Christ is contained in Chubb's writings. As with the Quaker, titles of honour were a mortal offence to the Wiltshire chandler. Chubb's opinions had been effectually answered in preceding controversial publications. Special answers, however, were put forth by Hallet [*Consistent Christian*], Le Moine and Fleming. A very useful analysis of his posthumous works is given by Leland.

Dr. Morgan, a dissenting preacher expelled communion for Arianism, advanced but little that was new in his *Moral Philosopher*, a dialogue between a Christian Deist and a Christian Jew, published anonymously in A.D. 1737. He allowed that there was a special overruling Providence. The light of Nature was the only

source of religion; revelation useless, and therefore *nil*, except so far as natural reason reveals the truth to man. The reason and fitness of any precept is the only test of its worth. Christianity is only a republication of natural religion. The Apostles preached different and antagonistic gospels. St. Paul he speaks of with respect as a freethinker and an enemy to the Law. Like the Marcionite of old, he rejected all the other apostolic writers, with the exception of St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul. Like the Gnostic also he distinguished between the God of the Old Testament and that of the New. He declared that the prophets were the instigators of the long feuds that preceded the captivity; and that Ahab and Jezebel acted the part of patriotic princes in exterminating them. The Church of the Apostles was essentially Jewish, and altered and corrupted the Gospels to suit its Judaism. The true primitive Christian was the Gnostic. Miracles and inspiration, and every kind of supernatural agency, he wholly denied. There is much in his miscalculation of Levitical revenues and subjects connected with the Mosaic institution that reminds us of the Natal controversy. Morgan was answered by Hallet, *Immorality of the Moral Philosopher*, 1737; Dr. Chapman's *Eusebius*, a short epitome of which is given by Leland. A second volume was put forth, and answered in the same year by Lowman, *Dissert. on the Civ. Gov. of the Hebrew;* and a third volume, 1740, again answered by Hallet, *Rebuke to the Moral Philosopher;* also by S. Chandler, who first indicated Morgan as the "moral philosopher." Morgan's writings called forth the *Divine Legation of Moses* by Warburton, 1738, who found himself at issue with orthodox as well as Deistical writers by reason of the paradox on which his argument is based. [See Lechler, p. 391.]

H. St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, born A.D. 1672, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and took office under Harley as minister of war. Having favoured the cause of the Pretender, he was compelled to flee the country, A.D. 1715, forfeiting also his title and estates. These latter were restored to him in 1723. He died after a long and painful illness in 1751, and bequeathed to D. Mallet, a Scotchman, the care of publishing his MSS. During his residence in France he became intimate with Voltaire and Montesquieu, and their exchange of sceptical thought prepared the way for the *Age of Reason*. His writings consist of loose rambling essays, often brilliant, but tedious from want of methodical arrangement of ideas. A flashy display of infidelity takes the place of the comparative erudition of some preceding Deists. He was the apostle of freethinking among the upper thousand, as Chubb had been among the tradesman class. The cavils of preceding Deists with respect to Holy Scripture are repeated by him [Leland's *Reflections*]. The wisdom and power of God are alone revealed to us, and to speak of His moral attributes is presumption; as though the goodness and justice of God were not as clearly revealed in His moral government of the world as His wisdom and power are stamped upon the face of creation. He denies a particular, but allows an universal Providence extending over nations, but not troubling itself with individuals; the Deity in his system being little else than the mundane soul of heathen philosophy. Similarly he commends the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of rewards and punishments as useful, but speaks sceptically of it as a philosophic proposition; in fact he identifies soul with vital spirit, the continued existence of which only corresponds with the duration of life in the body. Religion he considers to be of use only as an aid to government. Natural religion was the one true object of man's simple faith, specific forms of religion being derived from Egyptian and Oriental forms of priestcraft. The Gospel of Christ was one thing, that of St. Paul something widely different. The Evangelists would as little have understood St. Paul's writings, though one of them was his amanuensis, as St. Paul would have comprehended his diligent expositor Augustine. Tradition from the beginning was only based on ignorance and fanaticism; the Church also had erred grievously in condemning polygamy, which was essentially necessary for the development of population; yet it is a patent fact that the most populous countries are those in which polygamy has been made a crime. It was worse than useless to endeavour to reconcile the antagonism of Scripture and philosophy; the attempt could only lead to the hopeless annihilation of the former.

Deism now passed into the scepticism of Hume and the younger Henry Dodwell; and Methodism secured the lower classes from that form of opposition to Church authority which leads to infidelity. This English heresy was the teeming parent of French Atheism and German Rationalism, for which Spinoza had already prepared the way. Many points of Deism were reproduced from the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages; or rather from those Latin translations of Arabic versions of Aristotle, made in the thirteenth century, on which the later scholastic system was built up; these by asserting one universal mundane soul led straight to Pantheism. William of Auvergne [*Op.* i. 329, and *de An.* vi.] says that there were "ill-conditioned beings, that seeing themselves crossed by religion in present enjoyments, and expecting no future joys, could not be persuaded that the immortality of the soul was anything more than a delusion encouraged by princes." Averroes has been taxed with being the first who asserted in modern times that all religions are equally false and equally useful.

To the works that have been mentioned may be added, Trinius, *Freidenker Lex.* 1759; Schlosser, *Archiv. f. Gesch. u. Lit.* 1831; V. Busche, *d. freie Relig. Aufklärung*, 1846; Wolfenbüttel, *Fragment.*

DEMIURGE. This term, first coined by philosophy, and adopted from thence, with other Neo-Platonic terms and notions, by the Gnostic

heretics, means the orderly Disposer of the Universe. Its derivation from δῆμος, the people, and ἔργον, work, would seem to indicate the human race only as the object of the creative energy. But the origin of δῆμος is in δᾶ = γᾶ or γῆ the earth, and as the Athenians boasted an autochthonic descent, δῆμος came to signify "the people of the earth." So Δημητὴρ, Ceres, is nothing else than Γῆ μήτηρ. Hence philosophy, the conservator of ancient terminology, spoke of the orderly arrangement of the earth and entire universe as a δημιουργία, and the Disposer thereof as "Demiurge." From thence it obtained a secondary meaning, applying to any handicraft, and in that sense it is used once in the New Testament [Heb. xi. 10; cf. Xenoph. I. iv. 9, δημιουργούς].

Plato [δημιουργία ζώων, *Timæus*], and the Neo-Platonists generally, speak of the Creator as Demiurge. So Philo who was of the earlier period of that school, as established at Alexandria, says, "God is not only the Demiurge or Architect of the world, but also its Creator" [*De Somn.* 577]; distinguishing between the creation of matter and its arrangement in forms of order by the Demiurge. It was another term for the mundane soul of Plato, and generally every system that admitted it into its nomenclature may be considered Pantheistic. Philo's account of the material world was essentially Pantheistic, in anticipation of Spinoza's "Alles ist eins, und eins ist alles." The Demiurge, he says, is τῶν ὅλων τόπος, the space that holds the universe. He himself being one is the universe; εἷς καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ἐστίν [*Leg. Alleg.*]. There is no distinction here between the Supreme Nûs and the world of matter. But it is in the Enneads of Plotinus that we must seek for the Neo-Platonic account of Demiurge. Here the remote fundamental principle is Absolute Unity. But it is an unity that is wholly Incomprehensible. The first Principle is not Intelligence, is not Goodness, is not Power, is not Unity, according to our human ways of thinking and speaking, but far removed above all. Maimonides, an inheritor of Greek notions through Arabic translations, says in his *Moreh Nevochim*, i. 57, the Deity exists "non per existentiam," He lives "non per vitam," He is wise "non per scientiam," but all these attributes centre in one reality in which there is no multiplicity. Basilides carried this negational theory beyond the verge of endurance when he termed the Deity οὐκ ὄντα [Hippol. *Philos.* x. 14], *i.e.* non-existent according to any possible human mode of thought. In the Neo-Platonic theory Spirit is the correlative of Unity, and is the first Principle of all; the Creator the Demiurge, from whom the mundane soul receives those forms and ideas whose reflex image it represents in the world of sense. The soul of the universe interprets the mind of the Spirit, ordering the lower world after the plan of the higher. It is the ἴνδαλμα, or antitype of the Deity, from whom it flows forth, and animates the world, enduing it with a plastic power to form and generate its creatures in perpetual succession. This soul of the universe is the Demiurge in the Plotinian cosmogony; "the mundane soul (οὐρανία, that quickens the material heavens), and our own souls rank next in order to the Demiurge" [Plotin. *Enn.* II. i. 5]. Porphyry, who, if any one, understood the system of Plotinus, identifies Demiurge with the supra-mundane soul, or soul of the universe; the intellectual soul on which it acts, is τὸ αὐτοζῶον, the self-life, the antitypal counterpart of Demiurge [Proclus, *in Tim. Plat.* 93, 94]. The first Good or Unity is ἀνενέργητος, far exalted above all action on the world of matter; void of all work, ἀργὸν ἔργων ξυμπάντων, and Sovereign Ruler [Numenius, *ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev.* xi. 18].

The Gnostic, in his syncretic attempt to make all square between Alexandrian and Persian modes of thought, philosophy and magianism, interwove the Demiurgal idea into his theory. He thereby reunited systems that in their remote origin had very probably been one. Plato studied in Egypt, and Bardesanes traces back Egyptian and Chaldaic theosophy to a common source [Procl. *in Tim. Plat.*; Bardesanes *in Spicil. Syr. a Cureton*, 15]. Zoroaster imagined the universe to be co-present with the Deity as an eternal emanation from the Divine Substance. The primeval Intelligence that proceeded forth from the bosom of the Deity was as the Platonic Nûs; its sphere was that of the purest light, and it was a mean between the Supreme and inferior existence. It is the source of an infinite series of angelic and spiritual existence; the soul-quickening principle of stars and planets, the elements, the mineral and vegetable world, animals and man. In a word, all matter is considered to have an animal sentient existence.

These points of analogy between the Neo-Platonic and Oriental theories will shew how readily the one might adapt itself to the other. Gnosticism effected the junction; not by creating such a monster as that imagined by Horace; with human head and crest of horse, female torso and tail of fish; it was rather as a scion grafted on its kindred stock, as the peach bud worked upon the almond becomes the Amygdalus Persica. The Gnostic felt the same unwillingness as the philosopher and the mage to bring the Supreme Being into contact with gross matter. Successive emanations were imagined in which each development became further removed from the primary Gnosis of Bythus, until the Æon Achamoth, the Hebrew equivalent for Sophia, was evolved, and gave rise to Demiurge, the psychic principle in whom was nothing spiritual. As in the Persian theory, and as was the character of the first matter of Plato, his nature was of a fiery kind, and his "habitat," by another point of agreement with Platonic theory, was in the seven sidereal heavens created by him. The work of creation was declared to be his work by an orderly progress, in accordance with the pattern of pre-ordained ideas, that Demiurge accomplished, though unconscious that he was carrying into execution the purposes of a loftier intelligence than his own. Thus man was formed first of transcendental clay, the Adam Cadmon of the Jewish Cabbala, whose heavenly nature is described by saying that in

stature he moved upon earth while his head was in heaven. In due course the psychic Adam of flesh and blood was created, and the two were united; but the descendants of the protoplast take one or other of the two natures; they are either a spiritual seed, destined for everlasting habitation in the pleroma; or being psychic, they are doomed to remain under the sway of Demiurge *ἐν μεσότητι, i.e.* in the midmost of the seven planetary Sephiroth, that of the earth, an earthly paradise. The Demiurge is thus the representative of an union between the systems of the East and of the West, and one main generic feature in every system of Gnosticism. [Gnosticism. Cabbala. Hippol. *Philosoph.*; Harvey, *Introd. to Irenæus*, Cambr. ed.; Matter; Neander; Baur.]

DEMONS: DEMONIACAL POSSESSION. The word "demon" is the Anglicized form of the Greek *δαίμων*, which, like the more common word *δαιμόνιον*, is in the English Bible rendered "devil." The former was used in early classical Greek interchangeably with *θεός*, afterwards both were applied more particularly to gods of lower rank, and to the deified souls of men. In the LXX. they are used of heathen gods and evil spirits, in Josephus of evil spirits only, and in Philo of angels both good and evil. By St. Paul the objects of Gentile worship are called *δαιμόνια*, but in the New Testament generally both the above words are used of evil spirits. They are clearly spoken of as having a distinct personality, and their nature appears to be akin to, or identical with, that of the holy angels. Indeed, there is no reason to doubt that they are the fallen angels, and our Lord sanctioned the Jewish belief that Beelzebub or Satan is the ruler of the demons. In common with the good angels, they possess knowledge and power, and as those do God service in heaven, and succour and defend us on earth, so these, for our trial and punishment, are permitted to do service to Satan in molesting and tormenting us. This they do in various ways. The devil and his angels are ever in will and deed opposed to the Divine will, and so they tempt men to sin, by persuading the will that it may be exercised contrary to the will of God, as in the typical cases of the temptation of our first parents and of our Blessed Lord. They are the "principalities" and "powers of the air," the "rulers of the darkness of this world" against whom we have to "wrestle," and to be armed with the whole "armour of God," that by our resistance they may be compelled to flee from us through the power of God that worketh in us. But, further, as we are told that the *material* universe is in a great measure under the disposition of good angels, so we have every reason to believe that here also the evil angels are permitted to exercise their malignity; that Satan and his army of demons are the authors of some at least of those disorders in the outward world which the Pantheist would deny to be evils, but which are commonly regarded as such by those who believe in the existence of evil at all. Satan was permitted to "put forth his hand" upon Job in the successive visitations of the sword, the lightning, and the hurricane, and afterwards to "touch his bone and his flesh," and to smite him with a loathsome disease. We read in the Gospel of a daughter of Israel whom Satan had bound with a spirit of infirmity eighteen years. The evil spirits went out of the "sick" (not demoniacs, but *ἀσθενοῦντες*) to whom handkerchiefs and aprons were borne from St. Paul's body. The incestuous Corinthian was delivered over to Satan for the destruction of the *flesh*. Our Lord "rebuked" the tempest and the fever, and it is probable that in so doing He really addressed His rebuke to personal powers of evil that in them were exercising their malice upon mankind. It must not, however, be supposed that *all* so called disorders of the universe or of the human frame are the work of evil spirits, for the latter are often salutary natural processes, and in the former we may have "fire and hail, snow and vapours, wind and storm" fulfilling God's word. It may be that so far as they are hurtful to God's creatures, the *harm they do* is the result of influence conceded to the powers of darkness. These "disharmonies," as Archbishop Trench calls them, may perhaps be compared to the discords in some of the grandest musical compositions, harsh and painful in themselves, but conducive to the perfection of the whole. In one sense, then, all sin and all disease, bodily or mental, would appear to be due to demoniacal possession, but it is certain that over and above these ordinary manifestations of the power that worketh death, there were in the time of our Lord and His Apostles others of an extraordinary nature. These are described by the word *δαιμονίζομαι*, to be possessed by demons, or, as they are called in the English Version, devils.

It is into the nature of this terrible condition we have now to inquire. And in the first place we may briefly dismiss the notion that the language of our Lord and the New Testament writers was a mere figure of speech, an adaptation of language to popular ideas, as we use the term "lunacy."

The descriptions of phenomena alone might perhaps be interpreted in this way, except that of the the devils entering into the herd of swine and making them rush into the sea, which leaves no room for doubting the objective and external reality of the possession, first in the case of the man, and then in that of the swine. And as Archbishop Trench truly observes, our Lord's words are so precise as to the personal existence and influences of the evil spirits that they leave no room for doubt unless we adopt the hypothesis that He was neither able nor desirous at all times to speak the truth. As Christians, we are forbidden "to suppose that He could have used the language which He did, being perfectly aware all the time that there was no corresponding reality on which the language was founded." Nothing can be more plainly declared than that demons obtained possession of man's soul and body, so as to assert their mastery, and that by our Lord and His agents they were miraculously driven out.

Christ gave to the Twelve power and authority over all demons, and charged them to cast them out. The Seventy found (apparently beyond

their expectation) that the demons were subject unto them through His Name. There are some who will plead that in His Name they have cast out demons, to whom He will say, "I know you not." The manifestation of demoniacal power in the case of the Pythoness was of a different kind from that in the Gospel miracles, but the reality of the possession and expulsion are no less evident. The Jews possessed the power of casting out demons, either through Beelzebub, or in the Name of Jehovah, or sometimes in the Name of Jesus. This would appear from our Lord's question, "By whom do your sons cast them out?" from St. John's saying, "Master, we saw one casting out demons in Thy Name;" and from the mention of the "vagabond Jews, exorcists," in the Acts. This is confirmed by what Josephus says [*Ant.* viii. 2] of Solomon's powers, although the details mentioned by him sound very fabulous. Epiphanius [*adv. Ebion.* cap. 30] speaks of the Jews working marvels by pronouncing the Tetragrammaton, or sacred Name יהוה. Of the powers possessed by the early exorcists and their successors in the Christian Church we shall have to speak hereafter.

The symptoms of possession, as described in the Gospels, are those of some ordinary diseases, and we have one case which might be put down as confirmed epilepsy with suicidal mania. The sufferer in this case was deaf and dumb, although able to cry out in an inarticulate manner as such persons do. The father said that the child was "lunatic," but he distinctly attributed his condition to his being possessed by an evil spirit which had complete mastery over him. The disciples had tried in vain to exorcise the demon, but at the word of Jesus he went out, throwing the child into a fearful paroxysm which left him as one dead. Even the very approach of Jesus made the demon throw his victim down, and all that our Lord said and did confirmed the belief of the friends and neighbours that the disorder was much more than physical. In the case of the Gadarene demoniacs we have a less complicated form of mania, of which disorder the extraordinary muscular strength, and propensity to go without clothes, are common symptoms. Here many demons had entered into one person, and the reality of the possession, as shewn by the demons going into the herd of swine, has been referred to above. The case of the demoniac who frequented the synagogue at Capernaum was probably of a milder description, as we have no mention of any violent symptoms until the actual casting out took place. It may have been similar to that of the half-witted person to be found habitually at the daily service in so many of our cathedrals and churches, but that the mental derangement was due to the person being possessed by an evil spirit there can be no doubt from the terms of the narratives. This spirit, like the others of which we read, believed and trembled at the approach of Christ. The Ephesians who had evil spirits, and the Pythoness mentioned in the Acts, were probably in league with familiar spirits, and were not possessed against their will, as the demoniacs in the Gospels were. The violence shewn to the sons of Sceva is attributed to the man himself, not to the demon; and these cases would come under the head of sorcery or witchcraft rather than that of demoniacal possession, in which there is an evident yearning and struggling to be free from the power of the demon. It is probable that in such cases as those we have been reviewing, there was something indescribable which shewed that the phenomena were due to supernatural causes either wholly or in part. The Jews seem to have been in the habit of referring cases of madness not merely to demoniacal agency but to possession, as when they said of our Lord "He hath a devil, and is mad." In one place, however, "lunatics" are distinguished from those possessed. Here we may have an instance of an inspired writer shewing greater accuracy than others did. In the case of the demoniacs we have not merely great sufferers, not merely great sinners, but as Archbishop Trench says, "what strikes us most in them is the strange blending of the physical and the spiritual; the two regions are not kept separate; there is a breaking up of the harmony of the lower no less than of the higher life, the same disorder is manifest in both." Yet all this may be said of perhaps all the cases that crowd our lunatic asylums, of all cases of delirium and hysteria, among which, if we had enough "discernment of spirits," we might possibly recognise many cases of true "possession." So far as we can ascertain, the demoniacs were the subjects of the influence of evil angels in extraordinary degrees, but manifesting itself in the phenomena of ordinary diseases. That they were cases of true possession rather than of exterior malign influence (*obsession*) we gather from the words of Christ and the Evangelists rather than from anything peculiar in the symptoms described. That these should have been aggravated at the approach of the Divine Healer, and in the act of expulsion, is the most significant fact related, but even this might be accounted for by attributing it solely to natural physical excitement. If we turn from the accounts of particular miracles, we still find being "possessed of demons" spoken of as distinct from "sickness" and, as we have seen, even from "lunacy." No cases of sickness are distinctly attributed to *possession*, although some are to *demoniacal influence*, exercised probably from without. Nor is there any mention of "casting out" in cases of healing sickness. We shall probably be right in supposing that the relation of demoniacal possession to ordinary Satanic influences is analogous to that of inspiration or the power of working miracles to ordinary spiritual gifts, and that as in the latter case so in the former, no distinct line of demarcation can be drawn between what is ordinary and what is extraordinary.

We find very little additional light thrown upon demoniacal possession by tracing its history. The references to conditions more or less resembling it in the Old Testament and in classical writings do not point to anything necessarily distinct from ordinary mania, or strong excitement, or violence of temper. The influence of the evil spirit that was "upon" Saul [1 Sam. xviii.-xix.] appears to have come and gone like

ordinary temptations rather than to have been a chronic "possession," and he appears moreover to have been quite "himself," although full of rage and enmity. It is remarkable, however, that while the evil spirit was upon him he "prophesied," as did Baal's prophets [1 Kings xviii. 29], and the Pythoness [Acts xvi. 16]; and it is quite possible that Satan and his angels may have been permitted to exercise supernatural powers through these persons, as in the case of Pharaoh's magicians [Exod. vii. 11]. The references to exorcism in Josephus shew no more than that the Jews attributed certain conditions to the *influence* of evil spirits, and not necessarily to "possession." On such a belief the apocryphal story of Asmodeus in the Book of Tobit appears to be founded.

The power given by Christ to His Apostles to cast out demons continued to be exercised in the Church, and was of two kinds, "ordinary," as in the Sacrament of Baptism, and "extraordinary," as in the case of persons supposed to be miraculously possessed. It is so difficult to distinguish between real cases of "possession" and those resembling them, that the scanty history of exorcism in the early Church throws no light upon the subject. Exorcism was the special function of the second of the seven orders which arose in later times and still exist in the Roman Church, though they have long ceased to form a distinct class of ministers. Every priest however must have received this as also the other minor orders. The principal ceremony in the ordination of an exorcist is the delivery of a little book of forms of exorcism, according to the seventh canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage [A.D. 397]. The old forms of ordination, several of which are given in Martene [*Rit. Eccl.* lib. i.], assume the actual possession by personal demons as in the Gospel narratives. But exorcism has doubtless been practised in hundreds of cases where there was no possession in the true sense. There is every reason to suppose that as the world has become Christian, the powers of evil have been controlled and rendered unable to gain such possession of men as they did in Judæa, &c., in the time of our Lord and the Apostles, and as they are said to do in some parts of the world now. It is believed moreover that when Christ was on earth the Devil put forth his utmost power, knowing that his time was short, and that he was then suffered to put forth a stronger hand than before or since, in order that the triumph of Christ might be more conspicuous. But there is no doubt that the "type" of physical constitution differs greatly at different periods: that diseases which are common at one time are unknown at another, and that the same disease requires entirely different modes of treatment. Mental diseases are no exceptions to this rule, as Hecker has fully shewn in his *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*. It is so too in God's dispensation of gifts of healing. As He sees best, these are at one time miraculous and at another scientific. And as there may be cases of true possession in our day, so He may vouchsafe to heal them by means of scientific treatment; that is to say, by such moral, religious, and physical agencies as are now brought to bear in the treatment of the insane.

DEPOSITION. Perpetual deprivation of an order or benefice, or of both; it is not a censure, but an ecclesiastical sentence more rigorous than suspension. The Church by her authority for ever takes away the power of ministration whilst unable to touch the indelible character of holy orders. This terrible punishment is not earlier than the sixth century, and has long given place to suspension, that is, deposition for a limited time. Its synonyms are degradation, exauctoratio, abjectio, damnatio, privatio, remotio, depositio, retractio, etc. Deposition can only occur in the case of an ecclesiastic, and could be made solely by a council of bishops; the right of patronage to the vacant benefice resides in the person whose privilege it is to institute, that is, the bishop. Mortal sins and crimes are punished by deposition. Twelve bishops at least are required to depose a bishop; six were necessary to depose a priest, and four to depose a deacon; but in France a single bishop is sufficient in the latter cases. In former times, the deposed were often sent to a monastery for life. Deposition might be recalled in cases of penitence, of grace, and of justice, if the sentence was proved to have been unjust. It strictly corresponds to verbal degradation. Dr. Leighton, in the year 1629, was degraded, set in the pillory, and whipped for publishing a seditious book.

By the Council of Agde [A.D. 506] and Tribur [A.D. 895] bishops, twelve in case of a bishop, six in that of a priest, and three in case of a deacon, were required in a case of *verbal deposal*. A bishop alone with his own clergy could depose those in minor orders: it was inflicted generally in cases of sin by ecclesiastics, for murder, for violation of a tomb or sanctuary, for neglect to baptize a child, for simony in obtaining orders in a church, for betrayal of confessions, for treason or usury, for haunting taverns, bearing arms, wearing a lay habit, for commission of mortal sin, for engaging in secular business, or for encroaching on monasteries. The Council of Trent now permits in cases of actual degradation [Sess. xiii. c. iv. *de Reform.*] the presence of mitred abbots in lieu of the bishops, required only in such cases; and in verbal deposal allows it to a single bishop or his vicar-general. The Council of Seville decreed that in deprivation of a priest or deacon of office and benefice, a bishop should proceed after conferring with his council. English canons enforced it in case of marriage, of refusal to proceed to a higher order, of usury, secular employment, of sitting as judges of blood, of officiating when under suspension, of non-residence, of demanding money for giving penance, of pluralists without dispensation, and upon priors for dilapidations, and abbots for conniving at monks holding property.

The object of deposal is to remove the scandal of unworthy ministers from the Church, and prevent the misappropriation of its revenues. If a deposed clerk, being sent to confinement in a monastery, did not correct his fault, he was ex

communicated. Restoration is either of justice when the deposed is penitent, or of grace, where the papal dispensation is obtained. The restoration should reverse the ceremonial of deposal. Verbal deposal now is represented by suspension, and degradation is actual deposal. By the Council of Antioch [A.D. 341], if a bishop deposed by a synod, or a priest or deacon deposed by his bishop, exercised their ministry, they were forbidden hope of reconciliation, and all who communicated with them were excommunicated; if they appealed not to a council, but to the civil power, they were denied restoration.

Suspension "ab officio et beneficio" is temporal degradation. Suspension "ab officio," in the case of unbeneficed clergy, is temporary degradation. Where a statute exists declarative that the party shall be "ipso facto" deprived, no sentence is required in the Church of England, as in case of simony, or on a second conviction of refusing to use the Book of Common Prayer; preaching in depravation of it, or using any unprescribed rite or ceremony; or not publicly reading the Thirty-nine Articles in time of common prayer, with a declaration of conformity within two months after induction; or not saying the morning and evening prayer within the same time; or not subscribing and publicly reading a declaration of conformity within three months; in cases of illegal trading, or tenure of two benefices; or in cases of sequestration for two years, or any immoral conduct or offence against the laws ecclesiastical; perjury, felony, or dilapidations, &c. Suspension may be pronounced by three members of a diocese, deprivation by the bishop only or by the dean of the arches. In cases of deprivation, the bishop must give a solemn sentence, after hearing the merits of the cause and pleading of both sides. A bishop can be deprived, but not deposed. Archbishop Tenison, assisted by six bishops, deprived a bishop; and in 1823 an Irish bishop was deprived by the archbishop and bishops of the province.

DESCENT INTO HELL. The early Church taught that the Soul of our Lord after its separation from the Body, descended εἰς τόν Ἅιδην, in (or *ad*) inferna, ad inferos [Iren. *cont. Hæres.* v. 31; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi.; Tert. *de Anim.* lv.; Euseb. i. 13; Cyril, *Catech.* iv. 11, xiv. 19; Hilary, *de Trinit.* x. 65, and Ps. cxxx.; Ambros. *de Incarn.* 37, 42, and *de Virgin,* 128; August. *Ep.* clxiv. *et mult. al.*; Jerom. *Ep.* xxii. *et mult. al.*] The article "He descended into Hell" first appears in the Creed, however, about the middle of the fourth century, when it is found in three forms of the Arian Creed [Socrates, *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 37, 41; Theodor. *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 21] of the years 350 and 360; and in that put on record by Rufinus [A.D. 345-410]. It was probably inserted or brought more prominently forward about this time, on account of the APOLLINARIAN Heresy, which made it necessary to assert strongly the existence of our Lord's Soul as distinct from His Divine Nature. Since the fifth century, the article has been universally received by the Church in its present form "descendit ad inferna."

But there has been much controversy, especially during the last three centuries, as to the true sense in which the word Ἅιδην, *inferna, inferos,* or *Hell* is to be understood, the sense of this word affecting that of the whole article and doctrine. In Roman theology, Hades is a "Limbus" in which the souls of the righteous who had died before Christ's Advent were detained, and into which He descended that He might free them from the captivity in which they were there held. The Calvinist heresy is that the descent into Hell means the sufferings of the damned, the bearing of which formed part of Christ's satisfaction. Many Protestants understand Hell to mean the grave, and confound this article of the Creed with that respecting the burial of Christ's body. The opinion of Luther, and of many orthodox writers, makes the Descent of Christ into Hell His triumphant entry into the Kingdom of Satan, there to proclaim His work, to shew forth His victory over Death and Hell, and to lead the redeemed into freedom. This was also the general opinion of the Mediæval Church, in which the "Harrowing of Hell" was a popular poem, originally forming a supplement, apparently, to the Apocryphal "Gospel of Nicodemus:" and thought by some good critics to have been first written in the second century after Christ. The best theologians of the English Church believe that Hell is a comprehensive word for the place or places in which all departed souls await the Day of Judgment, some in happy foretaste of final bliss, and some in miserable foretaste of final woe: that thither the disembodied soul of Christ (still in Hypostatic Union with His Divinity) descended in the interval between His Death and Resurrection: that there He began the triumph of His Resurrection by proclaiming His victorious work, and by imparting Salvation and perfect freedom to all who had died in faith under the Old Testament Dispensation.[1]

The third of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion originally had another clause in these words: "For the Body lay in the Sepulchre until the Resurrection, but His Ghost departing from Him was with the ghosts that were in prison, or in Hell, and did preach to the same, as the place of St. Peter doth testify." [HELL. Thom. Aq. *Opuscul. de Symb.* App. lxviii; Bellarm. *de Animâ Christi,* iv. 14; Bp. Campbell's *Middle State;* Field *on the Church,* v. 19; Bp. Bilson's *Survey of Christ's Sufferings;* Bp. Pearson *on the Creed.*]

DEUTERO-CANONICAL. [CANON OF SCRIPTURE.]

DIATESSARON. Tatian, a writer of the latter half of the second century, first arranged the four Gospels, so as to make one continuous narrative, διὰ τεσσάρων, hence the name. Eusebius [*H. E.* iv.], who mentions this, says that Tatian tampered

[1] "Potuit in spatio triduo, et minore, in utrumque locum proficisci; nec impediunt loci qui testentur eum concessisse ad Patrem, &c. Liber erat inter mortuos, ut quo vellet, posset ire sine suo incommodo: Et, ut merito in cruce, sic efficacia per præsentiam suam, sibi et suis infernum superare, et sibi gloriosam victoriam, ac nobis utilem et consolationis plenam comparare. Et multi scripturarum loci hoc sonant, et ita a patribus intelliguntur." [Bishop Overall, *Prælectio de Anima Christi.*]

with the text of the Pauline Epistles to give them greater elegance. He probably was not more scrupulous in his digest of the Gospels; and Ambrose directly charges the Harmonists who preceded him with falsifying Scripture [*Præf. in S. Luc.*] to suit their whims. Theodoret suppressed more than two hundred copies of the Diatessaron that he found in his churches, and replaced them with the genuine "quadrijugæ" of the Gospels [*Hær. F.* i. 20]. Possibly, therefore, Tatian may have introduced something more than the confusion that has always been inseparable from the harmonist's work into the Gospel narrative. If the Bethesda miracle [John v.], and the account of the woman taken ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ [John viii.], be interpolations, they may have proceeded from no more likely source than Tatian's amalgam, in which the mythical seems to have been mixed up with the genuine; as they certainly are not of a later date than the second century. The Gospel of the Hebrews, identical with that of the Encratites, of which sect Tatian was the head, was probably the basis of his Diatessaron [Epiphan. *H.* xlvi. 1]. The suppression of our Lord's genealogy, and of all other evidence of his descent from David [Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 20], enables us to identify this Gospel with that of the Ebionites. This defective Gospel then having been taken as the groundwork, the narrative of our Lord's ministry was filled in by extracts from the true Gospels. Thus it was also known by the name of διὰ πέντε, the Hebrew original having been taken into the account. This Hebrew Gospel was scarcely heretical. Ignatius cites it [*ad Smyrn.* 3, see Jerom. *Catal. Scr. Eccl.* sec. 46] as an authentic account of Gospel fact, current in Syria in the post-Apostolic times. Irenæus also so frequently indicates in the Latin translation a Syriac rather than a Greek original, as to make it highly probable that he had a copy of this Gospel with him in Gaul. The text [Luc. xvi. 11] quoted towards the end of the second book [c. *Hær.*] was probably taken from it. Such seems to have been the basis of the Diatessaron of Tatian. But the work has not come down to us.

Ammonius of Alexandria [mid. second century] did something of the same kind. Taking St. Matthew as the normal Gospel he divided it into sections; and arranged against it in parallel columns the corresponding portions of the other three Gospels. The numbers of these sections are often found as marginal references in the MSS. of the Greek Testament [Wordsworth]. In the next century, Eusebius of Cæsarea formed the canons named after him, upon these sections. Thus dividing the canons into ten heads, the first has all the matter that is common to the four Gospels. The narrative of St. Matthew is included under the heads 2-7; St. Mark = 2, 4, 6, 8; St. Luke = 2, 3, 5, 8, 9; St. John = 3, 4, 7, 9. The tenth head or section is formed of the various passages that are peculiar to the several Gospels individually. This conspectus shews that 1 exhibits the four Gospels in unison; 2, 3, 4, shew the harmony of three Gospels; 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, of two; and the 10th, the independent utterances of all. The application of this evangelical concordance is by no means easy; but reference to it has been simplified in the introduction to Wordsworth's Greek Testament. Jerome [*Ep. ad Algas.*] says that Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, executed a similar work; but he may have had in view the Diatessaron of Tatian [Vales. *ad Eus. H. E.* iv. 29].

The difficulty of constructing a satisfactory harmony of the four Gospels has always been considerable. It is said that the independence of each narrative has caused variations; that the genuineness of a Gospel fact is one thing, the time and order of its occurrence is another; and that the sacred writers appear to have considered it sufficient to declare, by the Holy Spirit that guided them, the verities of the Gospel, without paying any very particular regard to the order of narration. But the idea of such dislocation is scarcely consistent with reverence; and it is by no means certain that elements of the Gospel narrative that seem to be identical are really so in fact. Our Lord must have repeated the same words of instruction, as He did His miracles and significant acts; and the same words and facts may have been variously recorded as recurring elements of Gospel history. Thus our Lord cleared the temple of its buyers and sellers in the beginning [John ii. 15] and again at the close of His ministry [Matt. xxi. 12]; He fed multitudes twice [Matt. xvi. 9, 10] by a miracle. Harmonizers would perhaps have reduced these to a single act, if the express words of Scripture permitted them. Twice He manifested His power over the elements on the Lake Tiberias [Matt. viii. 26, xiv. 32]. We read of two miraculous draughts of fishes [Luke v. 6; John xxi. 6]. He raised the dead under four conditions of gradually progressive awfulness: the recent dead; the corpse borne forth for burial; the four days' tenant of the grave; and Himself. Then may not our Lord have repeated His instruction in very much the same terms on more than one occasion? The Sermon upon the Mount that was vouchsafed in Galilee was equally needed in Judæa. If this be the case, harmonists have tortured themselves and their readers in vain in their endeavour to solidify accounts that are separate and diverse. [See the useful Synopsis of Archbp. Thomson in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, Gospel; and the different synoptical treatises of Griesbach, De Wette, Lücke, Rödiger, Clausen, Greswell, Tischendorf. Also Macknight, White, Lightfoot, and the *Diatessaron*, Oxf. 1837. Augustin. *de Cons.* iv. *Ev.*]

DIOCESE [διοίκησις]. The administration of a house; as the dioiketes was master of the house, the emperor was ruler of his empire: hence his administration was called diocese, as Æschines and Plato employ the term for civic rule. Cicero explains that every Roman province embraced several dioceses; but under the empire a diocese included several provinces under the rule of a prefect. Like the earlier term of parish, it now signifies the see, territory, and dominion appertaining to a bishop. After the decease of the Apostles, who had gone through all countries

preaching the Gospel, the Church, recognising the necessity for an undivided government by their successors, (who had been constituted in several principalities,) apportioned among them separate districts. For the sake of good order, each received a portion of the flock of Christ allotted to his charge within certain limits, which became the diocese within which a bishop was bound to limit the functions of his ministry and the exercise of his spiritual jurisdiction. This partition was originally co-extensive with the extent of the civil divisions of the Roman empire and the jurisdiction of the magistrates in the chief towns. A Nul diocese was a district not allotted to a particular bishop, and was caused by the exemptions which revolutionized the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The archdiocese was a term peculiar to Germany, as the designation of the diocese of an archbishop.

The early Roman diocese, or region, was simply a division of the town for parochial purposes, formed by Pope Dionysius, who directed the example to be followed at Cordova. But some authors regard Evaristus or Marcellus as the constitutors of such parishes. In the larger sense of the term, however, the tracts or dioceses were seven in number in the East, and six in the West, each with its provinces; the diocese of the East embraced 15; the Egyptian, 6; the Asian, 10; the Pontic, 10; the Thracian, 6. The Italian had 17; the African, 7; the Gallican, 17; the Spanish, 7; and the British, 5. Now, however, a diocese designates the jurisdiction of a single bishop. The English dioceses arose out of the original kingdoms; in Kent, Canterbury and Rochester; in Sussex, Selsey; in Wessex, Dorchester; in East Anglia, Dunwich; in Mercia, Lichfield; in Northumberland, York and Lindisfarne; the other sees growing out of translations or subdivisions. The Council of Africa [A.D. 418] confined the erection of new sees to the judgment of the primate, the diocesan, and a provincial council. In A.D. 673 the primate and bishops took counsel for enlarging the number of dioceses in England. At the Reformation, Wolsey prepared for the formation of twenty-one new sees, of which six only were created by the Crown. In the present century those of Manchester and Ripon have been founded by Act of Parliament. [André, *Droit Canon.* i. 978; Beyerlinck, *s. v.*]

DIPTYCHS. Diptychs were of two kinds, sacred and profane. The latter were properly *registers* in which were inscribed the names of consuls and other high magistrates; but the term was also applied to writing tablets, which were frequently made of ivory, and splendidly ornamented with gold. Diptychs of this kind were also called duplices. Christian diptychs were not only registers of the dead, but lists of living benefactors of the Church. The name is derived from the Greek δίς, and πτύσσω, to fold, and denotes a double tablet, as triptych denotes one of three leaves. δίπτυχος is used by Homer in the meaning of double or twofold [*Odyss.* 13, v. 224], δίπτυχον ἄμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχονσ' εὐεργέα λώπην. Sacred diptychs were of two kinds, one kind being described as καταλόγοι τῶν ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀναπανσαμένων ἐπισκόπων. Such diptychs were in fact the catalogues of each church, in which were contained the names of all the orthodox bishops who had ruled it from the time of its foundation. Exclusion from such lists was one of the punishments of heresy. Another kind of diptychs were those in which the names of living or departed benefactors of the Church were inscribed. These names were read aloud to the people in the prayer before the consecration of the elements in the Eucharistic service. The liturgy of St. Basil directs, Ὁ διάκονος θυμιᾷ χορόθεν τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν, καὶ τὰ δίπτυχα τῶν τε ζώντων καὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ὧν βούλεται, μνημονεύει, and similar directions are given in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom. Later, Alcuin [*de Celebratione Missæ*], says, "Post illa verba, quibus dicitur in somno pacis, usus fuit antiquorum, sicut etiam hodie Romana agit ecclesia, ut statim recitarentur ea diptychis nomina defunctorum." The ancient diptychs were the groundwork of the Martyrologies, and, when made general instead of local, the original form of the Christian calendar.

DISCIPLINA ARCANI. The ancient name given in the Primitive Church to the practice of "reserve" respecting Christian mysteries. It is first actually referred to by Tertullian, who speaks of the silence which is kept concerning mysteries; [Tertul. *Apol.* vii.] and blames heretics for speaking openly about them to those who were not yet Christians [Catechumen], and even to those who were not preparing to forsake heathenism for Christianity [Tertul. *de Prescrip. Hær.* xli.]. But Tertullian does not mention this practice of reserve as if it was at all a novelty: and, indeed, he quotes Matt. vii. 6, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine," as if it was commonly understood to be founded on these words of our Lord. No doubt there must have been need of some such practice of reserve from the moment when Christianity began to be known as a new religion by the heathen: or curiosity and ignorance might have led to extreme irreverence, such as no Christian of early days could contemplate without horror. Nor would it be desirable at once to unfold the mysteries of the faith to heathen persons even when they were desirous of becoming Christians, as much and careful instruction was necessary before the doctrine of the Sacraments, or of the Holy Trinity, could be properly understood by those who had been brought up under systems of idolatry and fetichism. Thus the *disciplina arcani* became a systematic habit of the early Church. None were allowed, ordinarily, to witness the ceremonies of Baptism or of the Eucharist until they were themselves brought to the Baptistry to be made Christians, or to the Altar to become communicants: nor was it permitted for preachers to speak in unreserved language before mixed assemblies respecting Baptism, the Eucharist, Confirmation, or Ordination.

One consequence of this systematic reserve was that the heathen, educated and uneducated, received very false impressions respecting the principles and practices of Christians; and it

seems very probable that persecutions often arose out of these mistakes, heathen rulers and others honestly believing (though content with too insufficient evidence) that the rites of Christianity were contrary to the natural laws of morality. Christian writers defended themselves against these charges [Apologists], but as they could not state the whole of their case, their apologies did not satisfy the heathen mind, and the accusations were repeated again and again. Thus the *disciplina arcani*, however necessary and right may have been its practice, was certainly a great provocative of those persecutions which Christians had to suffer from mistakes as to their principles.

Another curious result of this early reserve has been pointed out by Archdeacon Freeman [*Princ. Div. Serv.* ii. 386]. It is that a "dislocation" has taken place in the Primitive Liturgies: the Lord's Prayer (which was specially subject to the practice of reserve) and some other portions of the rite being removed from the earlier to the later portion of the Liturgy, so as to exclude them from the knowledge of the catechumens.

The missionaries of the Church are still practically obliged to maintain the *disciplina arcani* when among the heathen: and in a country which is nominally Christian no reverent teacher would speak unreservedly of the highest mysteries among a mob of blasphemers. But as a rule of the Church it has passed away, and belongs now to the domain of reverent prudence. [Bingham's *Antiq.* X. v.].

DISCIPLINE, ECCLESIASTICAL. Ecclesiastical discipline is the execution of the spiritual laws of the Church. For the Church it is the assertion of her character of holiness, and for those who are subjected to it, it is not only a punishment, but a means of repentance and restoration. Discipline has ever been necessary to the true life of the Church, and will continue to be so as long as the Church is passing through the period of her earthly probation, and standing in continual need of sanctification and purification. It was so in the times of the Apostles, who addressed frequent warnings and reproofs to their converts, as, for instance, to the Galatians, and to the seven Churches; and who, in case of need, pronounced sentence, and inflicted punishment on offenders. We learn from the New Testament the mode of discipline in the Apostolic Church. It was of three kinds: [1] private reproof; [2] public admonition; [3] excommunication, or separation from the body of the faithful. The earliest instances of discipline are the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira by St. Peter, and the sentence pronounced by St. Paul on the Corinthian offender.

After the time of the Apostles, the primitive Church was distinguished by a strict discipline, maintained, however, down to the time of Constantine, by spiritual sanctions alone. The character of converts was made the subject of a rigid inquiry before their admission to the privileges of the faithful, and the high morality of the whole Church was maintained by strict disciplinary regulations. All persons whom any great unworthiness of life or belief, such as adultery, murder, or denial of Christ, rendered unfit for the fellowship of the Church, were immediately excommunicated. The primitive discipline, however, did not constitute a system of espionage, for only crimes which had been the cause of public scandal, or sins confessed by the offenders themselves, were made the subjects of public censure.

Persons who had been excommunicated were allowed to attend only the worship of the catechumens. Before their restoration they were required to undergo the catechumenical probation; and, in addition, certain penances were imposed on them, such as fasting, almsgiving, more frequent prayers, and abstinence from innocent pleasures. The precise forms of penance were not in the second century regulated by any universal rule, but varied according to the circumstances of different places.

The readmission of fallen members of the Church was a subject of sharp contention in the second and third centuries. Tertullian enumerates as "peccata mortalia" "Homicidium, idolatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia, utique et mœchia, et fornicatio, et si quis alia violatio templi Dei." These sins he pronounces "irremissibilia:" "horum ultra exorator non erit Christus" [*de Pudic.* c. 19]. The views of Tertullian were embraced and extended by Novatian of Rome, in the middle of the third century. Novatian, after opposing his bishop, Cornelius, on the subject of the readmission of the lapsed, as those who had denied Christ in times of persecution were called, was chosen bishop in opposition to Cornelius by those who shared his views. He refused to readmit the lapsed, or any persons guilty of deadly sin, to the communion of the Church, even in the hour of death, although he did not deny the possibility of their salvation. It was, however, the practice of the more moderate party, represented especially by the Church of Rome, to restore all persons in the hour of death to the peace of the Church, if their penitence was judged to be sincere.

In the latter part of the third century a fixed system of penance was established, which, however, was not long maintained. Penance was divided into four stages: [1] προσκλαυσις, fletus; [2] ἀκρόασις, auditus; [3] ὑπόπτωσις, prostratio; [4] σύστασις, consistentia; the three last stages being those through which catechumens were required to pass. When the time of penance, which was generally extended to three or four years, had been satisfactorily accomplished, the penitent, after a public confession of his offence, received absolution and benediction before the assembled congregation, and was thus solemnly reconciled to the Church. No person, however, who had thus done public penance was ever capable of receiving ordination. Cyprian [*Ep.* 68] says of such, "Cum jampridem nobiscum, et cum omnibus episcopis in toto mundo constitutis, etiam Cornelius, collega noster—decreverit, ejus modi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab ordinatione autem cleri atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi." The 10th Canon of the Council of Nice decrees that if any person who had done penance should be ordained through

ignorance of his fall, the ordination should be set aside.

Little more than a century elapsed from the time of the establishment of this system before it was found impossible for it to contend against the ever-increasing luxury which prevailed among the members of the Church. It was especially weakened by the readiness with which dispensations were granted. The system was made more minute and elaborate, but at the same time new means were found for relaxing its ancient severity.

The Germanic nations made a long and determined resistance to the establishment of Church discipline among them. It was not until the eighth century that it could be enforced, and even then the system introduced was constituted so as to be in harmony with the free spirit of the people. Synodal courts were established in every place of importance. The bishop or his archdeacon presided annually over each of these courts, but chosen men of each congregation deliberated and decided, after the manner of an English jury, on the merits of every case brought before the court. Not only spiritual offences, but many civil questions also, were brought before the synodal courts, which had the power of inflicting temporal punishments, such as imprisonment and scourging. Temporal punishments were in fact inflicted in most cases, and only offences voluntarily confessed to a priest were allowed to be atoned for by the payment of a fine.

The practice of auricular confession, viewed as a part of Church discipline, was differently esteemed by the East and by the West. In the East it fell into almost total disuse, in the West more and more stress was laid upon the benefits to be derived from it.

Excommunication at this period was a powerful weapon in the hands of the Church. It was not often resorted to, for so great was the dread of it that offenders were glad to make any submission by which they could escape from its terrors. It generally therefore remained as a last resource, when all other means had been tried without effect. A century or two later saw many changes in this system. The synodal courts gradually sank from their original high position, and allowed numerous offenders to escape on payment of a fine, who in former times would have been subjected to penalties less capable of abuse. In the eleventh century books of discipline were put forth, containing a systematically arranged scale of penances according to the gravity of each offence. Many compromises for the ancient rigour were allowed and encouraged, and men readily accepted such congenial forms of penance as a crusade or a pilgrimage presented, who would not willingly have submitted to the spiritual discipline of primitive times. The highest power of absolution on earth was supposed to rest in the Popes, who, by virtue of their powers, granted special privileges of absolution to certain religious seats, which accordingly became the resort of penitents from all quarters. The building of churches or convents afforded another method of obtaining absolution; but above all other means the crusades were acceptable to the warlike and chivalrous spirit of the time. The complete absolution which was given to crusaders was as highly valued as the military service by which it was obtained was congenial to the age, and the nations eagerly flocked to the standards on which the blessing of the Church rested. It is true that repentance and amendment of life were made conditions of the reception of benefit from crusades or pilgrimages, but the practical result was that importance was too often attached, not to the inward change, but to the mere outward act.

The Papal interdict became in this age an instrument of terrible power. No monarch, however great, could view with indifference a measure which carried its influence into the humblest homes of his kingdom, and which could even raise his subjects in revolt against his authority. But in proportion as the unselfish spirit which had characterized the greater Popes of earlier times, and which had endeared them to the people, whose champions they were, gave way to the worldliness and selfishness of later ages, the force of the spiritual censures of the Church became weaker, and in time was utterly destroyed. Men had trembled at the excommunications of Gregory VII., but when Sixtus IV., disappointed at the non-furtherance by the Venetians of his ambitious projects for his nephew Riario, excommunicated them for this, and for no offence against the laws of God, it was natural that awe and reverence should be altogether lost. Still more was the force of discipline weakened by the multitudes of unworthy agents who found their way to every town of Europe, for the purpose of distributing or selling INDULGENCES. The relaxation of the discipline of the Church was bought and sold, and in too many cases no regard was paid to that contrition and amendment which had in former times been an indispensable condition of pardon. The abuse of spiritual power has brought about a long continued disuse, and that godly discipline and restraint which the primitive Church exercised over the lives of her members is now practically laid aside. On the other hand, God's Providence has brought about a social restraint and a spirit of self-discipline which, in a greater or less degree, supplies its place.

DISPENSATION. A grace in respect of the person dispensing; an act of justice to the person dispensed; a relaxation of the rigour of the common law, made with knowledge of the cause by lawful authority. It is an act of jurisdiction by which a superior releases a person from the action of a general or special law. It does not extend beyond the case specified, and has the force and effect of a decree or sentence. In early times penance was relaxed in cases of extreme necessity; and somewhat later the Councils of Sardica and Carthage [IV.], and Pope Gelasius, permitted clergy to transport themselves into another diocese, and when the Church had peace, the synods of bishops, who were the law-makers, received to themselves the power of relaxing its conditions. The popes claimed to dispense with oaths, vows, leagues, marriages, and allegiance, and with the laws of God, man, or nature.

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There are three kind of dispensations enumerated, [1] due, "debita;" [2] permissible, "permissa," or arbitrary; [3] forbidden, "prohibita." The first are granted from necessity of the case, the second on reasonable grounds, the third would injure the common good order, being contrary to just reason and right natural and divine. A dispensation for a term of years and not "ad bene placitum" was irrevocable.

Besides these the following classes have been enumerated: [1] voluntary; [2] reasonable in consideration of the merit of the person favoured; [3] lawful, when according to law; [4] of a man, when a superior awards it lawfully, and of a man when law permits the man to dispense with his own dispensation; [5] of justice; [6] of grace or favour; [7] mixed when partaking of both; [8] collative when prospective; [9] restitutive if retrospective, and according to St. Bernard's words [10] excusable because necessary; [11] commendable because advantageous to the Church; and [12] faithful because just; [13] express, or [14] tacit according as the defect of the recipient is or is not mentioned in words; [15] general when for the common good; and [16] particular when affecting only an order or individuals. Dispensations were given in cases of irregularity for orders; of affinity or hindrance in marriage; and of vows. A superior can dispense with laws made by those who hold a subordinate jurisdiction. A dispensation "in radice" renders valid a marriage previously null.

All kinds of dispensations take the form of letters, and they are to be distinguished from ordinary licenses or faculties, which refer to the execution or observance of some existing law, and give operation to it.

By Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21 the Archbishop of Canterbury has the power of dispensing in any case wherein dispensations were formerly granted, so that it be not contrary to God's word; and he may grant such dispensations to the king and queen, but if the case be new the crown and council are to be consulted. The Archbishop can thus dispense with candidates to allow them to enter into deacon's orders before they be full twenty-three years of age. Formerly he could permit clerks to hold more benefices than one: the holding two benefices being abundantly tolerated, but their tenure without a dispensation being rigorously punished. The Statute of Henry VIII. regulated and in some degree checked the mischief, but the cases of dispensation were so numerous, and the construction of the act so broad, that there were few grounds on which it was not possible to evade restriction. The law was therefore entirely revised by 1 & 2 Vict. c. 106, which is the Statute in force on the subject. Besides the ordinary "license,"—a faculty for dispensing with the publication of banns, and granted by a bishop or such as have episcopal authority, vicars-general, commissary for faculties, guardians of spiritualities, or ordinaries exercising episcopal jurisdiction,—a special license, issued only by the Archbishop of Canterbury, is a larger dispensation, whereby marriage may be solemnized at any time, in any church or chapel, or other meet and convenient place. A special fiat is issued to the master of the faculties. This power to grant faculties, dispensations, and licenses, as had been done by the Pope before, was given to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Statute of Henry VIII., confirmed by 4 George IV. c. 76, and has not been repealed.

Licenses or dispensations to eat meat on fasting days were also permitted by Statute 5 Eliz. c. 1; and a curious account of the various dispensations current at that time may be seen in *Zurich Letters*, 2nd ser. p. 360; Grindal's *Remains*, pp. 448-9. They permitted pluralities of benefices with a limitation of thirty miles between them; permission to a minor of sixteen years of age, if resident in the University, to hold a benefice; licenses of non-residence, of eating flesh-meat upon medical certificate; letters dimissory for ordination in another diocese than that wherein he was born; legitimization (arcta et arida dispensatio); the tenure of a bishopric with a commendam, &c.

Bishops now, under certain restrictions, dispense with a clerk by licensing him to reside outside the bounds of his parish or to hold two livings.

Archbishop Bramhall says, papal dispensations were commonly called "vulnera legum," and the Statute of Provisors [25 Edw. III. s. vi. sec. 2] brands them as "the rending and destruction of the common law of the land." The penitential canons and pre-Norman royal constitutions relaxed the rigour of ecclesiastical discipline in England, and the first reservation to the Pope is mentioned by Gervase as made by Alberic the legate in 1138. Dispensations made by the Church had to be confirmed by the crown in the reign of Henry I., and parliament declared a bull of Boniface VIII. null and void, when he exempted the University of Oxford from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. [André; Van Espen, *Jus. Eccles. diss. de Dispensat.*; Ayliffe, *Parergon*, 219.]

DISSENTERS. Those who maintain a religious position unconnected with the religion established by the State. The term does not necessarily imply schism, which is separation from the Catholic Church, for where the establishment is Presbyterian, as in Scotland, the orthodox, or "Episcopalians," are necessarily Dissenters. It is probably derived from the early word "dissidents," which originated in Poland about the end of the sixteenth century. In England the term began to supersede that of "Nonconformists" soon after the Revolution of 1688. In an Act of that year [1 G. & M. c. 18] "their Majesties' Protestant subjects *dissenting* from the Church of England" are named both in the title and body of the Act. [Schism. Toleration. Nonconformity. Dict. *of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

DIVINITY OF CHRIST. The doctrine that the Divine Nature of the Eternal Son of God is hypostatically united with the Human Nature of the Man Christ Jesus. This has been the continuous belief of the Church, was stated by Apostles and Evangelists, was predicted in the Old Testament, and was proved as well as asserted by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

[I.] Continuous Belief of the Church. The full evidence which might be gathered on this point would occupy a very large space; and, in proportion to its actual amount, can scarcely be more than indicated in a work like the present. Christian literature of every age abounds with such evidence, and the voice of the collective Church has gone upward to Heaven, and abroad upon earth, from generation to generation, declaring that Christ Jesus is God. This may be shewn, as far as it can be shewn in a small compass, by the formal statements of creeds, by the formal acts of worship offered to Christ, by the corporate action of the Church against those who denied His Divinity, and by the statements of venerated and generally received divines.

1] *Formal statements of Creeds.* The earliest definite record which has come down to us respecting the Creed of the sub-Apostolic age is that of Irenæus, in his work against heresies, written about A.D. 180. In this work he gives us what is plainly the Creed as it was then used in the Church of Lyons, and the second article of this is, "I believe in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God," εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ [Irenæus, *contr. Hæres.* i. 10,] sec. 1]. In a later portion of the same work he expands the article into a form more nearly approaching that of later days, "And in the Son of God, Jesus Christ, our Lord, by Whom are all things" . . . τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα [*Ibid.* iv. 33, sec. 7]. An almost similar form, indicating the Creed of Carthage, is given by Tertullian [A.D. 210] "Sermo ipsius, qui ex Ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt" [Tertul. *adv. Prax.* ii.]. A few years later [A.D. 260] the Creed of Rome is indicated by its schismatical bishop Novatian in a work on the Trinity. After the first article, he goes on, "the same rule of truth teaches us to believe also, after the Father, in the Son of God, Christ Jesus, our Lord God, but the Son of God."

The fragmentary relics of the primitive Creed from which this evidence is taken, shew the form in which the Divinity of our Lord was stated in the two centuries which followed the Apostolic age: during a period, that is, when the doctrine had not been made the subject of any widely extended controversy, and when the Church could afford to rest on generalized and indefinite expressions. Yet the very title of "Son of God" was itself a declaration of our Lord's Divinity, as much as that of the "Son of Man" is of His Humanity, and so it is considered to have been always used, by the most learned writers [Bull, *Judic. Eccles. Cathol.* v. 10]. But when the heresy of Arius arose it became necessary to make this article of the Creed more explicit, and the Nicene formula [A.D. 325] declares, "We believe . . . in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, . . . God of God, . . . Very God of Very God, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ . . . Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, with a reiteration peculiarly emphatic, and in a simplicity of form which places the meaning beyond dispute. When the collective testimony of so many bishops from all parts of the world had been thus given to the belief contained in the more condensed formula of earlier times—for such, and not the construction of a new dogma, was the purpose of the Nicene Council—it was generally received in that form by the Church of the fourth century, has been continuously used in that form in the Liturgy from the fifth century to the present time, and has been universally accepted in that form as the full and authoritative belief of the Catholic Church.

It may be added, under this head, that the ancient belief of the Church has been re-asserted in the Western Church at the Council of Trent [Sess. iii.], and in the second of the Thirty-nine Articles.

2] *Acts of Worship.* But the strongest expression of the Christian faith respecting the Divinity of the Man Christ Jesus has been in the unfailing round of adoration which has gone up to Him as God in Heaven, in all ages and from every country.

He had no sooner lifted His feet from the earth to ascend on high than they who witnessed that Ascension "worshipped Him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy" [Luke xxiv. 52], called Him "The Lord Jesus" [Acts i. 21], and prayed to Him that He would once more complete the number of the Apostles whom He had chosen.[1] [*Ibid.* i. 24.]

The prayer of St. Stephen, the teaching of St. Paul, and the pattern worship of the Revelation, point to the unhesitating manner in which Divine honour was at once given to the risen Jesus, to the continued habit of the Church during the Apostolic age, and to the confirmation of that habit by a Divine revelation of the Heavenly Church adoring the "Lamb as it had been slain" [Rev. v. 6, 8]. And, as St. Stephen prayed to Him as the Incarnate Son of God [Acts. vii. 56, 59, 60], as St. Paul declares that "at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth" [Philip. ii. 10], so the pattern worship of Heaven sets forth the Human Nature of Him "who has redeemed us to God by His Blood" [Rev. v. 9], as the Object of adoration in no less degree than the Divine Nature Itself.

The Apostolic age had scarcely passed away when we find an early notice of Christian habits from the pen of a heathen writer, the younger Pliny. In his famous letter to Trajan, he describes, as far as he knew and could understand it, the Divine worship of the Church in those troubled times of persecution; and a conspicuous feature in his description is that he speaks of the Christians "singing hymns to Christ as God," [carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; Plinii *lib.* x. *ep.* 96], it being evident, even to a heathen spectator that Christ was the object of their adoration.[2] One of the most

[1] For proof that this prayer was offered to Christ, see Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 550, note C, 1st ed.

[2] See also Lucian, *De Morte Peregrini*, xi. "The Christians are still worshipping that great man who was gibbeted in Palestine." The profane stylograph found scratched upon the wall of a guardroom in the palace of the Emperors at Rome is another illustration of the

famous of the martyrs who had lived in Apostolic times, St. Ignatius, desires the Roman Church to offer litanies to Christ on his behalf [λιτανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν] as he is on his road to the lions. Another of the same age took on his dying lips words which seem to be part of the Eucharistic hymn known as "Gloria in Excelsis," saying as he looked up from the stake "For all things, O God, do I praise Thee, and bless Thee, and glorify Thee, together with the Eternal and Heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy well-beloved Son, with whom, to Thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory, both now and for ever. Amen." [Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* iv. 15.] The first words of the same hymn are found in the Liturgy of St. James, and another portion, "Thee we hymn, Thee we praise; to Thee we give thanks, O Lord, and pray to Thee, our God," in that of St. Chrysostom; a fact which shews that its substance was in liturgical use in the very earliest age of the Church, as it is found complete in the Alexandrine Codex about the fourth or fifth century [Gloria in Excelsis]. In that hymn the tone of the Apocalyptic pattern is strikingly adopted, and Christ is distinctly adored as God, and prayed to as God, in the words, "O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. . . . For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord; Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father." Of a similar character, and probably, too, used at one time in Divine Service, is the Hymn to Christ the Saviour with which St. Clement of Alexandria closes his book of the Pædagogus. Full of the titles of our Lord, it also addresses Him as "Almighty Word," "Lord of all time and space," "Eternal Light," "Fountain of Mercy," "The God of peace." Portions of the "Te Deum" are likewise of primitive antiquity; and still more ancient, perhaps is the Evening Hymn "Hail, gladdening Light," quoted by St. Basil in his work on the Holy Spirit [Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* iii. 515; *Lyra Apostolica*, No. 63; Basil, *De Spir. Sanct.* 73].

Such illustrations, taken from the early hymns of the Church, corroborate the contemporaneous testimony of many Christian writers. They are also indicative of the spirit in which the Trisagion, the Ter-Sanctus, and such like praise to the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity were offered in the primitive Liturgies; and shew that Christ's Divine Nature was continually recognised in the services of the Church, and the glorified Jesus worshipped with the Father and the Holy Ghost. Although, moreover, it is an essential feature of the Eucharistic Office that it embodies an oblation to the First Person of the Holy Trinity, even in it the principle is distinctly recognised that the oblation cannot be made to one Person without being made to the Three in One. And, beyond the general principle which thus recognises the worship of Christ as One Person of the Blessed Trinity, there are also prayers addressed separately to Him in several of the Liturgies (as the "Agnus Dei" in the Gregorian), while in the Mozarabic, the ancient rite of Western Europe, they are found in great number [Liddon's *Bampt. Lect.* 583, note C, 1st ed.].

Thus the ancient Divine Service of the Church contained much in the form of praise or prayer, which was direct worship of our Lord Jesus Christ; and, as such, the fullest and most direct recognition of His Divine Nature. It need hardly be added that the modern Church Catholic, in all its three great branches, the Eastern, the Roman, and the Anglican, follows in the steps of former ages; worshipping Christ both by act and word on every occasion when Divine service is offered to God. In illustration of this, the author last referred to has shewn, by an analysis of the Book of Common Prayer, that the use of all the services contained in it involves the use of about three hundred prayers, or ascriptions of praise, to our Lord, there being forty-seven in the Litany alone, and sixteen in the Te Deum. An examination of the Latin and Greek Offices would doubtless shew an equally frequent devotional recognition of Christ's Divinity.

3] *Corporate action of the Church against contrary opinions.* Although the doctrine before us was practically denied in the Apostolic age—so that, according to St. Jerome, the Gospel of St. John was written against its deniers, the Ebionites and the Cerinthians,—yet it was not until two hundred years afterwards that the denial reached such a climax as to make a declaration like that of Nicæa necessary. Theodotus, Artemon, and Paul of Samosata, formed a line of heresy out of which Arius and his sect arose; yet it was the latter alone who spread the heresy so widely abroad that the local episcopate was found insufficient for its confutation and suppression. But the manner in which the Arian heresy was met by those representatives of the Church all over the world who assembled at the Council of Nicæa, shews how universally the Divinity of our Lord Jesus had been acknowledged: and the corporate action of the Church on that occasion was so complete and effective as to make the Council a court of appeal on the subject for all subsequent ages. [Arianism. Councils.] The history of that Council shews that a vast majority of the bishops present declared, unhesitatingly, from their experience and personal knowledge, that the Church had hitherto believed in the Divinity of Christ: and since that time no corporate action of the Church has ever taken up any ground contradictory to, or otherwise than confirming, that of Nicæa. So far as such evidence goes it is complete and irrefutable: the corporate action of the Church in condemning those who denied our Lord's Divinity is in itself

aspect presented by the habits of Christians. A rough soldier has drawn a caricature of a man with an ass's head stretched upon a cross; and has placed underneath, the words ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΤΕ [αι] ΘΕΟΝ, "Alexamenos adores his God." A full account of this, with a fac-simile, is given in *Deux Monuments des Premiers Siècles de l'Eglise Expliqués*, par le P. Raphael Garucci, Rome, 1862. Also in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. ix. pp. 25-43.

a proof that the doctrine has been continuously recognised and maintained.

[4.] *Early uninspired statements of the doctrine.* Having thus shewn that its continuous belief in the Church is evidenced by public acts and documents, we may go on now to see how the doctrine is exhibited in the Christian literature of those centuries which preceded its final and decided statement in the Nicene Creed.

St. Ignatius and Justin Martyr both wrote in the generation immediately following the close of the Canon of Holy Scripture; and both have left a few forcible and definite words respecting our Lord's Divinity. St. Ignatius writes to the Ephesian Church: "Our God, Jesus Christ, was, according to the appointment of God, conceived in the womb of Mary, of the seed of David, but by the Holy Ghost" [Ignat. *ad Ephes.* xviii.]. Elsewhere he writes to them to "stir themselves up by the blood of God" [*Ibid.* i.]; and to the Roman Christians, "Suffer me to be an imitator of the sufferings of my God" [*ad Rom.* vi.]. Justin Martyr is equally explicit: "They who affirm that the Son is the Father are proved neither to have been acquainted with the Father nor to know that the Father of the universe hath a Son; who also, being the First-begotten Word of God, is even God" [καί θεὸς ὑπάρχει. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 63]. He also writes against Trypho that if the latter had known who it was that had been spoken of under various titles in the Old Testament, "if you had known what has been written by the prophets, you would not have denied that He was God, Son of the only unbegotten, unutterable God" [*Ibid. ad Tryph.* cxxvi.]. Also that Abraham saw "Him who was according to the will of the Father, His Son, being God, and the Angel because He ministered to that will" [*Ibid.* cxxvii.].

Irenæus, a generation later, devotes a chapter of his work against heresies to the proof that Christ was Very God: shewing that both the Old and the New Testament declare this truth. "I have shewn from the Scriptures," he writes, "that no one of the sons of Adam is as to everything, and absolutely, called God or named Lord. But that He is Himself in His own right, beyond all men who ever lived, God, and Lord, and King Eternal, and the Incarnate Word, proclaimed by all the prophets, the Apostles, and by the Spirit Himself, may be seen by all who have attained to even a small portion of the truth; . . . that He is the Holy Lord, the Wonderful, the Counseller, the Beautiful in appearance, and the Mighty God, coming on the clouds as the Judge of all men; all these things did the Scriptures prophesy of Him." [Irenæus *adv. Hæres.* III. 19, iii.] About the same time also, St. Clement and Tertullian were instructing the Churches of Alexandria and Carthage to the same effect. Clement writing of Christ as "God, the Saviour" [*Strom.* ii. 9], and Tertullian declaring that He "is God and Lord over all" [Tertul. *adv. Jud.* vii.], "a crucified God" [*Ibid. adv. Marc.* ii. 27], "God who was dead, and yet is alive for evermore" [*Ibid.* ii. 16]. Origen carries on the chain of evidence to the middle of the third century, teaching the Divinity of our Lord in many passages of his work against Celsus and in his commentaries, and teaching in a tone which may be judged of by a single expression "the God Jesus," Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν [Orig. *contr. Cels.* v. 51; vi 66].

Such a chain of evidence might be much extended, a volume of authorities having been collected by Burton in his *Testimony of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of our Lord;* but the above selection is enough to shew the nature of such evidence as it comes down to us from the second and third centuries. From the time of St. Athanasius and the Nicene Council, the doctrine appears commonly in all Christian writings of a dogmatic character, being brought into greater prominence by the heresy of Arius, the expanded definition of the Creed, and the world-agitating contests between Catholics and Arians.

II. Inspired Statements. Throughout both the Old and New Testaments a very general indication of the Messiah's Divine Nature is afforded by the frequent use of the title "Lord," either by itself or as a prefix to His other designations. It has, indeed, been allowed by Hebrew writers that the Jews always expected the Messiah to be the Son of God, and the fact is sufficiently evident from the sayings of Nathanael [John i. 49], St. Peter [John vi. 69], Martha [John xi. 27], the high priest [Matt. xxvi. 63], and St. John [John xx. 31]. That this was considered to be a title specially implying Divinity (at least in the case of One claiming to be the Messiah) is shewn by the accusation of the Jews that He blasphemed, because He said "I am the Son of God" [John x. 36]; and by the fact that they attempted to stone Him for blasphemy in thus making Himself God [John x. 33]. Such an expectation, and the opinion so strongly indicated by the Jews of our Lord's time, shews the interpretation which was then put upon the prophecies that spoke of the Messiah; far outweighing the later opinions of Jews who found it necessary to oppose the application of such prophecies to Jesus, or the prejudiced criticism of others whose object is avowedly to prove that Jesus is not God.

Thus the general application of the title "Lord" to the Messiah in Old Testament or New Testament Scriptures, and also of the designation "Son of God," does in truth attribute to Him the essential nature of God. But there are particular cases in which the title is given to Him in its most sacred form, that of the incommunicable Name "Jehovah." In Isaiah we read, "The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of Jehovah, make straight in the desert a highway for our God" [Isa. xl. 3]. This prediction is expressly declared in Matt. iii. 3 and John i. 23 to have been fulfilled by the ministry of John the Baptist: and the context of the original prophecy will shew how the description of Him who was to feed His flock like a shepherd is intermingled with the name of Jehovah, as well as how closely that description agrees

with the character of Him who revealed Himself to be the Christ.

Other evidence of the same kind is afforded by the THEOPHANIES of the Old Testament, and by the revelations of the Blessed Trinity which flowed out of Divine knowledge, and out of existing (though otherwise unknown) facts. In such Theophanies and by such revelations God shewed Himself to a greater or less extent "as He is," and spoke of Himself, or inspired others to speak of Him, as He knows Himself to be. And although it may have been no part of His purpose by such revelations to make known at that period the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, yet He thus gave to the world some irradiations of the Divine Truth, and taught Christian times to look back upon them with the humble conviction, "In Thy Light shall we see light." Such a principle is emphatically illustrated by the manner in which St. John applies to Jesus the vision of Isaiah. The prophet "saw Jehovah sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up," and heard the seraphim singing, "Holy, holy, holy, is Jehovah, God of Hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory" [Isa. vi. 1, 3]; and of this vision, and of words which accompany the record of it, St. John unhesitatingly writes, under the influence of inspiration, that the prophet spake these things when he saw the glory of Jesus, and spake prophetically of Him. [John xii. 37-41.]

If these were the only instances in which the incommunicable Name was revealed as belonging to our Lord Jesus Christ, they would be conclusive evidence to a mind relying on revelation, and receiving revelation's interpretation of itself. But they are far from standing alone, and the evidence is cumulative even beyond what might be expected, as if to provide a testimony against future doubt and heresy. Four more examples of it may be given from the Old Testament: "Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for lo I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith Jehovah, . . . and thou shalt know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent Me unto thee" [Zech. ii. 10, 11]. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, ... and this is His Name whereby He shall be called, Jehovah our Righteousness" [Jer. xxiii. 5, 6]. "And Jehovah said unto me, cast it unto the potter; a goodly price that I was priced at of them" [Zech. xi. 13]. "The Lord said, I will have mercy on the house of Judah, and will save them by Jehovah their God" [Hos. i. 6, 7]. Respecting the first of these passages Bishop Barrow makes a remark which applies to many such prophecies: "It being here said that Jehovah, being sent by Jehovah, should come and dwell in the Church. . . . Who can that be but our Lord Christ, who dwelt among us [John i. 14], and was by God the Father sent to us?" The fact that Messiah is named thus in the prophetic writings is indeed so plain that the primitive sect of PATRIPASSIANS alleged it in support of their denial that Jesus was God; and maintained that it was God the Father who became Incarnate and suffered upon the Cross. Modern heretics [UNITARIANISM] have imagined that the sacred Name is used in an inferior sense when applied to the Messiah to that in which it is used when applied to the Supreme God; but such a *petitio principii* needs only to be mentioned for its own confutation. Nor is it necessary here to shew that Old Testament prophecies which speak of the Messiah speak of Him, our Lord Jesus Christ, whom Christians acknowledge as such.

The inspired statements of our Lord's Divinity contained in the New Testament begin with the narrative of His Birth, and end only with the last page of the book of Revelation. The naming Him by the Name of Jesus is said to be a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah, "they shall call His Name Immanuel" [Isa. vii. 14]; and the prophetic Name is interpreted by the Evangelist as "God with us" [Matt. i. 23]. In a similar manner St. John's theological Gospel opens with a statement respecting the WORD, whom he afterwards identifies with Jesus, that "In the beginning was the WORD, and the WORD was with God, and the WORD was God" [John i. 1, cf. 14]. Many acts of adoration are recorded of those who came to Jesus [Matt. ii. 11, viii. 2, ix. 18, xiv. 33, &c.], and whether these always involve a recognition of His Divinity by those who offered them or not, they certainly do so on the part of those who recorded them, and who well knew that such worship could only be offered, without idolatry, to God. St. Peter's confession of faith was an act of adoration that was both received, approved, and rewarded by Christ [Matt. xvi. 16]. St. Thomas called Him in plain and unrebuked words "My Lord and my God" [John xx. 28], and the offering to Him of Divine worship was the first thought of all when they met Him, on various occasions, after His Resurrection [Matt. xxviii. 9, 17; Luke xxiv. 52]; the acts and the words of those who knew Him best coinciding in a declaration of His Godhead.

When, moreover, the Apostles wrote for the instruction of the Church in doctrine and in Christian practice, they kept this primary truth in view even more clearly than when writing historically of Christ. When St. Paul reminds Gentile Christians that Christ came of the Jews, he adds, "Who is over all, God blessed for ever" [Rom. ix. 5]; when he writes to Timothy respecting the "mystery of godliness" his condensed statement of it is "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory" [1 Tim. iii. 16]. To the Colossian Church he writes that in Christ "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" [Coloss. ii. 9]; to the Philippians, that He was "in the Form of God" [Phil. ii. 6], who was also in the likeness of man,—"very God," as well as "very man;" to the Hebrews he interprets of Him their ancient words of praise, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever" [Heb. i. 8]; and when writing to Titus of his Lord's Second Advent, he calls it "the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ" [Tit. ii. 13;

cf. 2 Pet. i. 1; Eph. v. 5; 2 Thess. i. 12; 1 Tim. v. 21; Jude 4, in origin.].

Lastly, in the opening of the Apocalypse [Rev. i. 8, 11], Christ names Himself by the Divine title "Alpha and Omega" [*q. v.*]; later on He is declared to have "on His vesture and on His thigh a Name written, King of kings and Lord of lords" [Rev. xix. 13, 16; cf. Deut. x. 17]; at the close of the vision He once more assumes the Divine title, "I am Alpha and Omega," adding "He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be His God, and he shall be My son" [Rev. xxi. 6, 7]; and in the first words of the last chapter He is identified in power and glory with the Father by the words "the throne of God and of the Lamb" [Rev. xxii. 1].

So do the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments bear a continuous testimony to the Eternal Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ, a testimony written indeed by men, but inspired by God the Holy Ghost; giving to us by words of prophecy, history, and didactic epistle, a consentient unity of statement on the subject, which shews that it is the witness of an Eternal Truth.

III. The Acts and Words of our Lord Himself. From the continuous belief of the Church, the inspired testimony of the Apostolic founders of the Church, and the equally inspired predictions of the ancient prophets, we may ascend to the historic witness of Christ's own Life and Acts; illustrating that witness by the teaching of His words.

The general circumstances of our Saviour's Life do indeed go far to prove that alongside of His Human Nature, and ever interpenetrating it, there was a superior and Divine Nature on which that which was human may be said to have been engrafted. For however His Acts may have been typified and His Life foreshadowed by the acts and life of others, there were features in the Reality which found no place in the type and the shadow, which make it stand conspicuously above them and supremely alone in a glory of its own. Isaac, for example, was born in a manner out of accordance with the usual course of nature, as in some degree also was Samuel. But the parthenogenesis by which the Human Nature of Christ received its existence was, as it remains, of an entirely unparalleled character, its initial stage, at least, being such as the course of nature has never been known to accomplish, and distinctly supernatural. [Incarnation.]

The miracles of Christ, again, had their types in the miracles of Moses, Elijah, and others, but they were distinguishable from them by the exercise of an original volition of Divine power instead of a manifestly instrumental agency. The death of Christ was a human death, but it was accompanied by circumstances of a superhuman kind that set it infinitely above all other deaths, though not destroying its analogy with them. His Resurrection found a certain precedent in the resurrections of some in ancient days, and some among His contemporaries, but there was no such spontaneity in the return of others to life as there was in His Resurrection who needed no touch of prophet's bones, no lifting by the hand, no "Come forth," but only the operation of His own will.

It may indeed be gathered from Christ's own words that His miracles were intended to be evidence of inherent or Almighty Power; and, therefore, of His Divine Nature. For, early in His ministry, when John the Baptist sent messengers to Him, asking "Art Thou He that should come, or look we for another?" Jesus answered the question by the testimony of His miracles [Luke vii. 21, 22]. Now, miracles were no new thing to the Jews, nor were Jews unaccustomed to the view which regards them as the evidence of a Divine Mission. A simple appeal to miracles was not, therefore, in itself, sufficient to prove that Christ was "He that should come," One far above Moses, Elijah, and all their ancient prophets. When our Lord adduced them as evidence that He was the Messiah, He did so because their peculiar nature and aspect were such as to shew that He was the Incarnate God to whom Messianic prophecies pointed.

The message, therefore, which He sent to John [Luke vii. 22] was formed out of prophetic words that were doubtless familiar to their ears, in which the blessed works that He had done in their sight were recognised as the works of God present before them. "Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not; behold your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompence, He will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped: then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing; . . . an highway shall be there; . . . the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein" [Isa. xxxv. 4-8]. There were, probably, circumstances about our Lord's miracles which at once carried a conviction to unresisting minds that the Worker of them was Divine; and it is certain that even the slight record we have of them furnishes us with conclusive evidence to that effect. The contrast between the mode in which they were wrought, and that in which the miracles of the prophets had been wrought, has been already glanced at, but may be noticed in more detail. We may observe, then, that the latter were not accomplished by the will of those who wrought them, acting as an independent power of causation, but either in obedience to a direct command of God, as was the case with Moses and the plagues of Egypt, or with prayer, as in the healing of Naaman and the restoration to life of the Shunamite's son. They were also, for the most part, accompanied by the use of inanimate instruments, the rod of Moses, the mantle of Elijah, the staff of Elisha, the cruse of salt to sweeten the bitter waters, the floating wood to raise the sunken axe-head to the surface. Nor did the workers of these miracles ever claim the power which wrought them as their own; but with a "Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which He will shew you to-day" [Exod. xiv. 13], or a "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?" [2 Kings ii. 14; cf. Acts iii. 6, ix. 34] they

of the Old Dispensation said in one way that which was said still more directly by the Apostles of the New Dispensation, "Why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by our own power or holiness we had made this man to walk" [Acts iii. 12]. The manner of our Lord in working miracles was totally different. He wrought in His own Name, not as a servant; by His own will, not as an agent; and almost always without the intervention of any substance or instrument external to His own Person. To Lazarus in the grave He said "Come forth;" to the ruler's daughter, "Talitha cumi;" to the widow's son, "I say unto thee, Arise;" to the leper, "I will, be thou clean;" to the evil spirit, "I charge thee, come out of him;" to the raging winds and waters, "Peace, be still." In nearly every instance it is the simple will and word by which the miracle is achieved. There is no appeal to any higher power, not even when words of prayer accompany the act; nor was there ever any sign of effort that could detract from the manifest evidence of Omnipotence. Nor is it to be overlooked that Christ wrought miracles for the manifestation of His own glory [John ii. 11]; that He used them for the purpose of proving that He exercised the prerogative of God [Mark ii. 10, 11]; and that He communicated to others at His will the power of working similar miracles to His own.

In the miraculous acts of our Lord, then, culminating in the raising of Lazarus and His own Resurrection, there is a great store of evidence out of which may be drawn proofs of a Divine Power belonging to a Divine Nature. Even the half-informed mind was made to confess that "no man could do such miracles, except God had sent him," and the fully informed logical mind must confess further that no man could do them at all, but only God.

To the evidence thus afforded by the acts of our Lord we must add that given by His words. So abundant is this, that, passing by a multitude of sayings in which He presented His own Person before His disciples and the world as far exceeding in dignity the most honoured and illustrious of their kings and prophets; passing by also those in which He presented His Person as the Way, the Truth, the Life, the Light, the very Fountain of Salvation to mankind, only those will be adduced in which He presents His Person as possessing the authority which belongs to God alone, and as being equal with the Father. It will be enough to quote these as they stand in the New Testament, without further comment or illustration: "Thy sins are forgiven thee" [Matt. ix. 2]. "All power is given unto Me in Heaven and in earth" [Matt. xxviii. 18]. "The Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath day" [Matt. xii. 6]. "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me" [Luke xxii. 29]. "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God" [John v. 17]. "I proceeded forth and came from God; neither came I of Myself, but He sent Me" [John viii. 42]. "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son; that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath sent Him" [John v. 22-23]. "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself, and hath given Him authority to exercise judgment also, because He is the Son of Man" [John v. 26, 27]. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am" [John viii. 58]. "He that hateth Me, hateth My Father also" [John xv. 23]. "Ye believe in God, believe also in Me" [John xiv. 1]. "I and My Father are one; . . . the Father is in Me, and I in Him. . . . The Jews answered Him, saying, For a good work we stone Thee not, but for blasphemy; and because that Thou, being a man, makest Thyself God" [John x. 30, 38, 33; cf. xiv. 8-11]. "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained" [John xx. 21, 23]. "And Thomas answered and said unto Him, My Lord and my God. Jesus saith unto Him, Thomas, because thou hast seen Me thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" [John xx. 28, 29]. Such are some of the direct and inferential declarations of our Lord Jesus Christ respecting His Divine Nature, Authority, and Power.

IV. Results of the Doctrine. Having sketched out the evidence by which the doctrine of Christ's Divinity is supported, it remains to shew what are some of the principal consequences which flow from the fact that Christ is Divine. These have been made evident, in some degree, by the course of Scriptural proof which has been followed, and may be further seen in the article Incarnation and other articles relating to our Lord's Person and Work. It will be sufficient in this place, therefore, to point them out in a few words.

1] *Our Lord Jesus Christ being God is entitled to be the Object of Adoration.* This no person can be who comes short of actual Deity, even the most extreme form of veneration for the Blessed Virgin never claiming to be adoration in this highest sense. [Latria. Hyperdulia.] But, it must be observed that Christ claims the adoration of men in His entire Personality as One Christ: for His Manhood is inseparably united to His Godhead, and adoration is offered not to an ideal abstraction, but to God Incarnate as He really is, the Man Christ Jesus and the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity.

2] *The Divine Nature of Jesus exalts and intensifies all His acts as Saviour.* Those acts may be generalized under the several heads of His Humiliation, His Sufferings and Death, His Resurrection, His Ascension to, and continuance in Heaven. Every one of these derives its efficacy from the fact that it is the act not only of One

who was Man but of One who was also God. The *humiliation* of Christ as Man was great, yet its most conspicuous feature is that it comprehended unjust suffering. It would not be too much to say that from this point of view alone there have been several conspicuous instances of human humiliation which make a near approach to that of the Holy Jesus. The true fulness of His humiliation was, that being God He became Man; that He with whom it was no robbery to claim equality with God, yet took upon Him the form of a servant, and was found in the likeness of sinful man, from whom by His Original and Eternal Nature He was so infinitely distant. It was this which marked the depth of Christ's *Sufferings and Death*, and this which gave them their power. If they had not been the sufferings and death of One who was God as well as Man, they would not have been efficacious for the work of salvation; nor would His *Resurrection*, *Ascension*, and *Session* in Heaven have had their universal prevailing power if they had been those of a Man only, though that Man had still been the holiest of all saints. When God says through the prophet Zechariah, "they shall look on Me whom they have pierced" [Zech. xii. 10], He declared beforehand that great truth which His preachers afterwards proclaimed to the world, as they taught concerning the "blood of God" which was shed for us [Acts xx. 28], "the Lord of glory" who was crucified for us [1 Cor. ii. 8], and "the Lord who bought us" [2 Pet. ii. 1]. So also the continued work of Christ in His Church by means of Sacraments is efficacious because they are not only memorials of a human Saviour, but because they convey the grace of a Saviour who is Divine.

3] *Christ being God is altogether perfect in Wisdom.* If there was a time when some things were veiled from the Human Nature of our Lord [Ignorance of Christ], that deficiency of knowledge was prevented from becoming error by the union of the human with the Divine Nature. Whatsoever words He spoke they were words proceeding from infallible knowledge, and representing absolute Truth: and if for a moment, or for any portion of His earthly sojourning, a veil hung between His human nature and His Omniscience as God, it was but like the veil which during part of His Passion hung between that Human Nature and the Divine Presence, a supreme and exceptional token of His Infinite humiliation. For "in Christ are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" [Coloss. ii. 3]. This Omniscience and infallible Wisdom of Christ bears upon all His moral teaching, His confirmatory quotations of preceding Scriptures, His revelations of the unseen, His declarations respecting His own Person and Work, and the injunctions which He laid upon His Church. There can be no possibility of any error or misapprehension on His part as to either the past or the future, and whatsoever proceeded from His lips was the infallible truth, spoken by God.

4] *The Divinity of Christ makes His authority absolute.* Thus the commandments which He gave to His Church have the same force as those given at Sinai to Moses and the people of Israel. Whether they were of a moral kind such as those in the sermon on the Mount, or of a liturgical kind as in the ordaining of the Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, they are absolutely binding on Christians because they are the commands of God. There is no right of human limitation to such commands if Christ Himself has given no such right, and Christians who willfully disobey them are in the same position as those who wilfully disobey any of the Ten Commandments.

V. It may be said, in conclusion, that the Doctrine of Christ's Divinity is, in truth, the keystone of Christianity. Every shade of heresy or misbelief is, in a stronger or a weaker degree, an attack upon it. And, on the other hand, every step in the acknowledgment of it marks some progress towards that confession which is spoken of by St. John when he says, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God" [1 John iv. 15]. The strength of God's Church, therefore, whether for defence against error, or for warfare against sin, depends ultimately upon the practical faith with which the Divinity of the Head of the Church is acknowledged and acted up to. If any particular age of the Church, or any particular portion of it, is, or has been, characterized by want of spiritual vigour, or by inability to withstand the progress of heresy and schism, it will be found that this weakness has been contemporary with an attenuated faith in this fundamental truth or in some of its consequences, or else in the clouding of the truth by the undue exaltation of some doctrine or practice which has practically become a rival to it. When, on the other hand, there has been a faithful and unlimited acknowledgment of Christ's Divinity in Creeds, and a practical acting up to that faith in Sacraments, then the words which met St. Peter's confession of it have found a revived application and force, "Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." [Arianism. Circumincession. Consubstantial. Incarnation. Sabellianism. Socinianism. Word.]

DIVORCE. [Lat. *divortium.*] A legal dissolution of the bond of marriage. The formal union of the sexes is in many countries connected more or less closely with the religious observances of the people; and amongst Christian nations this connection is of so intimate a character as to give a peculiar solemnity and binding force to the marriage contract. The spiritual union effected by marriage is indeed held to be of an absolutely indissoluble nature, the Scriptural authority for that opinion being a passage in St. Matthew, in which it is believed to have been so declared by our Lord Himself [Matt. xix. 3]. When asked by the Pharisees, who had put the question for the purpose of tempting Him, whether it was "lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause," He replied by a reference to the original object of the insti-

tution [Gen. ii. 24], and added, "What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder." When they urged in reply the Mosaic permission to a husband to give his wife a bill of divorce for various causes, Christ replied in language which clearly shews that the laxity of the Levitical law in this respect was to be corrected under His dispensation. He continued, "And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her that is put away doth commit adultery" [Matt. xix. 9]. Here, if the interpretation of *πορνεία*, as meaning ante-nuptial, and not post-nuptial unchastity (*μοιχεία*), be the correct one,[1] the result is that divorce proper—that is a dissolution of marriage for causes arising subsequent to union, as distinguished from a declaration of its nullity *ab initio* from *causes antecedent to union*—is expressly forbidden.

The indissoluble character of marriage thus insisted on by our Lord has accordingly become a doctrine of the Catholic Church. Previously to the Reformation, the rite by which it was solemnized had been universally considered, for many centuries, to be a sacrament, and as such its effect could not be avoided by any subsequent proceedings, whether of an ecclesiastical or civil nature. The Church indeed, both before and after the Reformation, reserved the right of declaring marriage void *ab initio* for certain reasons. That is to say, in cases in which the contracting parties themselves were incapable from certain causes—such, for instance, as being within the forbidden degrees of affinity—from entering into a contract by the Canon Law, the Church treats the sacrament as never having been duly administered, and decrees *nullity of marriage*. But no misconduct of the parties subsequent to such a contract being lawfully entered into would have enabled either of them in pre-Reformation times to obtain a dissolution of marriage. The divorce *a mensâ et thoro*, as it was called, or in other words a judicial separation of the married persons during their lifetime, without power to either of them to contract a second marriage, was the only species of divorce recognised by ecclesiastical law.

At the Reformation, however, the secular courts began to set their faces against the sacramental view of marriage, and declared it to be merely a civil contract, requiring at law certain religious ceremonies for its valid ratification. The consequence naturally followed that larger powers of rescission of these contracts were immediately called for. By the Act of 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16, commissioners were appointed for the reformation of the Canon Law, and the result of their labours in the matter of divorce tended considerably to extend the license of contracting parties in this direction.[2] They allowed a divorce *a vinculo* in all cases where adultery had been committed on both sides. Desertion, cruelty, &c., were also adjudged to constitute alone sufficient grounds for a complete dissolution of marriage. These provisions never acquired legislative authority, but they may be referred to as shewing the mind of Cranmer and of the other Reformers on the subject of extending liberty of divorce.[3] It seems that from this period a laxity of doctrine as to the indissolubility of marriage ensued both in the ecclesiastical courts and in the Church itself, for the 107th of the Canons of 1604 contains an enactment prohibiting re-marriage with others to all parties separated by decree of the Church tribunals. And in Foljambe's case, decided in the Star Chamber, Eliz. 44, it was solemnly adjudged that adultery was a cause of divorce *a mensâ et thoro* only, and not *a vinculo*.

From this time downwards the history of the subject is the history of a conflict between the secular part of the Legislature and the Church, the former striving to extend and the latter to restrict the freedom of divorce. In the De Roos case, in the Countess of Macclesfield's case, and again in the Duke of Norfolk's case, the House of Lords, by special enactment, decreed the dissolution of marriages which the ecclesiastical courts refused to dissolve. This direct interference of the Legislature thus became the accepted, as indeed it was the only, method of obtaining such divorces as would enable the divorced parties to marry again; and in 1798 Lord Loughborough introduced a measure systematizing this circuitous method of procedure. It was necessary for parties petitioning for a divorce to shew that they had obtained a divorce *a mensâ et thoro* from the ecclesiastical courts, and to put in a copy of the proceedings for the examination of the House, and on this being done, and the inquiry proving satisfactory, a divorce *a vinculo* was enacted.

Such was the state of the law until the passing of the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857. The contest between Church and State on the subject of divorce was then extinguished by removing from the Church tribunals their ancient jurisdiction in matrimonial causes. A judicial separation, by the order of the newly-established Court of Divorce, was substituted for the divorce *a mensâ et thoro* of the ecclesiastical courts, and a divorce *a vinculo*, giving both parties liberty to marry again, can by this enactment be obtained from this court without the intervention of the Legislature. The passing of the Act was strenuously but unsuccessfully opposed by many of the clergy and laity; and a concession to the consciences of the clergy was made in the 57th section by giving power to a clergyman to refuse to solemnize the marriage of a man or woman who may have been divorced under this act. With this reservation, Parliament may be supposed to have finally declared that Christian marriage is not to be treated as an indissoluble union by the secular law of England. [MARRIAGE. DEGREES, FORBIDDEN.]

DOCETÆ. The earliest form of the heresy of Gnosticism, which was a denial of the reality of

[1] See *Bible Commentary* (Patrick, Lowth, Arnauld, Whitby, and Lowman, and *è contra* Parkhurst, on word *πορνεία*, Alford, &c.

[2] See *Reformatio legum Anglicanarum*.

[3] Mackintosh, *Hist. Eng.* pp. 275, 276.

our Lord's human body—from τὸ δοκειν, to seem, whence also they were called Phantasiastæ and Phantasiodocetæ. The Docetæ are usually traced to Simon Magus as their founder, and were becoming numerous at the close of the first century, when St. John's Gospel was written. They were divided into two parties, one asserting that the body of Christ was only an illusion or phantom, and another that Christ had a real and tangible body, which was formed of a celestial substance[1]—that is, not a human body at all. Docetism, by denying the Incarnation, or our Lord's assumption of man's nature, was subversive of the fundamental teaching of the Gospel. Hence St. John's emphatic terms of condemnation, "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist whereof ye have heard that it should come; and even now already is it in the world" [1 John iv. 3]. The Apostle also speaks, in allusion to the same heresy, of "seeing" and "handling" the Word of Life [1 John i. 1], and mentions the water and the blood flowing from Christ's body on the cross [John xix. 34, 35], which was a proof of the reality of His human nature. [Dict. *of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

DOGMA, [Δόγμα, *Doctrina, Doctrine*]. A theological principle. The term belongs strictly to a positive statement of doctrine derived immediately or by deduction from Divine Revelation, and enunciated by the Church through a General Council. In a looser sense it is applied also to the special tenets of particular churches, or even of sects, if put forth by an authority recognised by them.

Dogma presupposes substantial proof, which is generally, and in the ordinary sense, of an historical or logical kind: but it must be remembered that we have reached the highest possible kind of evidence as to truth when it is proved that any particular statement has come from God. There can be no real opposition between dogma and history, or dogma and logic, so long as these principles are kept in view; but it must be again remembered that there are some subjects in theology, especially such as relate to God Himself, which are beyond the province of history or logic, and the dogmata respecting which must depend wholly upon His revelation of truth. [Mystery.]

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY. [Theology.]

DONATISM. The name of a great schism in the African Church which lasted from the beginning of the fourth to the end of the fifth century. It arose out of those strict principles respecting Traditores which were maintained by a large party in the Church of Carthage, and owed their origin in no small degree to St. Cyprian. In the year A.D. 311, a vacancy occurred in the see of Carthage by the death of Mensurius, and after some contention the Archdeacon Cæcilian was elected, who was afterwards consecrated by Felix, Bishop of Aptunga. A party opposed Cæcilian and secured the assembly of Numidian bishops to the number of seventy at Carthage, who declared the consecration to be void, because Felix had been a traditor, a charge subsequently disproved. A rival bishop, Majorinus, was consecrated, who died about A.D. 315, and was succeeded by Donatus,[2] from whom the sect eventually took its name. The Donatists soon became a large body, spreading over a great part of Africa and extending to Europe. They held a synod in A.D. 330, which was attended by two hundred and seventy bishops, and at one time they are said to have had as many as four hundred bishops; but the prosperity of the sect varied very much at different times.

The particular principles on which the Donatists maintained the necessity of separation were [1] the admission by the Church of heretical baptism, and [2] the want of austerity among the orthodox: and they considered that there was no salvation out of their own community. But their austerity was more theoretical than practical, and numbers of them degenerated into heresy after the rise of the Arians. In A.D. 411, a conference between two hundred and seventy-nine Donatists and two hundred and eighty-six Catholic bishops was held at Carthage, a commissioner of the Emperor Honorius being present. When defeated in argument the Donatists appealed to the Emperor, from whom, however, they received no encouragement. Penal edicts were issued against them, and the sect began gradually to decline. The principal accounts of them are to be found in the works of St. Augustine and Optatus. [Dict. *of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

DOUBT is an intellectual tendency to deny a proposition resting upon a limited quantity of evidence, on the ground that the evidence is no greater; and it is always accompanied by an opposite intellectual tendency to affirm the same on the ground that the evidence is no less. Doubt is thus the complement of belief. If a thing is known or certain, the evidence or reason for it must be complete, and it is impossible to doubt it. If, on the contrary, there is no evidence for it, or none known to us, we know that it is false, or are ignorant that it is true, and it is impossible to believe it. If, thirdly, there is a limited amount of evidence,—much or little—short of that required for certainty, we believe the proposition, because there is evidence for it, but doubt it, because the amount of evidence forthcoming is insufficient to satisfy the demand made by the mind as a condition of its arriving at certainty. This demand varies infinitely in different individuals, and in different sets of individuals under different circumstances. Thus, the preaching of an angel from heaven would be, to the majority of mankind, conclusive evidence of the truth of a doctrine; but for Christians, St. Paul says, this is not sufficient evidence, unless the doctrine be identical with that already received [Gal. i. 8]. Or again, what is sufficient evidence to produce certainty in an uninstructed, may be

[1] Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, vi., and *Ecclesiastical History*, lect. xv.

[2] This was the second Donatus mixed up with this schism, and there were several others of the name. The first was bishop of Casa Nigra.

insufficient to assure an instructed person. But apart from this variety in the demand actually made for evidence, there is ideally a certain amount of evidence in every case which *is* sufficient, and which is always taken for granted as a standard of certainty, however opinions may vary as to *what* or how much it is. Doubt then, like belief, presupposes [*a*] that a proposition is no longer received in childlike simplicity without question. "Absit," says St. Augustine, "ut ideo credamus ne rationem accipiamus sive quæramus." [*b*] "Doubting necessarily implies some degree of evidence for that of which we doubt" [Butler, *Anal.* ii. 5]; and as Archbishop Leighton has it, "when there is a great deal of smoke and no clear flame, it argues much moisture in the matter; yet it witnesseth certainly that there is fire within. And therefore dubious questioning is much better evidence than that senseless dulness which most take for believing. Men that know nothing in sciences have no doubts. He never truly believed who was not first made sensible and convinced of unbelief." Conversely, belief, as the acceptance of a proposition upon evidence less than the amount required for certainty, postulates a margin of doubt ("Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief"), which exactly corresponds to the difference between the amount of evidence on which I believe a thing and the amount of evidence on which I should be certain of it.

In common parlance, when the evidence for a thing preponderates over that against it, when the area, so to speak, of our belief in it is more extensive than the area of our doubt about it, we say we believe it, and omit to make record of our doubts about it. Similarly, when our doubts about it preponderate over our belief in it, we say in common speech, that we doubt it, and take no account of our belief in it. And this is all the more the case when, as in most instances, either doubt or belief predominate out of all proportion to their opposites. But if we would describe the whole state of the mind in the consideration of incomplete evidence, we must regard it as a double (*du*-bito, δι-στάζειν, *zwei*-feln), and not a single state; we must say that we both believe and doubt a proposition which, upon the evidence, is at once probable and improbable.

Doubt does not necessarily imply a state of indifference or suspension of judgment. On the contrary, this is only the case in those very few instances in which the evidence for and against a proposition is exactly equal, and our belief in and doubt about its truth are equal also.

Neither does doubt involve disbelief, except in the same sense as it involves belief; for disbelief is itself a kind of belief, the belief, namely, that a particular proposition is not true.

Belief, then, whether affirming or denying, is a positive, but it is a limited and imperfect, state of mind, as compared with faith and knowledge. And the limit or imperfection of belief, whether large or small, is doubt.

Apparent states of belief which exclude doubt. When the evidence for the truth of a proposition is complete, we are not said to believe it any longer, but to know it. And this is equally the case whether the evidence consist of an enumeration of the reasons, or rest upon the authority of an absolutely veracious person. The distinction, in truth, between believing in a fact and believing in a person will not bear close examination. When I believe in a fact, I assent to the proposition, expressing that the fact is real and is of a particular kind,—as true, on the strength of what appear to me to be adequate reasons; when I believe in a person, I assent to the proposition, expressing the fact that the person in question is trustworthy,—as true, on the strength of evidence, as in the former case. His trustworthiness thus ascertained, then becomes itself the evidence for the proposition for which he vouches.

But there are several other cases in which the words "implicit" and "steadfast" are applied to belief to signify the exclusion of doubt: [*a*] A belief is implicit or implied when it is not explicit or explained, *i.e.*, when there is no reason or explanation "why I believe" to be given, but "that I believe" is taken for granted both by myself and others. This, just like implicit obedience, is the normal condition of the child, and the actual condition of the vast majority of the human race, in whom the mind is in a state of mere passive receptivity in relation to truth, and who are therefore *not yet* able to ask themselves "why they believe." [*b*] Belief is "steadfast" when the exclusion of doubt is not so much the result of natural conditions as of voluntary effort. "Steadfast" means, first, "permanent," or "unwavering," and, secondly, that this permanence is the work of the will, bringing the mind consciously under the sway of habit. Steadfast belief, then, supposes the emergence of doubt, and its intentional and habitual exclusion; not only the state of mind which says "I believe," but that which, after experience of the double condition of belief and doubt, says, "I will believe," "I mean to believe," and consciously forms the permanent habit or state of believing. [*c*] The result of this process is again a state of implicit belief, which resembles [*a*] in excluding any explanation or reason for believing, but differs from it in being not merely receptive but mechanical. The child is *not yet*—the habitual believer *no longer*—able to ask "why he believes;" because the attention of the child is not yet—that of the habitual believer no longer—attracted to the fact that he does believe.

To sum up: doubt can only be excluded from belief, either when the evidence for the truth of a proposition is complete, in which case belief itself vanishes in knowledge; or, as in the three cases last mentioned, by the interposition of some determinant external to the mental process of believing, as such, and due either [*a*] to natural condition, or [*b*] to voluntary effort, or [*c*] to the force of habit. In the first case, the completeness of the evidence, while it excludes doubt, excludes belief also; in the last three, the intervention of alien causes excludes, along with doubt, the conscious repose of belief upon evidence at all.

From this it follows that belief, if it rest upon any evidence whatever, must rest upon evidence that is not entirely complete; and, as itself (apart from the operation upon it of external causes) essentially an imperfect assent, it postulates the co-existence of doubt, as its limit.

Supposed states of doubt which exclude belief. The attempt to make doubt absolute and thorough-going is still more illogical than the exclusion of doubt from the condition of belief. If doubt be the imperfection of belief, it postulates the existence of that of which it is the imperfection; if it be the consciousness of the incompleteness of evidence, it supposes the existence of the evidence which is thus incomplete. It is the recognition of this limit to doubt which distinguishes rational doubt from scepticism. "We doubt," says Descartes, "in order to obtain a ground of absolute certitude." More correctly, we traverse the region of doubt in order to arrive at the belief which is its limit. The ancient followers of Pyrrho, however, in setting up doubt as an ultimate and final principle in thought, asserted that there was nothing on which the instructed intellect should allow itself to frame a definite judgment. Such a principle, were it possible to carry it out to its legitimate conclusions, puts an end to all action, as to all thought, and is as subversive of society as it is of religion and philosophy. The consistent Pyrrhonist has no right to eat or drink; if his house is on fire, there is no reason why he should attempt to escape. Why? Because, such an action presupposes a series of previous judgments, "I am in danger, "It is well to escape," "To escape, I must flee, &c., none of which he has any rational ground for framing. Fortunately, human instinct is better than philosophy in this case, and corrects the extravagance of theory. Fortunately, also, the theory itself, if thought out, annihilates itself. When the Pyrrhonist has doubted the reality of the world and of thought, he at length arrives at a point at which he has the choice of either doubting whether or no he doubts, in which case doubt itself vanishes, or of being sure that he doubts, in which case he has found a limit to his doubt in a definite belief. It was at such an impassable limit that Descartes arrived, and from which the whole of modern philosophy has been evolved. [See Descartes, *Œuvres*, tom. iii. pp. 63-68, ed. Cousin; and the French *Encyclopédie* of 1751, *s. v. Doute.*]

Doubt, then, and belief are the negative and positive poles of the same mental condition, a condition characteristic of the imperfection of human knowledge. They spring out of the same root, viz., the awakening of the mind to the necessity of basing belief on evidence.

The *origin of doubt*, like that of belief, is in the individual mind. Men never doubt in crowds, nor do communities ever believe on evidence. If we examine the early history of every nation, we find it generating unconsciously an organized system of common ideas, which, like its language or its polity, correspond to its collective character, and from which all marks of individual workmanship are absent. Religion and worship in primitive peoples are always of this gregarious kind, and it was through the medium of this collective consciousness that the Jews came into contact with the Divine revelation. God speaks through His Prophets, but He speaks to Israel at large; and conversely, it is not as a series of individuals, but as a people, that the Hebrews accept the Divine message, and are conscious of being collectively the subjects of the Divine favour [2 Chron. xxx. 12; Jer. xxxii. 39, &c.]. So in the Apostolic Church, the "multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul," and this absence of all individual and private feeling finds its natural expression in community of goods. In all these cases doubt is impossible, because there is no detachment of the individual from the general life of the community. Similarly, the "belief" of this early time is not what is here called belief, *i.e.* intellectual assent upon evidence, but an immediate apprehension of Christ, as a person, by the "heart," *i.e.* the whole being of the "believer." [Heart.] So too our Lord Himself discouraged the seeking for signs, and commonly declined to constrain intellectual belief by the evidence of miracles. To St. Thomas alone, who had detached himself for the moment from the common consciousness of the first disciples, and therefore was in the real position of an intellectual doubter, is vouchsafed the evidence requisite for producing individual and intellectual belief. Accordingly, doubt seems to have arisen more generally in the Church, when the original "unity of heart" was broken up by divisions and heresies, when Christianity had become matter of discussion, when "apologies" had begun to be written to produce belief on evidence, and when the saints, no longer finding rest in society, retired into the desert and the cloister. Doubt is thus to the organized authority of common opinion what the monastic impulse is to the organized authority of society, viz., a revolt of the individual from the intellectual and moral world in which he lives. This characteristic is noticeable in the more prominent instances of doubt which are on record. The late Mr. Robertson speaks of the "utter loneliness of spirit," the dreariness and cheerlessness of his life, while in doubt. The same is true of Abélard, who, perhaps more than any other, forms a solitary figure in the Middle Ages; and of Montaigne in his lonely tower at Michel.

The causes which lead the individual so to detach himself from the ordinary mental life around him and to demand evidence for the truth of received ideas, lie partly in the educational effect of those ideas themselves, and partly in the fact that they have worked themselves out and are giving place to a higher development. Plato has described this process under the image of a foster-child, who, after being carefully trained by his reputed parents, at length attains sufficient intelligence to discover that those whom he has hitherto regarded as his parents are not really so; and is led by the discovery to question every thing that he has been taught, to break away

from all the influences of his youth, and to regard all moral distinctions as merely conventional. In this state of uncertainty he falls into the hands of flatterers and sophists and becomes a lawless and disputatious person [*de Republicâ*, p. 538]. Meanwhile the foster-parents are given up for the real parents. The impulse to demand the reason for traditionary ideas, the formation and emancipation of the individual mind, the capacity of doubt and belief, are the last results of the operation upon man of those common ideas and institutions of which he is the half-unconscious author. Their very pressure calls forth the resistance which is the germ of self-consciousness. Man becomes aware of himself as the source of ideas and of institutions, and of his indefeasible right, as a free being, against all that is established. The very reasonableness of tradition and custom have developed in him the faculty of seeking the reasons for them in himself. And the more reason he sees for the traditional and the customary, the less authority have they over him, for he perceives that he is himself, in the last resort, the author of both. The emergence in society of the self-conscious individual is, if we regard it from one side alone, a principle of anarchy; but regarded from the other side, the free activity which is thus called into being is itself a principle of reconstruction. The demand for reason and evidence, while it reveals the insufficiency of what has been hitherto unquestioned, discloses also the quantum of reasonableness without which it could never have been accepted at all. In referring all things to himself the individual refers them not only to a solvent but to an active principle. What he has made before he can again make. The insufficiency of that which he criticizes he discovers to be the result of the insufficiency in himself, its author. And conversely, the sufficiency of himself as the standard of ideas and institutions is the result of the action upon him of that which he criticizes. While he doubts therefore he also believes. As the "measure of all things" he creates a new order of thoughts and customs by which he will himself be judged.

The detachment of the doubter from the common consciousness in which all men live is thus the natural way in which ideas and societies correct themselves. If they were wholly adequate at any given time, they could not be criticized; if they were wholly inadequate, they could not have educated their critic. Doubt, therefore, as the characteristic of the individual mind, is at once destructive and constructive, and as the mean term between an old and a new order is essentially transitional. As transitional it partakes both of the old and the new, and finds its true complement in belief.

The history of the principal periods of doubt further confirms this view. They have all ushered in new developments in religion and philosophy. The period of the Sophists in ancient Greece represents the break-down of the old Polytheism, and introduces the spiritual Monotheism of Anaxagoras and Plato. The sceptical Epicurism of the Sadducees in Israel represents the break down of that "tradition" by which the "Word of God" had been made "of none effect." What the natural reconstruction might have been, we are left in great measure to conjecture, inasmuch as it was guided, dominated, and ultimately absorbed by, the new supernatural principle of Christianity. After the beginning of the second Christian century, the rise of patristic or argumentative, as distinguished from simply or mainly religious Christianity, points to a period of questioning which called forth the Apology of Justin Martyr, and the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria. It is characteristic of this period that Clement places the intellectual understanding of revelation (ἐπιστήμη) as the mean term between πίστις in which doubt has not yet arisen, and γνῶσις in which it has vanished in conscious certainty. A little later, the speculations of Origen and the growth of the Arian heresy indicate the continued prevalence of doubt, and the demand for reasons and evidence. In the twelfth century, again, the *Sic et Non* of Abélard indicates the transition from the patristic to the scholastic or metaphysical period of Christian thought. This work, the text of which was discovered and published for the first time by the late M. Cousin, is a discussion of the difficulties arising from Scripture and the writings of the Fathers, and a juxtaposition of the reasons for and against all the main truths of religion. The general point of view is thus stated: "Hæc quippe prima sapientiæ clavis definitur, assidue scilicet seu frequens interrogatio. Dubitando enim ad inquisitionem enimus; in quirendo veritatem percipimus" [Cousin's *Fragm. de Philosophie*, vol. ii. p. 220-234]. This book introduces the method of Enstasis and Solution characteristic of scholastic divinity, and which is seen in its perfection in the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas. The doubt, once more, of the seventeenth century, as represented by Lord Bacon, Descartes, and Spinoza, is consciously entertained as a solvent of the scholastic modes of thought, and as, what it has proved to be, the germ of the whole modern intellectual movement [Bacon, *N. O. passim;* Descartes, *l. c.;* Spinoza, *Princ. Phil. Cartes,* Op. ed. Bruder, vol. i. 22-28]. Protestantism too, the contemporary religious development, as the assertion of the right of private judgment, is essentially a principle of doubt; and while undermining the dogmas of the later Middle Ages, has in our own times shewn unmistakeable signs of a tendency to destroy itself. For the mere private judgment of one person has no interest for any other; and its maintenance is subversive both of truth and society; whilst, on the other hand, by becoming illuminated and instructed, judgment ceases to be private, and becomes common.

The last and most thoroughgoing instance of philosophical scepticism which the world has seen, that of Hume and Kant, illustrates the same law. Whilst annihilating the English sensational school of Locke and Berkeley, on the one hand, it is the foundation, on the other, of the vast

structure of modern German thought. Doubt is thus, like revolution, an anarchical principle; and its justification, like that of revolution, is its success, *i.e.* its capability of reconstructing the traditional and customary on a securer basis, "ex fumo dare lucem."

The consciousness of doubt in particular cases may arise from a variety of causes. [*a*] In the majority of minds which have arrived at the stage of demanding evidence for belief, although in reality they both believe and doubt, yet the attention is almost exclusively concentrated upon the fact that they believe. Belief is sustained by the influence of the unquestioning certainty of the world at large, by being more comfortable than doubt, and by the habit of continually asserting or assuming belief in ordinary life. Belief is thus artificially extended, and doubt narrowed almost to a vanishing point. It is most natural to forget that our belief is imperfect, as it is equally so to forget that our actions are imperfect. Belief being not only preponderant, but active, doubt becomes obscured. If, then, anything occurs to awaken examination of the grounds of belief, this residuum of doubt is brought to light, and doubt is likely to become active for a time, without being in reality different in amount, or in proportion to belief, from what it was before. These are cases in which belief is said to be "shaken," and the occasion seeming, and indeed being, inadequate to alter the relation of the mind to the evidence, moral perversion is taken for granted, or the inspiration of the Evil One, to account for the emergence of doubt. Whereas the fact is, that a latent condition of consciousness has been excited into activity, and while the excitement lasts,—which is not unfrequently prolonged and aggravated by the surprise of the doubter at the existence of doubt in his mind, by the protestation of friends, the social ostracism, the embarrassment of active duty, the misunderstandings and misstatements of enemies, or, again, by the encouragements of disbelievers, and the clamour on all sides for the supposed doubter to commit himself to definite statements,—the discovery of doubt loosens the moorings and throws an atmosphere of uncertainty over all beliefs. Doubt propagates itself, just as belief had done before, and belief diminishes, for the time, to a vanishing point. It is in cases like this that the advice is good to change the sphere of life and engage in active occupation, in order to allow the mind to settle down again.

[*b*] But the mind may become conscious of doubt, *i.e.* of the imperfection of belief, by an accession of evidence on the negative side of the scale, or by the discovery that a portion of the evidence on the positive side breaks down. Here again the area of doubt may be artificially extended by the novelty of the discovery and consequent exaggeration of its importance, by the self-congratulation of the doubter at his own acuteness in making it, &c., so as to encroach farther upon the area of belief than is actually warranted by the new evidence. On this kind of doubt the following passage of St. Augustine is valuable: "Dubitationem tuam non invitus accipio; significat enim animum minimè temerarium, quæ custodia tranquillitatis est maxima. Nam difficillimum est omninò non perturbari, cum ea quæ pronâ et proclivâ approbatione tenebamus contrariis disputationibus labefactantur, et quasi extorquentur e manibus. Quare ut æquum est bene consideratis perspectisque rationibus cedere, ita incognita pro cognitis habere periculosum. Metus enim est ne cum sæpe subruuntur quæ firmissimè statura et mensura præsumimus, in tantum odium vel timorem rationis incidamus, ut ne ipsi quidem perspicuæ veritati fides habenda videatur." [*De Magistro*, 31 AB. *Bened, ed.* vol. i. p. 558.] "The best way never to be a sceptic," says Meric Casaubon, speaking of the same state of mind, "is not to be too quick of belief, and to doubt of many things" [*Credulity and Incredulity*, p. 155]. The opposite and more insidious temptation is for the doubter to tamper with his mind, to endeavour to forget the new evidence, to disregard the law of intellectual honesty, and habituate himself to the profession of beliefs for the sake of their comfortableness or utility, until at length he forms a new habit of believing a thing to be true, even in the teeth of a preponderance of evidence to the contrary. The best remedy against either temptation, and against the continuance of this kind of doubt, is careful, impartial, and methodized inquiry. It is by method that a man arises out of the individual isolation of doubt, and comes into contact with the common thought of all time.

[*c*] Lastly, doubt may emerge into consciousness owing to the natural inclination of particular temperaments, just as many are inclined to believe simply because they shrink from the trouble of investigating evidence. Others take refuge in alleged uncertainty of evidence, because they are afraid of pursuing a subject to unwelcome conclusions [see *Eclipse of Faith*]. The remedies for doubt of this order will be the same as those for indolence in the one case, and for timidity in the other.

Relation of doubt to action. Doubt is too often the paralysis of action; and commonly the necessity of action may induce a forcible suppression of doubt which leaves, for ever, a scar upon the character. Of this difficulty Bishop Jeremy Taylor gives the following solution. In the case of the unlearned, whose assurance may be destroyed by arguments which they cannot answer, he advises that "they stick to their conclusions, in despite of all objections, by a certainty of adhesion." But if the learned "be made to doubt in the understanding by the opposition of an adversary, they are not instantly to change their practice, but inquire further. . . . In these cases the practice is made sure by a collateral light, and the 'doubter' is defended from change by reputation and custom, by fear of scandal and the tie of laws, and by many other indirect instruments of determination; which although they cannot outwit the contrary arguments, yet they ought to outweigh the doubt and guide the will and rule the conscience in such cases. There

is nothing but a weak man may doubt of, but if he be well, he must not change his foot, till it be made certain to him that he is deceived: let him consider what he please, and determine at leisure: let him be swift to hear but slow to speak, and slower yet in declaring by his action and changed course that his doubt hath prevailed upon him. . . . If the speculative doubting conscience should always prevail in practice, the ignorant might be abused and miserable in all things and the learned in most" [*Ductor Dubitantium*, p. 184, sqq.]. In the analogous forensic case of possession upon a title discovered to be uncertain, Taylor quotes the authority of all the principal jurists for his solution, that "whatsoever hath the first advantage of just and reasonable is always to be so presumed till the contrary be proved: a doubt therefore may make a man unquiet and tie him to inquire, but cannot interrupt possession . . . because possession is stronger than doubt, though it cannot prevail against demonstration" [*Ib. l. c.*; see the question discussed at the end of Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, Eng. tr., and in Browning's *Bishop Blougram's Apology*]. Robertson writes that he "never allowed his bewilderment to tell upon his conduct" [see his *Life and Letters* by Stopford Brooke, vol. i. p. 111-113], although he not only at one time doubted everything except that "it must be right to do right," but even speaks of the misery of a suspicion that even moral goodness and beauty was a dream. His temptations and doubts he sought to solve by working amongst the poor, by putting his aspirations into practice, and in keen sympathy with the sufferings of the masses. He adds [p. 203] that all questioning and doubt left him as he drew near the close of his career.

The relation of doubt to faith is a particular case of the relation of the individual to that spiritual community of which he forms a part. And this may be described as a relation, first, of opposition; secondly, of expansion; finally, of reunion; corresponding in the moral sphere to selfishness, rational self-love, and self-sacrifice, respectively. Faith is, as is knowledge, always of the True Object. But *in us*, who are in process of development, the true object may wear the appearance of the false. Still the true object is there as the condition of believing at all: we throw our own shadow upon it, by doubt which is the imperfection of belief. If there were no light and no object, we could not throw our shadow [cf. 2 Tim. ii. 13]. We see the truth "enigmatically and in a glass," as we see the sun through the medium of the window and the atmosphere; and this truth is our union, in Christ, with God. This is the true object of faith, and at the same time the reality and substance of faith itself. But in describing it, we obscure that which we would explain, because the oppositions of speech involve distinctions which are distinctly negative of that which they are meant to express. Faith is a relation, and in thinking of it we cannot but regard it from our side of the relation: we are compelled to think of ourselves as first; whereas in reality God is first, and we in Him. It is this inability of faith to take a true view of itself, which brings it down into the sphere of opinion, and into contact with the divided regions of belief and doubt, which are incidents of the individual life in its state of limitation and growth. And, conversely, it is only by a kind of mental self-denial that we can rise above the region of opinions, misgivings and prejudices, of the contradictions of thought and feeling, and of the opposition of moral and intellectual, which is the province of doubt, and from which we can only describe the truth amiss, and in terms, which, so soon as used, require correction. [Faith. On the distinction of "common faith" *i.e.* belief on evidence, and "true faith," *i.e.* a supernatural state of the soul, see Perkin's *Exposition of the Creed*, works, vol. i. p. 126, fol. 1608; on doubt as a preliminary to knowledge, see Hamilton's *Lectures on Metaphysics*, vol. i. p. 90, follg.; cf. also on the general subject, Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, bk. ii. 7-9, and Clough's *Dipsychus*.]

DOXOLOGY. [Gloria in Excelsis. Gloria Patri. Embolismus.]

DULIA [δουλεία]. A term used in Roman theology to designate the reverence due to any worthy creature of God, as distinguished from the Latria or Adoration which is due to God alone. It is used principally with reference to Angels and Saints. [Latria. Hyperdulia. Worship. Saints. Angels.]

DUALISM, the assumption of a contrariety, original, fundamental and ultimate, between the spiritual and material, whether regarded under the general form of God and the universe (*theological or cosmological*) or under the two special cases of soul and body (*psychological*) or good and evil (*ethical*).

I. *Historical.* Some form of theological or cosmological Dualism characterizes more or less all the varieties of natural religion amongst the Indo-Germanic family of nations. Amongst the nobler races, the Indian, the Greek, and the German, it is so subdued as to be scarcely discernible; amongst the rest, the Persian, Sclavonic, &c., it rises into greater distinctness, but manifests an inability to maintain itself. Thoroughgoing Dualism appears for the first time in Greek philosophy (Anaxagoras, Plato); and it is from a fusion of this with the Persian Zoroastrianism that some, or, perhaps indirectly, all the Dualistic heresies—the Gnostic, Manichæan, Priscillianist, Paulician, Catharist, Albigensian, &c.—have arisen within the Christian Church. In more modern times, the Cartesian, and a section of the Kantian school, have lapsed into a dualism which formed the philosophical basis of the Deism of the eighteenth century. We proceed to consider these in their order:—

[*a*] *The religious dualism of the German and Norse races* is traceable to a kind of rude classification of the useful or beneficent, and the hurtful or destructive, influences of the north European climate and scenery. Warmth, light, summer, are personified as gods; frost, storm, darkness, precipitous rocks, &c., as giants. And the

course of nature, with the alternation of day and night, heat and cold, &c., thus came to be regarded as a continual and fluctuating conflict between powers which are the friends, with those which are the enemies, of man. When the lightning rends the rocks, Thor is splitting the skull of a giant. The relegation of the beneficent powers to a place in the upper air, whilst the malevolent remained upon the earth, gave rise to the idea of two separate kingdoms of good and evil spirits.

On this form of Dualism we may remark [1] that it is not properly a Dualism between God and the universe, but an opposition of contrary forces within nature itself; [2] that its maintenance is relative to the cultivation of man, and his ability to use, or at least adjust himself to, surrounding circumstances. Hence [3] in the happier climate of the Mediterranean Sea, and amid the more refined and intelligent population of Greece, we find the opposition of good and evil spirits much less strongly marked: and whilst the Dualism of earth and heaven appears in the battles of the Titans with the gods, in the myths of Prometheus, Zeus appears as the evil being, and Prometheus as the suffering benefactor of man. Similarly among the Germans, the two sides of the Dualism tend to merge and interchange. The same being has two aspects. Summer, *e.g.* so far as it is balmy and mild, is a god; as scorching and destructive, a giant. The giants are conquered by the gods, and then taken up into heaven. Gods and giants intermarry, and their offspring becomes a mean term of reconciliation.

Another kind of Dualism, more ethical than cosmological, also arose out of the difference between the warrior class and the rest of the community. Of these, the former, and all who die a violent death, go to Walhalla, whilst those who die by natural causes, go to Hel. This elementary idea of good and evil, reflecting the necessities of an age of violence, may be compared with the Homeric conception of goodness as physical pre-eminence. Here, too, the Dualism is erased as incipient civilization produces an intermediate class, who being neither warriors nor cowards, go after death to the Nebelhel, intermediate between Hel and Walhalla. [Wachter's article on *Dualismus* in Ersch. u. Gruber's *Allgem. Encycl.* and Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. ii. p. 936, sqq.]

[*b*] *The Slavonic and Persian Dualistic ideas* appear to have arisen from the super-position of the gods of a conquering upon those of a conquered race. The opposition of Perun and Wolos (Russia) and of Jasen and Quachiz (Bohemia), or more generally of the black and white gods, Bjelbog and Czernibog, the magicians and councillors, seems to have been partly or wholly traceable to conquest. [*v. ll. cc.*] According to some, too, the German domestic deities, Kobolds, Poltergeister, &c., were changed from good to bad by the introduction of Christianity. "An die Stelle einer durchgötterten Natur trat eine durchteufelte." [*Zur. Gesch. der Religion u. Philosophie in Deutschland*, von. H. Heine. Wke. iii. p. 128.]

More definite results, however, have lately been obtained by the researches of Martin Haug into the nature and origin of the Persian Dualism. The general conclusion of his *Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsees* [Poona 1862], is that there are five periods in the history of Persian Dualism:—

1. *The period before Zoroaster, i.e.* before circ. 1200 B.C. At the beginning of this period, the Iranian and Bramanic race lived together in the Punjab, partaking in the same Vedic worship of the powers of nature, and the same pastoral life [p. 225] with very slight admixture of agriculture [p. 249]. At a certain time the Iranian stock migrated northwards to the Bactrian highlands, where they settled down to the agricultural life, and became for many years the victims of continual inroads from the still nomadic Bramans. This opposition of the two races developed an opposition of religion: the Devas, the gods of the Bramans, became the devils and inferior spirits of the Iranians, while the Ahuras, the enemies of the Devas, became the gods of the Iranians [p. 225]. So far, we have merely the natural Dualism of the Punjab shepherds turned upside down. But the Ahura polytheism was gradually merged in the worship of one Supreme Being (Ahura-mazdao or Or-muzd), which made agriculture a religious duty, and stood in conscious negation of both the polytheism and pastoral life of the Deva-worshippers [pp. 250-253]. At this point came

2. *The Reform of Zoroaster*, who defined and established the monotheistic cultus of Or-muzd, and expelled polytheism. So far from being the founder of Persian Dualism, Zoroaster's reform is essentially monotheistic, by the extrusion of one term of the opposition [p. 255]. In the Gâthas or fragments attributed to Zoroaster himself, monotheism is said to arise from a primeval cause, called "existence," polytheism from "non-existence;" the material world to be due to the operation of "twin spirits," good and evil, "the one creating the real, the other the unreal" [pp. 141-3]. Here the form of Dualism is retained, but one term expressly declared to be unreal. Similarly the "good mind" and the "naught mind" are creations of Ormuzd, and in him "is the last cause of both" [p. 159].

In his theory of knowledge and psychology, however, Zoroaster maintains a thoroughgoing Dualism, by opposing "the original wisdom" which comes from heaven (intuition) to the "wisdom perceived by the ear" (experience). Contrariwise, the body is called "the prior life," the mind "the second life." Both these, however, are indistinct, and their meaning unexplained [p. 264-5]. Throughout the Gâtha fragments there is no doctrine of a separate spirit of evil. Although soon after Zoroaster's death a

3. *Relapse into Dualism* seems to have taken place, as the later *Vendidad* [circ. B.C. 400] attributes that doctrine to the early Zoroastrians [p. 257]. And in the *Yasna*, the second Scripture of the Parsees [circ. B.C. 800], the good and the naught mind become identified with the natural opposition of the beneficent and hurtful powers of nature, light, day, and night, noxious weeds,

&c., respectively [p. 258]. On the other hand Ormuzd speaks of the two spirits as "my two spirits" [p. 224], so that even here the Dualism is not original or ultimate.

In the *Vendidad* [= "book against the Devas"] the dates of the different parts of which vary, according to Haug, between 1200 and 400 B.C., the old pre-Zoroastrian opposition reappears; and the special enmity of the Devas to agriculture takes the place of the general malevolence of the "naught mind" [p. 226]. Agreeably to this the Supreme Being becomes identified with one of the two spirits, each being surrounded by a council of six [p. 259]. This brings us back to the original opposition of the Ahura and Deva polytheisms.

4. *Two attempts to eliminate this Dualism* are found in the *Yashts* [450-350 B.C.], which represent the degeneracy of the Parsee religion, and its contact with Buddhism. The first introduces between the extreme terms an angelic mediator between God and man, who as the impersonation of tradition represents the approach of God to man, and as the impersonation of rites and sacrifices, the approach of man to God. He is the judge of the world at the last day [p. 262]. The second is an attempt to restore the purity of monotheism by the idea of "boundless time," which is not originally, as some have supposed, a higher Supreme Being from whom Ormuzd and Ahriman (the naught mind) spring, but a predicate of the former [p. 264]. Thus in the Vendidad, Ormuzd is said to make certain things "in the boundless time" [p. 215]. This notion is hypostatized by the modern fire-priests as the one God, and this interpretation reaches back to the fifth century B.C. [p. 264]. From this notion of time, it has been inferred that Zoroaster was an Atheist, and as such he is placed in Maréchal's *Dictionnaire des Athées* [1800], who interprets the passage: "Dieu a été créé par le temps avec le reste des astres." How the later Zoroastrians worked out the idea is not apparent.

5. *Dualism reappears in the Bundehesh* [A.D. 400], but it is regarded as an heretical view of the Zendiks or private judgment interpreters. It was probably this aspect of Zoroastrianism which propagated itself through Manichæism into the Christian Church.

Persian Dualism is thus, in its origin, an inversion of the natural Dualism of the beneficent and destructive forces in Nature, modified by the antagonism of two kindred races, one of which developed more rapidly than the other. It may be therefore attributed rather to the influence of historical circumstances than to any peculiar tendency in the Persian mind. Indeed, the latter was manifested both in the reform of Zoroaster and those of the fifth century B.C., as an effort towards the elimination of Dualism by absorbing its terms in a higher conception, or its reconciliation by the intervention of a mediator.

[*c*] *Dualism of Greek Philosophy* is connected mainly with the names of Anaxagoras and Plato. The terms of Anaxagorean Dualism are an original state of chaos, and a formative intellect, "which came to" the chaos and reduced it to order [*πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ, εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε*, see the fragments in Ritter and Preller's *Hist. Philosophiæ Græc. et Latinæ*, sec. 47-58.] This *νοῦς* is merely the negative of the chaos; it is *ἀμιγής*, whilst chaos is *μίξις*; one, while chaos is many; definite while chaos is indefinite; impassive while the chaos is passive, &c. As the negative of the chaos, it is limited by the chaos which it is not, and consequently, not the Creative and Infinite Mind, as we conceive it, but a *finite* intelligence, outside of, and excluded by, an impenetrable and co-eternal matter. This theory, we are told by Aristotle [*Metaph.* i. 3] arose out of a perception of the beauty and perfection of Nature, and the manifest impossibility of accounting for these by the previous theories of material causes, of chance or of fate. In short, it is conception of Nature under the correlative images—easily suggested in the age of Phidias—of the artist and his work. It also may be regarded as a reflection, under the forms of philosophical thinking, of the characteristic mental attitude of a critical and self-conscious age; which, detaching itself from the moral order represented by religion and the state, asks "whence? why? what shall it profit?" of all that exists; which seeks freedom by standing aloof from law, limited at the same time by the law which it forsakes, and by the thraldom of the natural passions [cf. Plato, *de Republica*, p. 587, &c.]; and which withdraws from the world of knowledge and belief, into a limited region of subjective and individual opinon, which it calls freedom of thought. The questions asked by a generation such as this only admit of a dualistic answer, because they themselves arise from the difficulties of a mind divided against itself. As the individual self, expressed in the passion and opinion of the moment, stands aloof from, and in contradiction to, that larger and better self which is the parent of law, and institutions, and the moral world; so it cannot but conceive of the reason which is manifested in the physical universe as a finite intelligence, standing over against, and itself the direct negation of Nature. The speculation of Anaxagoras was accused of Atheism by his contemporaries, as a denial of Polytheism. To us, it may appear, at first sight, as an effort after Monotheism, by substituting one mind for many as the ruling cause of the universe. But a deeper view must always regard as atheistic, an apotheosis of the finite and natural mind of man, which is inevitable so long as matter is regarded as co-eternal with the formative *νοῦς*. Such an apotheosis as it was the negation of the larger and better self, which, under the form of the religious consciousness, was the parent of Greek Polytheism; so it is equally negative of the larger and better self, to which under the form of the religious consciousness, the revelation of an Infinite Being, reconciling the world to Himself, has been made. The inability of Anaxagoras to explain anything by his assumption, and the fluctuating and mechanical use which he was compelled to make of it, is the complaint

alike of Plato [*Phædr.* 97B—98B] and of Aristotle [*Metaph.* i. 4.]

The *Dualism of Plato* was partly the offspring of the same mental movement as that of Anaxagoras, a movement which was not spent till it received its most accurate expression and, at the same time, its quietus from the hands of Kant. Partly and mainly, it was the necessary consequence of his Theory of Ideas. [v. Conceptualism, I. *a*—*c*.] If the idea alone is real, and more real in proportion to its abstraction, and remoteness from the world of things which are seen and handled, it follows that the ultimate reality can be brought into no intelligible relation, as a cause, with the world of sense. Either then, this region of the sensible must be regarded as illusory, or else a cause, other than a rational one (*i.e.* an idea) must be assumed to account for it. Plato, admitting the quasi-existence of the sensible world, is compelled to choose the latter alternative; which accordingly appears in his system under the different names of "matter," "necessity," "space," &c. As the highest idea is the "idea of good," this rival cause must be evil; as the former is rational, the latter must be irrational; as the former is a cause of order, so the latter must be the source of change and disorder, and of all obstacles to order. Hence, in the account of creation, the divine operation comes into contact with an opposing force, which it modifies but never overcomes, and the world is the fulfilment of the divine purpose, "as far as it was possible for it to be so" [Plato, *Tim.*, 46 c. : see the passages bearing on the whole question in Zeller's *Philos. der Griechen*, *2te Th.*, pp. 457-490]. This ethico-cosmological Dualism reappears in man, as a thoroughgoing opposition of the soul, which is allied to the idea, and comes from above—to the body, which is cognate to matter, and comes from below. The body is thus the tomb and prison of the soul, which ἅτε ὀυδὲν κοινωνοῦσα αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἑκοῦσα εἶναι [*Phædo.*, 80E, &c.], will live after, as it pre-existed before, its entrance into the body.

The practical deductions from Platonic dualism are [*a*] an ascetic theory of life; *i.e.* an elimination of sensation, desire, imagination, will, understanding, &c., in order to attain to perfection, being the counterpart in morals of the search for truth by abstraction from the concrete; and [*b*] the correlative of this, a justification of libertinism which, as merely a series of bodily acts, have no effect upon the soul, and are indifferent.

The Platonic theory lies at the root of the Epicurean doctrine of a deity, apart from, and indifferent to, the world; and, of the correlative of this, an ideal of human life as the selfish pursuit of pleasure. If God is out of any relation to man, it follows that man is out of any relation to, and has no duties towards, God.

For the influence of Plato upon the asceticism of Seneca and the later Stoics, see Zeller, *Op. cit.* *3te Th.* *2te Abth.* pp. 201, 202.

[*d*] *The Dualism of Christian and semi-Christian heretics* was due partly to a fusion of Oriental with Platonic speculations, and partly to the impression of novelty and sublimity made by Christianity, which led to the idea of an antithesis between the revelations of the Old Testament and the New Testament.

1. *Indications in St. Paul's Epistles.* Speaking of the contemporary philosophy, St. Paul calls it κενὴ ἀπάτη [Col. ii. 8], βέβηλοι κενοφωνιαι and ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως [1 Tim. vi. 20], which seems to point to the beginnings of Gnosticism, the word ἀντίθεσις being a technical dualistic phrase to express the relation of the God to the spirit of the world, and of the New Testament to the Old [cf. Marcion's book in the second century on the contrariety of the two Testaments, called Ἀντιθέσεις]. After his manner at Athens, too, St. Paul takes up and gives a new meaning to the dualistic ἐξουσία τοῦ σκότους and the βασιλεία τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, and to the physical metaphors involved in such words as ἐρρύσατο, μετέστησεν, &c., [Col. i. 13, follg.; cf. 1 John ii. 8-12]. He condemns also the specious asceticism, abstinence from marriage and from meats, which are known to have been practised in later times by Saturninus, Marcion, &c. [Col. ii. 16, follg.; 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4; *ib.* ii. 15]; and the opposite extreme of licence and Antinomian communism preached by the adherents of Simon Magus. These errors seem to be aimed at in the expression "Christ is all and in all" [Col. iii. 11]; in the close juxtaposition of "mortify your members," &c., in the sense of uncleanness [*ib.* iii. 5], with the condemnation of ἀφείδια σώματος, &c. [*ib.* ii. 23], and in the commendations of the family and ordinary relations of life [*ib.* iii. 18-25; cf. 1 Pet. i. 13-17, iii. 1].

The Docetic view of the Person of Christ alluded to [1 John i. 1 and iv. 3] was also a natural deduction of the early heretics from the doctrine of the irreconcilable opposition of spirit and matter. [Docetæ. Gnosticism.]

2. *Manichean Dualism* represents the complete, as Gnosticism the partial, fusion of the Dualistic result of the Platonic speculation with Oriental Dualism. The Hyle, or Prince of Darkness, is no longer, as with the Platonists and Gnostics, a quasi-negative conception, but a positive power, ruling over a "terra pestifera," full of frightful animals, poisonous plants, darkness, fire, storm-wind, and thick smoke, and inhabited by a "gens tenebrarum," the personification, in short, of the hurtful and destructive agencies of nature [cf. *a*]. Another view of it, as the region of generation and decay, of animal life, of mutual persecution and disorder, recals the chaos of Anaxagoras. This region trends southwards, as the region of good trends northwards; the former, however, pressing up, wedgelike, into the latter. Between the ruling principles of each region, say the Mysteries of Manes, there is no community, the good has no need of the bad, the bad knows not the good. Inconsistently with this total contrariety, the Hyle, in the conflict with the Principle of Good, approaching near to the region of light, becomes enamoured of it, rushes on the object of its desire, which, being in danger, surrenders a part of its "armour of light," viz., the

soul, to the Hyle, "as a shepherd gives up one of his sheep to the wolf to save the rest." To redeem this lost part is the end of the world's history, and the soul in its captivity is the "Jesus patibilis" begotten by the Holy Spirit on the virgin bosom of the earth, who is born and dies daily, and hangs crucified on every tree [omni suspensus ex ligno]. The contrariety of principle in the "kosmos" at large is thus reproduced in small in the conflict of the nature of the individual man with itself; and his redemption consists in his awakening to a consciousness of the true relation of his luminous nature to the world, *i.e.* to the doctrine of Dualism. This double principle in man is spoken of, apparently inaccurately, by St. Augustine as "two souls" [*de duabus animabus contra Manichæum, Op.* vol. viii. *Bened. Ed.*], just as the two cosmical principles are wrongly called by Tertullian "two Gods" [*adv. Marcion*, i. c. 6], whereas the principle of evil is only "princeps immanis et dux . . . mens et origo" of the kingdom of darkness; whilst Manes called the principle of light alone "Deus pater" [see *Aug. contra Ep. Manichæi quam vocant fundamenti*, which contains several quotations from Manes, *Op.* vol. viii.].

Man, then, as the microcosm, in whom Nature arises to a consciousness of her captivity, concentrates in himself the isolated particles of light spread abroad in the universe; which light is again dispersed by the multiplication of the human species, the soul losing at each stage more and more of its power over the body. Hence work, the acquisition of property, and especially marriage, contribute to augment and sustain the kingdom of evil, and were abjured by the elect Manichean; and, as Tertullian records, only celibates and eunuchs were admitted to baptism; persons already married not being baptized till death or divorce [*adv. Marcion*, iv. 11; cf. i. 29]. Like the Gnostic, the Manichæan view of Christ is Docetic.

The characteristics of this development of Dualism may be summed up as [1] a positive view of evil "duas naturas atque substantias" [*Aug. adv. Hæres.* 46]; [2] a geographical view of good and evil as pervading two distinct regions; and [3] a sidereal conception of God as enthroned amid worlds of light, and of Christ as inhabiting the sun. All these peculiarities indicate a close connection with the later forms of the Parsee religion [v. *supra, b,* 5]; [2] especially recals the adjacent territories and hostile gods of the Bactrian agricultural settlers, and the pastoral tribes of the Punjab.

An historical connection with the doctrines of Epicurus (dominum inferens hebetem, *i.e.* an indifferent Deity), or with the later Stoics, as supposed by Tertullian [*adv. Marcion*, v. 19], seems improbable. So far as it was not a caricature of Christianity, Manichæism may be described as the Oriental (as Gnosticism was the Greek) phase of a conviction involved in all natural religions, of the contrariety of God and His Creation, and of the nature of the individual man within itself, expressing a kind of unconscious want of Christianity in the heathen mind. [See MANICHÆISM.]

3. The Priscillianists in Spain [fourth to end of fifth century A.D.], the Paulicians in Asia Minor [seventh to ninth century A.D.] and Thrace [tenth to thirteenth century A.D.], the Cathari, Bogomiles, Concorezensians in Bulgaria, Italy, France, Flanders, &c. [from uncertain date till they passed over to Mohammedanism, fifteenth century A.D., or were merged in Albigenses, Waldenses, &c.], agree in holding more or less strongly the main tenets of semi-Christian Dualism; viz. the co-eternal opposition of God and an inferior demon sprung from chaos and darkness, an analogous theory of soul and body, accompanied by ascetic practices. Some appear to have fallen into the opposite, but equally logical extreme of libertinism, some again into a Docetic view of Christ, some, lastly, to have based their system on an opinion of the contrariety of the Old and New Testaments—more than others. [See DICT. *of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

Dualism comes into contact with general history, as connected, through the Albigenses, with the institution of the Dominican order, and of the Inquisition. Some have supposed the Templars to have held Dualistic tenets.

[*e*] *The Dualism of Descartes* is the necessary consequence of the isolation of the individual mind, which is supposed in his theory of doubt, and to which the Nominalism of the later Mediæval speculation naturally led. If, in order to arrive at certainty, I am compelled to doubt, *i.e.* to exclude as possibly non-existent everything except the thinking self which doubts, it follows that the attainment of certainty involves an opposition, thoroughgoing and original, between thought which doubts and the world of things, including the bodily organism, of which it doubts [see DOUBT]. The essential character of mind and body thus consists in their mutual exclusion; and the only possible relation between the two in the nature of man, is the mechanical and external one, of one "substance" contained within the other; and as a sequence of this, the only way in which a relation between the thinking mind and the world can be conceived possible is through the intervention of the Deity Himself [Geulincx, Malebranche, &c.].

But, on the other hand, it followed from this theory of the divorce of the human mind from the world of matter, that a similarly abstract view should necessarily be taken of the relation of the infinite mind of God to the world. As the isolation of the individual mind from its work in the State, and the Moral Law [see above, *c*] led to the Epicurean view of God as *pari analogiâ*, outside of, and indifferent to, His creation; so the Cartesian isolation of the individual mind, as the condition of certainty, led to the Deistical view of God as an unknown Being who had never revealed Himself to man or interfered in his affairs [see DEISM], at the same time that it postulated, as the only condition of knowledge, the direct intervention of such a Being. This contradiction wrought the doctrine of Dualism into its

final shape in which it appears in *The Philosophy of Kant*, and then disappears from history. If we are precluded by the very terms of Dualism from supposing the existence of a God who works *in* the world, and therefore from appealing to His intervention as a guarantee for the correspondence of the mind and the world which is implied in knowledge, it follows that the two factors, thought and things, stand over against one another, without any guarantee that the conclusions of the one correspond to reality in the other. All I know is what my thoughts about the world are, not what the facts of the world are in reality; in other words, things are only accessible to man *as they appear to be*, not as they really are. The "thing in itself," *i.e.* out of relation to the conscious mind, thus becomes the only reality, and is at once the criterion of the truth of the thing as it appears, and at the same time can never be brought within the reach of the mind, because, so soon as we suppose it to stand in any relation to the conscious mind, it ceases to be the thing as it is "in itself." It follows from this that any comparison between the thing, as known, with the thing as it is "in itself," is impossible. In other words, the mind pronounces all its own knowledge to be worthless, except upon condition of a comparison of the thing "as known" with the thing "as it is," which comparison the same mind declares can never take place. This self-condemnation of thought is an intellectual impossibility; so that the Dualism of mind and matter, and the philosophical Deism founded upon it, are seen, in the last resort, to be offsprings of a discord of the mind within itself, resulting in an ineffectual attempt itself to deny the validity of its own operations.

To sum up; the opinion of Dualism, or the ultimate contrariety of the spiritual and material, has arisen historically from the following causes:—

[*a*] A rough classification of the beneficent and hurtful influences of climate and surrounding nature. (Apparent more or less in all Polytheism.)

[*b*] The superposition of the Pantheon of one on that of another, hostile or subject, nation. (Persian, Slavonic, &c.)

[*c*] The reflection upon the Cosmos, of the mental detachment of the critical and self-conscious individual from the moral and religious world in which he lives. (Anaxagoras, and Greek Dualism generally.)

As a consequence of the confusion of thought lying at the root of the Platonic theory of ideas. (Plato and Epicurus.)

[*d*] The fusion of [*c*] with [*b*] and [*a*]. (Gnostic, Manichæan, Priscillianist, Paulician, Catharist.)

[*e*] From the attempt to arrive at certainty through a process of universal scepticism. (Descartes and his school, down to Kant.)

Of these [*a*], arising from a low degree of culture, vanishes with advancing civilization; [*b*] led to a series of reforms, and was at length stigmatized as a heresy; [*c, d, e*] disappear so soon as their origin can be explained, and their consequences shewn to be unthinkable.

It follows from this survey that Dualism is not a form of thought native to the mind, but one arising out of special circumstances, and which the mind manifests a continual tendency to expel.

II. *Considerations in favour of Psychological Dualism.* We are so accustomed to think of our life under the form of an opposition between body and soul, that the question seems almost nugatory —whence could such a form of thought have arisen? [1] From dreams, in which the body is at rest and yet the imagination active. The primitive observation of this fact led to the notion that the soul left the body in sleep; and that (from the apparent use of the limbs in the events of a dream), the soul was extended and corporeal. [2] From the juxtaposition and contrast of a series of objects vividly imagined in the memory, with another series presented outwardly to perception. [3] The connection of breath, as the unseen condition of life, with the invisible atmosphere, produced the very early image of the soul as mind or vapour [Ruach (Hebr.) and Atma (Sanskrit); ψυχή from ψύχω, πνεῦμα from πνέω; anima and animus; spiritus from spirare; Dutscha (Slavonic), from dutsch, to blow]. [4] The consciousness involved in the nature of man as a moral agent, of being at once the controller and the controlled, of being himself a sovereign and at the same time the subject of that sovereign, of using means to an end, and yet being himself, in part, the means so used [Plato]; or again, of being the subject of impressions which "motive" a certain action, and yet being able to resolve as an original and free agent; or, lastly, of the ability of standing aloof from and passing judgment upon our own conduct. [5] The consciousness of personal identity in the midst of a series of bodily renovations, extending throughout life; or again, of distinctness from morbid states of mind, especially in particular kinds of insanity; or again, of being able to see our body, but not ourselves, &c.; or, lastly, of the ability to surrender even life itself for an idea, and stand aloof from the instinct of self-preservation. [6] The observation that the beauty or strength of the body are not always accompanied by similar qualities, or even soundness, of mind; that the bodily and mental growth do not proceed *pari passu;* that in illness, body and mind do not suffer equally, but frequently, as in consumption, the prostration of the former is accompanied by elevation of the latter; or, conversely, as in catalepsy, the suspension of bodily functions is compatible with the continuation of consciousness; that some bodily functions, as digestion, are independent of consciousness; that after death thought and feeling cease, but the animal processes continue for a time. [7] The inability of physiological inquiry, by observation of the nerves and tissues, to give any satisfactory explanation of thought, imagination, feeling; or to connect the size of the brain with greater or less degrees of spiritual power; or, conversely, differences of genius and disposition with differences in the brain. [8] The psychological difficulty that unless the soul be different from the body, thought

must be, as a function of the body, composite, that this would render the comparison of sensations, ideas, &c., impossible, such comparison being a condition of thought.

III. *The difficulties of Dualism* are, mainly, that it leads to a materialistic view of the soul and of God. Thus, if a thoroughgoing distinction between body and soul, which co-exist in human life, be maintained, they must be distinguished by a limit at which one leaves off and the other begins. But the limit of the body, which is material, must itself be material; therefore, conversely, the limit which distinguishes the soul from the body must be material; therefore the soul which is so limited must itself be material [see an analogous difficulty pointed out by St. Augustine, *Contra Ep. Manich. quam vocant fundamenti*, c. xx., on the juxtaposition of the regions of light and darkness]. Similarly, if we maintain a thoroughgoing distinction between God and the universe, we are compelled to take the heathen view of Him as a physical substance enthroned in some remote region of interplanetary space, instead of Him "in whom we live, and move, and are." On the other hand, if we identify God and Nature, or soul and body, we can only do so by denying the existence of the one or the other, *i.e.* by distinguishing the one as real from the other as unreal.

Another difficulty arises from the impossibility of relating adequately the two terms when once supposed distinct. This is generally done by the use of *Metaphors.*

[*a*] The soul is said to be the *inward* of which the body is the *outward.* This distinction is taken from physical substances, and is only applicable if the soul is such.

[*b*] The soul is said to *use* the body as its *instrument.* This is a metaphor taken from the handicrafts, which are relations subsisting between men (who are both souls and bodies) and physical substances.

[*c*] The same may be said of the forensic metaphor of property involved in such expressions as "*my* body."

Both metaphors may be formulated thus: If *A* be soul, *B* be body, and *C* physical substance: A is to B, as AB (whether multiplied or added or how related or distinguishable is the matter to be explained) is to C. Which is manifestly absurd.

[*d*] The soul is said to *rule* the body. This is a political metaphor taken from the relation between men (each of whom is both body and soul) on the one hand, and men or bodies of men (each unit of whom is both soul and body) on the other. That is, A is to B as AB × n is to AB × n: which explains nothing. Because the exact nature of the relation capable of subsisting between men or bodies of men, some of whom are subject to the rest, may, and indeed manifestly does, depend on the nature of the relation between body and soul in each, which is the matter to be explained.

A further difficulty arises from the fact that the spiritual and material are so interwoven in the world and in the life of man, that they cannot be even divided in thought. Because much of their peculiar character arises from the fact of their combination; and their essence *is* their correlativity. Any true account of either must include its relation to the other, *i.e.* so soon as we begin to think of them adequately as the terms of a Dualism, the fact immediately becomes apparent that they are not a Dualism. Thus we cannot think of soul and body without including in our conception that they are not two, but one life; nor of good and evil, without remembering that they make up together one moral order; nor of God and the world, without taking in the fact that they are one in Christ "Et ita," says Tertullian, "Deus tunc maximè magnus cum homini pusillus; et tunc maximè optimus, cum homini non bonus; *et tunc maxime unus cùm homini dui aut plures*" [*adv. Marcion.* ii. 2, 3].

IV. *Verdict of Christianity on Dualism.* So far from Christianity being Dualistic, as its enemies have affirmed [see Heine, *Zur Gesch. der Religion u. Philosophie in Deutschland*, *Wke.* bd. iii. p. 123, &c., where he puts it into the same category with Gnosticism and Manichæism], it has been a perpetual protest against the Duality latent in secular thought [see above, I. [*d*] 1.] In the Epistle to the Colossians, which seems aimed at once at the rising Dualism, and at the doctrine of Emanation, which was the heathen way of getting over its difficulties [EMANATION], St. Paul, after disposing of the speculative error and its practical consequences, uses the strong metaphors *διὰ τῶν ἁφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον*, and speaks of the Church "increasing with the increase of God" [ii. 16-19], and of Christ as *τὰ πάντα* and *ἐν πᾶσιν.*

So, too, the early Church always condemned, and the Mediæval Church not only condemned, but persecuted most effectually, all the Dualistic heresies.

Christian doctrine moves between two ideas, that of creation out of nothing on the one hand, and the final subjection of all things to God, "that He may be all in all," on the other. Deny either of these, and the significance of Christianity, as a doctrine, falls to the ground. On the other hand, working as it does, in its manifestation to us, in that intermediate sphere in which the world has fallen away from its Maker, and the lower and spiritual parts of man are at variance, it sets them at one again. The true relation, whether of evil to good, or of body to soul, or of the world to God, is expressed in the doctrine of Atonement or Reconciliation. If they had not been originally and properly one, there would be no demand, were they not actually divorced, there would be no necessity, for reconciliation; were this variance not capable of being abolished, there would be no reality in reconciliation [cf. Docetic view of Dualists]. And the extinction of Dualism is found in the words: "As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ." [On Dualism as the basis of the modern mythical theory of the Gospel history, see Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, § 128, *obs.*]

E

EASTER, according to the Venerable Bede, is derived from Eostre, the name of a goddess worshipped of old in Britain. He lived sufficiently near to the time of idolatry to be able to speak with certainty, and no writer has given greater diligence to ensure accuracy. The word has nothing to do with *orientation*, as though the new creation coincided with the heliacal rising of the constellation in which the sun first went forth as a giant to run his course,—

> "Con quelle stelle
> Che eran con lui, quando l'amor divino
> Mosse da prima quelle cose belle."
> Dante, *Inf.* i. t. 14.

Neither is the word a Saxon equivalent for the Resurrection, which is "ærist"; the difference between which and "Easter" is seen in the words of Ælfric, "Swa we eac cristene menn healdaþ cristes ærist to Easter tide þas seofon dagas" "We Christians also celebrate the Resurrection of Christ at Easter tide during these seven days."[1] Our Easter, therefore, may be considered to have displaced the British festival of Eostre, on the well-known principle of Christian antiquity, whereby the material structure of God's House was built upon the site, and often with the materials of idol temples, and popular festivals were adapted to the Christian calendar. Even pagan customs, so that they were innocent, were allowed to continue. The observance of Easter extended over the week preceding (*πασχὰ σταυρώσιμον*) and the week following (*πασχὰ ἀναστάσιμον*) Easter Day. The fast of the Holy Week was kept strictly, but that of Easter Eve was especially rigid. Tertullian says, with whimsical hyperbole, "Hodie jejunant etiam aviculæ in nemore" [*Kirchen Lexic.*]. From the time of Celestine, says Durandus [VI. d. vii. sec. 7], no introit has been used on Easter Eve, "for the introit is at the head of the Liturgy, and our Head is now laid in the tomb." Easter Week was also religiously observed till its termination on Low Sunday, or the *Dominica in Albis*, *ἡ καινὴ κυριακή*. It was a time of holy joy indeed, but of complete abstinence from the public amusements of the world. The public spectacles were forbidden at this time by the Theodosian Code [*Lib.* xv. *Tit. de Spectac. Leg.* 5]. The law courts also suspended their sittings [*Cod. Theod. Lib.* ii. *Tit.* viii. *de Feriis Leg.* 2]. Ælfric's words above shew that the entire week was solemnly kept by the Saxon Church. Hence, the paschal difference was most thoroughly schismatical, as throwing the most solemn period of the Christian year into hopeless confusion; the Quartodeciman party triumphantly celebrating the Lord's Resurrection, while the Body Catholic was still fasting in Lent [QUARTODECIMAN]. In the primitive Church, Easter began the ecclesiastical year. It was the Queen of Festivals, *Βασίλισσα τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡμέρα* [Greg. Naz. *Or.* xix.]. It was ushered in by the vigil service of Easter, and kept up through the night without thought of sleep in brilliantly illuminated churches. The Eastern Church has never suffered the custom to fall into desuetude; the midnight prayer for light, *ad Duodecimam* in the Gallican, *ad initium noctis Paschæ* in the Gothic Missal, shew that the practice was once Catholic. Twelve antiphons from the Prophets symbolized the truth that prophecy was sealed, the day of Christ was there. "The rich profusion of light" [Greg. Naz. *Or.* xix.] "shews that the darkness of sin is resolved," for, on "the Paschal vigil lights are lavished in public and private till the night is as bright as day" [*Or.* ii. 9]. Eusebius says that on this night the Emperor illuminated the whole city with columnar torches of wax, *κίονας κηρίνους*, and made large charitable doles on Easter Day [*V. Const.* iv. 22]. There was a symbolical appropriateness in this display of light, for it was the time of spiritual illumination, *φωτισμός*, when the catechumens were admitted to the laver of regeneration. No solemnity can have been more imposing than this midnight service in the fifth century. The noble "Exultet jam Angelica turba"—peculiar to this service [Mabillon, *Missal. Gall. Goth. Mozarab.*]; —the joyful salutation "The Lord is risen indeed" passed from mouth to mouth; the neophytes in sacramental garments admitted to their first celebration,[2] for the Eucharist might be twice consecrated at Easter; the austerities of Lent resolved in the jubilant Alleluia and Agnus Dei of the morning of the Resurrection; the fragrance of flowers brought in from the country to deck with their profusion nave, chancel, and altar, as yet unmingled with the heavy odour of incense; made the midnight service of the Paschal Vigil a time never to be forgotten by the young member of Christ, and almost redeems from exaggeration the saying of the Apostle of Ireland, Patricius, "In nocte Paschæ qui non communicat fidelis non est" [op. 22].[3] Priests, laity, and neo-

[1] Harvey's *Vindex Catholicus*, iii. 348.

[2] Ambros. *ad Epp. Æm.* [3] Galland. *Biblioth. Patr.* x

phytes, all communicated. They were sights and sounds also that still linger round our own service; and Easter Eve speaks to us in its Collect and Epistle of the ancient Order of Baptism then solemnly observed, and reproduced in the words of our Ritual. The consecration of the baptismal water [*Ap. Const.* vii. 43] may be compared with our own Office.

Easter is connected with the ceremonies of the Jewish law as antitype with its type; it is the direct consequent of a symbolical antecedent, the final cause of all that was ordained for the service of the sanctuary of old. But there was one typical rite in the law more significant than the rest, designed to prefigure the historical event of Easter morning, and represented before the rent veil of the temple at the very time that the risen Lord appeared to His disciples, the wave sheaf of the second day of the Paschal week, *i.e.* on the first Lord's day, if the terrors of Calvary had caused no interruption in the stated services of the temple. Doubtless this coincidence suggested the words of St. Paul, "Now is Christ risen from the dead and become the first-fruits of them that slept," words that seem to have been written at Easter tide [1 Cor. xv. 20; compare 1 Cor. xvi. 8, with 1 Cor. v. 7, 8; and see Harvey's *History and Th. of the Three Creeds*, 375]. The wave sheaf of the first-fruits of the harvest was offered in the temple on the day of our Lord's resurrection from the grave. For fifteen hundred years it had been a perpetual symbol of our Easter. Another particular of the Passover ritual may be mentioned. The Hallel Psalms, from cxiii. to cxviii. inclusive, were repeated four times on the first day, when the Passover was slain; three times while the blood of a lamb for every household was offered in the temple; and once at the solemn feast in the evening [Talmud; *Tr. Pesach; Tosaphta;* and see Buxtorf, *Lex.* v. הלל]. So with us the proper Psalms for Easter evensong commence with the two first of this series; and for no other reason apparently than that they formed a portion of the last service of praise offered by our Lord, when, ὑμνήσαντες, He and the disciples went forth to the garden of their resort. Our proper preface for Easter is from the ancient Gallican Missal.

Easter was appointed by several early councils as a time when the churches of every province should meet for deliberation; as the high court of appeal also for all who should be aggrieved by the decision of their own bishop; this became part of the general law of the church by the Council of Nice, can. v. Prisoners in confinement for minor offences were now liberated, and slaves were manumitted in fitting acts of grace to symbolize man's redemption from the captivity of sin by the power of the Resurrection. [Laws of Valentinian and Theodosius embodied in the code of Justinian, lib. i. tit. 4, *de Episc. Leg.* 3]. Every adult was required to communicate at this festival on pain of forfeiting church privilege during life, and of being deprived of Christian burial at death. Our 112th Canon still requires non-communicants at Easter above sixteen years of age to be presented. [Paschal Controversy.]

EBIONITES. Little is known respecting Ebion, the supposed author of this sect, and his existence has been doubted—some deriving the name from a Hebrew word signifying "poor," on account of their mean and unworthy opinions respecting our Lord; but more probably, as this name was adopted and boasted of by themselves, on account of their professed imitation of Apostolic poverty and community of goods. The Ebionites took their rise, according to St. Epiphanius,[1] soon after the destruction of Jerusalem: they engrafted Judaism on Christianity, thinking circumcision, an observance of the Sabbath, and obedience to the ceremonial law, necessary to salvation, and reviling St. Paul as corrupting the truth.[2] They generally believed that Christ was a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary; though others, as St. Epiphanius says, admitted His supernatural origin, that He came down from heaven. Origen also speaks of two parties amongst the sect—one believing that Christ was born as other men, and another that He was born of a Virgin.[3] St. Jerome often alludes to the sect, calling it half Jewish and half Christian—professing to belong to both religions, whilst really not believing either of them.[4] [Dict. *of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

ECLECTICISM in philosophy took its rise in Alexandria. The most opposite systems there met together. The Greek philosophy of the Platonic and Peripatetic schools came in contact with Egyptian mysticism; and Polytheism with the Theosophy of the Mage and the venerable religion of the Jew. The unity of the Deity is a doctrine so entirely consonant with the teaching of human reason, that the religious idea of Judæa and Persia gradually prevailed. An attempt was then made at philosophic compromise, and the schools for the first time were compelled to form an alliance with religion. But the junction was effected in varying ratio. Where the religious or oriental element prevailed, Gnosticism was the result of the amalgam; where a philosophic contempt for specific religious belief still held out, eclecticism sprung up, so named because it selected from the different systems the more marked characters of each, and forged the various elements into one inharmonious whole. It is evident that no system formed upon such principles, or rather upon the absence of any one dominant principle, could have any consistency. The different constituent elements of organic substance were thrown together, but the organism was wanting that could alone sustain life. Premises without conclusions, and results at variance with axioms, could only make confusion worse confounded. When the first germ of Arian thought reached Alexandria, the opportunity for hybridization was not neglected, and the funda-

[1] *Advers. Hæres.* x. *vel.* xxx.
[2] Orig. *Homil. in Jerem.* xviii. sec. 12.
[3] *Con. Celsum*, lib. v. sec. 61.
[4] *Epist.* cxv. *ad Augustinum*, sec. 15.

mental truth of the Christian religion, the Incarnation of the Son of God, was either explained by heresy upon the principles of Pagan mythology, or it was declared to be based upon a Platonic Trinity modified by Christian teachers, but in its very essence involving a progressively descending subordination of the Three Divine Hypostases of which it was composed. Hence Arianism, a product of the dialectical character of the School of Antioch, owed its after-development to the Eclecticism of Alexandria, although in other respects it had little in common with the contemplative mysticism which this system had inherited from Egyptian and Eastern theosophy.

The formation of the Eclectic School of Alexandria is generally assigned to Ammonius Saccas (who like the Jewish Rabbin followed a humble occupation, and was a sack porter to the corn ships), at the close of the second century. But the germ of the system may be found in the writings of Philo, whose notions were a product of four several factors; Judaism, Magian Dualism, the Cabbalistic Emanative theory, and the incipient Eclecticism of Greek philosophy. From these materials his followers developed that discretive scheme of philosophic thought, which to a certain extent gave its tone also to Christian teaching. The well-known words of Clement of Alexandria, slightly earlier than Ammonius, shew how ready Christian teachers were to adopt the method of the schools, not foreseeing the disturbing force that it would most surely exercise upon sound faith. He says that each system of philosophy is to be referred to a divine original in proportion as it favours virtue, and "by philosophy, I mean not," he says, "Stoic, Platonic, Epicurean, or Peripatetic notions, but all sound teaching of the collective schools, all precepts of virtue in connection with religious knowledge. This Eclectic aggregate, *πᾶν τὸ ἐκλεκτικόν*, I call philosophy" [*Strom.* i. 7]. Thus the way was prepared when Ammonius by his eloquence and erudition collected around his chair all the rising intellect of the day; Origen, Plotinus, and Longinus, the tutor of Zenobia, being among his scholars. He was born of Christian parents, and it would seem that he continued within the Church when founding his school of Neo-Platonism. Like Clement, he held that Philosophy and Christianity both centred upon a common nucleus of Divine truth. His system had far less in it of Platonism than its name imports, but it superseded all other forms of philosophy, and became the fashion at court. In the chapel of Alexander Severus, busts of Abraham and Pythagoras, Orpheus and the Saviour, were placed on the same level. Aware of the lurking antagonism between Eclecticism and Christianity that must at one day shew itself outwardly, Ammonius exacted from his followers a vow of secresy, which was faithfully kept till his death, A.D. 242. His pupils then having become teachers, the system started into life simultaneously at all the great centres of learning [Brucker, *Ph.* I. i. 2, 4]; Plotinus being its enunciator at Rome. Eclecticism was to the Church of the third century what Deism was to ours in the eighteenth, and Rationalism is in the nineteenth. It reduced the most vital truths to allegory, as the modern Deists also termed Christianity nothing more than a result of Jewish allegory. It explained away the miracles, and denied the inspiration of prophecy; in which also it has been imitated by the Deist and Rationalist. The Christian Apologists, as exhibiting an Eclectic spirit, are often more valuable as the interpreters of ancient philosophic notions than as expositors of the faith of the Church. They seem to have considered it their mission to make good the claim of Christianity on the attention of heathens by reason of its points of analogy with the higher truths of pagan antiquity [Brucker, *H. Phil.* I. i. 2, 4; Newman's *Arians*, i. 4].

ECONOMY. *Οἰκονομία*, as a technical term in theology, means vicarious dispensation, as that of a household by a steward [Gen. xv. 2, xvi. 1, 3, 8; Isa. xxii. 19, 21]. It is used in this sense by St. Paul, *οἰκονομίαν πεπιστεύμαι* [Eph. i. 10]. The Church applied the term at an early date to signify the *dispensation* of Divine mercy administered by the Son, in connection with His Incarnation; His pre-existence in the mere glory of the Word being expressed by its correlative, *Θεολογία*. Thus Tertullian, thinking in Greek though writing in Latin, says "There is one God, but under this dispensation which we call the economy, there is the Son" [*adv. Prax.* 11], and Hippolytus c. Noet: "Who does not affirm that there is one God, yet so he does not annul the economy" [3]. "In whom is God but in Christ Jesus according to the mystery of the *economy*" [4]. "This Word was truly the mystery of the economy of Holy Spirit and Virgin begetting one Son of God" [16]. In a wider sense the word refers to the Trinity in Unity, as connected inseparably with the doctrine of the Incarnation. So the same writer: "As respects the Divine energy there is one God, but as respects the economy its manifestation is threefold" [c. Noet. 8]; and afterwards, having spoken of the Father and the Son, he adds: "And in the economy third in position is the grace of the Holy Spirit" [14]; and of the Trinity in Unity: "The economy of unison is resolved in one God, for God is One" [*ib.*]. A word of this kind was not likely to be left untouched by the Gnostics, and they gave to it a Platonic colouring. They were Realists in their theosophy, and with them the pre-existent *ἰδέαι* of things had a true substantial existence. The Æonic Soter of their system, invested by the Demiurge with a body having a psychic or animal nature, *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, in due course appeared in the earthly counterpart of that body. Thus also Valentinus imagined that Christ had a spiritual body [Tert. *de Carm. Chr.* 15]; and in the Cabbalistic book Zohar of the Jews, the prototypal idea of Man pre-existed as the Adam Cadmon or אדם עלין; and in the sixth day of creation was formed according to that Divine idea from the dust of the earth [see Irenæus, Cambr. ed. i. 134, n. 2; 224, 1; and 232, n. 3; Neander, *Genet. Entw.* 15, quoted at 344, n. 1]. From the

idea of this Soter, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, Apollinaris would seeem to have developed his particular form of heresy; the heresies of the fourth and subsequent centuries being little else than old heretical matter run into new moulds. There is another use of the term in patristical divinity very different from the preceding, where a thing said or done bears one meaning to the sense, while a further meaning is contained in it as the flower in the germ. It is closely allied to the Disciplina Arcani, whereby so much of the entire truth is communicated as the recipient is able to assimilate, more being reserved for after instruction. It is the way in which we deal with children, and a homely explanation is perhaps the best; we give a true answer to their simple questions, that so far as it reaches is quite to the point; but much is reserved κατ' οἰκονομίαν, that as the intellect expands will also be communicated, but for the present must be kept back. St. Paul gave milk to babes who could not digest stronger food; he was "all things to all men" [1 Cor. ix. 20]. To the Jews he was as a Jew that he might gain the Jews; to them that are without law, as without law; with the heathen he could so far shew a common interest as to take the ground of their mythological notions, and quote to them their poets. It was done κατ' οἰκονομίαν, that the dull eye might be inured gradually to bear the majestic glory of Christian truth. And it is the practice which every teacher is compelled to adopt. The preacher may be full of information upon abstruse points, that might be unfolded with advantage before learned hearers; but he must lay other food before his ordinary flock. An inversion of this order would only make him unintelligible to the latter, and cause inattentive hearers among the former. He must be guided therefore in the choice and handling of his subject κατ' οἰκονομίαν. In no other way was the proud spirit of heathen philosophy led by the great teachers of the day in the third century to bow itself in self-abasement before the Cross of Christ. [See Gataker, *Marc. Anton.* xi. 18, p. 331.; Newman's *Arians*, 72, 82.]

ECTENE. [Litany.]

ELECTION. The Calvinistic doctrine of election has been already examined [Calvinism]; we shall now state, according to the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers, the true doctrine which Calvinism has perverted. Passages may first be quoted in illustration of the general teaching of Holy Scripture. We read of God's "electing," of an "election," and of the "elect." Thus, "He hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love" [Ephes. i. 4]. "We are bound to give thanks alway for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth" [2 Thess. ii. 13]. St. Peter addresses his first Epistle to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, "elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ" [1 Epist. i. 1]. St. Paul also speaks of "the purpose of God according to election" as not being "of works, but of Him that calleth" [Rom. ix. 11], and of a "remnant according to the election of grace" [Rom. xi. 5]. And to the Thessalonians, "knowing brethren beloved your election of God, for our Gospel came to you not in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance" [1 Epist. i. 4]. And St. Peter speaks of the Church at Babylon as "elected together with you" [1 Pet. v. 13], and says, "make your calling and election sure" [2 Epist. i. 10]. The "elect" are also frequently named: "For the elect's sake, those days shall be shortened" [Matt. xxiv. 22]. "If it were possible they (false Christs) shall deceive even the elect" [*Ibid.* v. 24]. "Shall not God avenge His own elect?" [Luke xviii. 7.] "I endure all things for the elect's sake" [2 Tim. ii. 10]. "The faith of God's elect" [Tit. i. 1]. "Put on as the elect of God bowels and mercies" [Col. iii. 12]. "Ye are an elect race" [2 Pet. ii. 9]. We also read of individuals as being elect: St. Paul was an elect vessel [Acts ix. 15]; he speaks of Rufus as elect in the Lord [Rom. xvi. 13]. And St. John addresses his Second Epistle to the elect Cyria, and mentions her elect sister.[1]

Again, this election, as intimated in some of the passages quoted, is represented as being founded on God's foreknowledge and predestination—God foreknows, predestinates, calls, elects, justifies, glorifies. Thus St. Paul [Rom. viii. 28-30], whom God did foreknow, or, as he says in the previous verse, "the called according to purpose," He did predestinate. Mark also the connection of predestination with salvation. Thus St. Paul says, "a remnant shall be saved" [Rom. ix. 27]. God "hath saved us and called us with an holy calling" [2 Tim. i. 9]. "To us which are saved" [1 Cor. i. 18]. The Lord added the saved, σωζομένους, to the Church [Acts ii. 47]. "Ye are saved if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you" [1 Cor. xv. 2]. We are a sweet savour of Christ in the saved and in the lost [2 Cor. ii. 15]. "By grace ye were saved through faith" [Ephes. ii. 8]. "He hath saved us by the washing of regeneration" [Tit. iii. 5]. "Baptism doth now save us" [1 Pet. iii. 21].

Moreover, St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians, speaking more definitely of the mystery of predestination, says: "God predestinated us to the adoption of children by Jesus Christ unto Himself, . . . that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, He might gather together in one all things in Christ" [John x. 16; xi. 52. Ephes. iii. 4, 6], both which are in heaven and which are in earth [Ephes. iii. 15], "even in Him, in whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of

[1] Called in the English Version "the elect lady." Κυρίᾳ is most probably a proper name.

His own will" [Ephes. i. 11]. And afterwards he thus defines this mystery of predestination, "which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men as it is now revealed unto His holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit; that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of His promise in Christ by the gospel" [Ephes. iii. 5, 6; see also Col. i. 26, 27].

Now, considering the passages quoted, without referring at present to the sovereignty of the decree of election, of which we shall afterwards speak, and which is here often intimated, we can only conclude that election is the attribute of the whole body of the baptized. Thus, such terms as "predestinated," "elect," or "saved," are applied indiscriminately to all the baptized, or to all members of the Churches to whom the Epistles were written. Such terms are not given to a few only amongst professing Christians, as might have been expected from the theory of an irrespective decree of salvation, but are equally applied to all. The Thessalonian Christians, *e.g.* are told to remember their election, not as if it had conferred special grace on a few only, which insured their salvation, but as being the privilege of all. However unworthy the lives of some of the baptized, as were those of the Corinthians, all are equally spoken of as being elect and chosen to salvation; as many as had been baptized into Christ had put on Christ; all equally had been sanctified and saved in the laver of baptism. Individuals are spoken of as elect to remind them of their privileges, that they had the means of grace and the hope of glory, and to urge them to make their calling and election sure; and not only so, but as a ground of comfort and confidence. If God be for us, if we are elected to salvation according to His purpose and grace, what can hinder the fulfilment of His will? what "can separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord?"

But in describing the whole body of the baptized as being "saved," we may be certain that the word could not be used in an absolute sense as intimating final salvation. All the baptized, as the Scriptures plainly declare or intimate, will not finally be saved. Hence we must consider another doctrine clearly revealed in Scripture, and *especially* brought before us in the Apostolic epistles, the possibility of those who are elect, baptized, or saved, finally falling from grace. This possibility is not only indirectly intimated, but also clearly and positively declared. It is intimated in the warnings with which the Epistles abound, addressed to the elect or baptized, that they will be saved if they hold the confidence and rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end. "Take heed, brethren," says the Apostle, "lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God, but exhort one another daily while it is called to-day, lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, for we are made partakers of Christ if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end" [Heb iii. 6, 12 14· see also Gal vi 9; Col. i. 23; 1 Thess. iii. 8; Heb. x. 36; Rev. iii. 3].

The meaning of these passages is unmistakeable: they clearly imply that the final attainment of salvation is conditional, and depends upon our own earnestness and watchfulness in the spiritual warfare—our continuance in faith and obedience unto the end. But the Apostles not only intimate that the attainment of salvation is conditional, they imply, or rather assert, the possibility of a final fall from grace. There are some striking passages bearing on this point in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus in the 4th chapter [ver. 1]: "Let us therefore fear, lest, a promise being left us of entering into His rest, it should appear that any of you failed of it"—or were shut out of heaven, as the disobedient Israelites out of the promised land. Again, "it is impossible for those who were once enlightened and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, "and have fallen into apostasy" (καὶ παραπεσόντας) to renew them again unto repentance, . . . whose end is to be burned" [vi. 4-8]. "If we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries" [x. 26, 27]. "Now the just shall live by faith, but if he draw back, My soul shall have no pleasure in him: but we are not of them who draw back unto perdition" [x. 38, 39]. See Ezek. xviii. 24 (LXX.), where the righteous man (δίκαιος) is also spoken of as turning away from his righteousness, and dying in his iniquity: also 2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.

Not only, however, is the possibility of a final fall from grace clearly intimated, but in no instance do we read of Christians as being absolutely assured of salvation. St. Paul was one of the elect, and yet his language respecting himself always implies that his election as regards final salvation was only conditional. He counts not himself to have apprehended, or already gained the heavenly prize, but says, "I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus" [Philip. iii. 12-14]. And again, with allusion to the same metaphor, "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."[1] When the end of his Apostolic course approached, then we hear words of subdued confidence: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness" [2 Tim. iv. 7, 8]. When speaking of the faithful at Philippi, of whose salvation he was most assured, he does not go beyond words of strong hope or confident expectation: "he is persuaded of this (has a confident hope or assured belief, but not an absolute certainty) that He

[1] Ἀδόκιμος, unfit for or unworthy of, and thus losing the prize. Dr. Burton (Greek Testament *in loc.*) refers in illustration of the meaning of this word to James i. 12, δόκιμος γενόμενος λήψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς.

who hath begun a good work in them will continue or bring it to an end (ἐπιτελέσει) until the day of Jesus Christ" [i. 6]. Again, some are spoken of in the same Epistle [iv. 3] whose names are written in the Book of Life,[1] which has been thought to imply a certainty of their final salvation—a supposition which cannot be admitted since the danger or possibility at least of being blotted out of the Book of Life is elsewhere clearly intimated, "he that overcometh, I will not blot his name out of the Book of Life" [Rev. iii. 5].

To sum up the teaching of Holy Scripture, which is brought before us in the quotation already given. Predestination is God's decree to bestow upon certain persons the blessings of the Gospel; this decree is assigned to God's sovereign purpose and grace, and is represented to shew that it is fixed and unalterable, as before the foundation of the world or from eternity: it is not to be attributed to man's foreseen merits, but only to God's sovereign will. Election is the carrying out of this decree of predestination by God's choice of individuals upon whom He bestows the blessings of redemption and salvation, and is carried into effect when they are admitted into the Church by baptism. Thus election is spoken of as regards collective bodies or churches, and also individuals: individuals are elect, and also the whole body of the baptized are God's elect people, predestinated to salvation. God had formerly an elect people—the Jews: foreseeing their rejection of the Gospel, He chose instead of them the Gentiles to share the privileges of His Church. This was the mystery hid from ages and generations, that "the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body"—should be admitted into the Church, by Christ's redemption renewed and glorified: or rather, that the Church—the partition wall being finally broken down — should gather together in one all nations, Jew and Gentile, united in Catholic communion: "even" us, says the Apostle, "whom He hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles."

But an objection has been made against the teaching of Holy Scripture, that the elect and the baptized are synonymous—that the elect are often spoken of as holy persons living in a state of favour and acceptance with God (as in some of the passages before quoted). Thus God works miracles for the sake of His elect: He hears their prayers "as they cry day and night to Him:" and St. Paul "endured all things for the elect's sake." Such statements, at first sight, may lead to the supposition that the elect, *as such*, are God's faithful and obedient servants. But such an inference, though plausible, is certainly without foundation. Men may be holy by profession, as certainly all the baptized are, though as regards many of them, the duties and obligations which that profession implies are forgotten and neglected. Should we find it difficult to reconcile with the declaration of Scripture, the *nominal* or *professional* holiness only of multitudes of the baptized, and think that its statements would thus be deceptive or unreal, let us consider the type of the Christian Church, or the Jewish election, and we shall clearly perceive that the objection is baseless, since holiness is affirmed in the most unreserved terms of the Jewish Church, though it is certain that such declarations can only be understood with considerable latitude or a vast number of exceptions. The Jews are spoken of as a holy nation, a peculiar people. Balaam, speaking by Divine inspiration, says, "God hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob, neither hath He seen perverseness in Israel" [Numb. xxiii. 21]. Now, compare this with another account of the same people: "The Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and behold it is a stiff-necked people" [Exod. xxxii. 9], or with the description given of them by their own lawgiver, "From the day that thou didst depart out of Egypt until ye came to this place ye have been rebellious against the Lord" [Deut. ix. 7]. Strange account to hear of a "holy" nation, in whom God "had seen no iniquity," a "peculiar people," a "kingdom of priests," consecrated to the Lord's service! It is at least unquestionable that men may in a certain sense be called holy as being such by profession (as were the Jews), and that the word does not necessarily imply real holiness. Yet let it not be supposed that the language of Scripture is in any degree delusive or can justly be charged with unreality. Israel *was* a holy nation: to them pertained "the adoption, the glory, the covenant, the giving of the law, the service of God and the promises," and amidst multitudes of rebels and idolaters, there were thousands who had not bowed the knee to the image of Baal"—holy persons, God's true and accepted servants: just as we read at a later period of their history of some "who departed not from the temple day and night, serving God with fasting and prayers."

The Christian Church, as Bishop Pearson says in his *Exposition of the Creed* [Art. IX.], may be spoken of as holy in four ways [1], by vocation [a holy calling, 2 Tim. i. 9]; [2] in reference to the offices appointed, and the powers exercised, which in their institution and operation are holy; [3] by profession and engagement [2 Tim. ii. 2, 19]; [4] in regard to the end or object of the Church, for the purchasing of a holy and precious people; for the begetting and increasing of holiness, that God may hereby bring men to the fruition of Himself. The Church, also, as Bishop Pearson afterwards says, "is really holy in this world in relation to all godly persons contained in it by a real infused sanctity." Thus, our profession of faith, acknowledging as we must, the ungodliness of multitudes in the mystical body, is neither unmeaning nor unreal, but simply and absolutely true: "I believe in one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."

Such is the teaching of Holy Scripture on election, which is confirmed by the testimony of the Ancient Church. The Fathers generally, as Bingham says,[2] did not think that by elect was meant a few, but the whole body of Christians,

[1] A metaphor taken from the Old Testament: see Exod. xxxii. 32; Psa. lxix. 28; Dan. xii. 1.

[2] *Antiquities*, bk. i. c. 1.

i.e. "all who by the waters of baptism had entered into the Church." Hence also, as might be expected, the Fathers expressly teach or imply that the elect or the baptized may finally perish. Thus St. Clement of Rome, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of the whole "brotherhood of Christians being the elect people of God," bidding them "lift up holy and unpolluted hands to God, who hath made us a part of His election."[1] St. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Trallians, addresses their church as elect; and speaks of the Church at Ephesus as "predestinated before the world began to an enduring and unchangeable glory." In the *Shepherd of Hermas* we read of the elect as synonymous with the baptized Church, and of the possibility of a final fall from grace. "He said unto me, Canst thou tell these things to the elect of God? the Lord hath sworn by His glory concerning the elect—that day being pre-determined—that if any man shall even now sin, he shall not be saved."[2] "Go, therefore, and relate these wonderful things [magnalia] to the elect of God. . . . Woe to the doubtful ones who hear these words and despise them; it had been better for them not to have been born."[3] St. Justin Martyr says of Christians: "We are not a despicable people, for God hath elected (ἐξελέξατο) us, and was manifested to those who asked not for Him. . . . Christ called him (Abraham) with His voice by the like calling, and commanded him to go out of the land in which he was dwelling. Yea, and He hath called us all by that voice, and we have now gone out of that way of life [πολιτείας] in which we were living like the other inhabitants of the world, in sin, and together with Abraham we shall possess the Holy Land, receiving our inheritance for endless ages, being the children of Abraham through a like faith."[4] St. Irenæus says: "The Church is the congregation [synagoga] of God, which God, that is the Son, hath collected through Himself."[5] And again, "the variegated sheep were Jacob's wages, and Christ's wages are men from various and diverse nations met together in one cohort of faith."[6]

It is unnecessary to add further quotations in proof of this view of election so clearly taught in Scripture and by the Fathers. We may go on to consider another theory which also rests upon Scriptural and patristic authority, and which at first sight may appear to differ essentially from the one already set forth, namely, the theory of predestination to life from God's foresight of the Christian's perseverance in faith and holiness [ex prævisis meritis]. It may be shewn first that this theory of predestination was generally held by the Fathers from the second century, though not to the exclusion of the view already given, with which it is not really inconsistent. Thus, in the words of St. Clement of Alexandria, "there is one ancient and Catholic Church which collects together those already ordained or fitly disposed [ἤδη κατατετάγμενους], whom God predestinated [προώρισε], having known before the foundation of the world that they would be righteous."[7] St. Jerome thus explains Rom. viii. 30-32: "To predestinate is the same as to foreknow; therefore, whom He foresaw would be conformed (to the image of His Son) in this world, He purposed (voluit) that they should be conformed to Him in glory; . . . whom He foresaw would believe, those He called, for calling collects the willing, not the unwilling"[8] (invitos). Theodoret also, in explaining the same passage, says: "He does not call merely, but calls those who have purpose [τοὺς προθεσιν ἐχόντας]. Those whose purpose [πρόθεσις] He foreknew He predestinated from the beginning (ἄνωθεν); and having predestinated He called; and having called He justified through baptism; and having justified He glorified, calling them sons, and bestowing upon them the grace of His Holy Spirit."[9] The commentary of St. Chrysostom on this passage is essentially the same. Thus he says: "It is not the calling alone, but the purpose of those called which works salvation." St. Ambrose also says, "*Whom He predestinated those He foreknew.* He did not predestinate before He foreknew, but whose merits He foreknew He predestinated them to reward."[10] And the pseudo-Ambrose: "He elected to receive the promised rewards those whom He foresaw would be devoted to Him."[11] And yet amongst the writers quoted, we find a recognition of the view that all the baptized are, in a certain sense, the elect, and that election is not to be assigned to man's foreseen merits, but to God's undeserved grace. Thus, St. Jerome, in his *Commentary on the Ephesians* [c. i.]: "For Paul and others like him were not chosen because they were unblameable, but are chosen and predestinated, that in after life, by good works (opera et virtutes), they may be holy and unblameable;"[12] where it cannot be doubted there is a recognition of the doctrine of baptismal election. However, the Fathers generally, from the second century, spoke of predestination as being from a foresight of good works, so that St. Prosper, in his attempted defence of the teaching of St. Augustine on predestination, is compelled to admit, on examining the teaching of the early Fathers, that almost all of them believed election to be from foreseen merits.[13]

But let us examine the two theories, and it will be found that they are not contradictory: one theory, it may be said, implicitly contains,

[1] Secs. 2, 29.
[2] Visio 2, secs. 1, 2.
[3] Lib. i. visio iv. sec. 2.
[4] *Dial c. Trypho*, sec. 119.
[5] *Advers. Hæres.* lib. iii. c. 6.
[6] *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 38.
[7] *Stromata*, lib. vii. c. 17.
[8] St. Hieronymi *Opera*, tom. xi. [Migne ed.]
[9] *Comment. in St. Paul's Epist. in loc.*
[10] *De Fide*, lib. v. c. 6.
[11] Inter Ambrosii *Oper.* tom. ii. [Migne ed.]
[12] St. Hieronymi *Opera*, tom. vii. [Migne.]
[13] "Retractatis priorum de hac re opinionibus pœne omnium par invenitur et una sententia, qua præpositum et prædestinationem Dei secundum præscientiam receperunt; et ob hoc Deus alios vasa honoris, alios contumeliæ fecerit, quia finem uniuscujusque præviderit, et sub ipso gratiæ adjutorio in qua futurus esset voluntate et actione præsciverit." [St. Prosper, *Epist. ad August. inter opera August.* tom. ii. Epist. ccxxv.]

and almost necessarily leads to the other. The one theory may be called "predestination to grace" —the first step to the attainment of eternal life— which is to be attributed only to God's sovereign will and unmerited favour: the other view may be termed "predestination to glory," which is conditional, and depends upon our own improvement of the gifts of grace. Election, as we have seen, is always spoken of in Scripture as being, in *a certain sense*, connected with holiness and the final attainment of salvation; and as many of the baptized do not exhibit the fruits of holiness, and their profession is obviously nominal only, the Fathers were almost necessarily led to consider the subject from another point of view, for which we shall see the Scriptures afforded sufficient warrant; namely, as regards the persons in the visible Church to whom the word in its fullest and truest sense only belonged; who were not only predestinated to life, but conformed to the image of Jesus Christ—thus affording proof that, as the Head and members, they would be glorified together. All the baptized were adopted into the family of God, really made His sons; yet, as St. Paul intimates, there was another, a higher, more assured sonship—sonship in its most perfect sense; "for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."

There is, as we shall shew, sufficient proof of "predestination to glory" in Holy Scripture. For, without citing the well-known passage of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans [viii. 30-32], the meaning of which is somewhat doubtful and uncertain,[1] we may turn to other passages. Our Lord says [Matt. xxv. 34-35], "Come ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred, and ye gave Me meat," &c. Here is predestination to glory, a kingdom prepared before the foundation of the world, the attainment of which is represented as being conditional, from a foresight of the Christian's good works or improvement of the means of grace. St. Paul, after saying "the Lord knoweth them that are His," adds, "that in a great house there are vessels, some to honour and some to dishonour, and that if any one shall have cleansed himself from these (the defilement of sin and sinners), he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the master's use" [2 Tim. ii. 21]. "God," says St. James, "hath chosen (ἐξελέξατο) the poor in this world, rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which He hath promised to them that love Him" [ii. 5].

Here we have predestination to glory founded on God's foreknowledge of our improvement of His gifts of grace, and perseverance in faith and obedience: a statement amply confirmed by what has been before proved of the conditionality of the promises of grace and salvation, and the possibility of the righteous finally falling from grace: in other words, of the oft-repeated teaching of Scripture that man has free-will in a regenerate state. The Calvinistic theory of irrespective predestination to glory is either founded on, or necessarily implies, a denial of this truth. A Calvinist asserts, indeed, that the elect have free-will, and yet maintains that the grace given to them is *always* effectual to its intended purpose, turning from sin to holiness, and assuredly preserving them from a final fall from grace. But this theory of necessarily effectual grace amounts to a denial of free-will. A will necessarily swayed from without, in whatever direction, is not *free-will* at all: the word becomes a "titulus sine re," without corresponding or intelligible meaning. It is absolutely certain, according to the Calvinistic theory, that the regenerate have not free-will. "Behold," says our Lord, "I stand at the door and knock, if any man open to Me, I will come in to him." Can we mistake the necessity here implied of man's voluntary co-operation with grace. Christ knocks: all do not heed the Saviour's call, and why does one rather than another open the door? Can we doubt that it is owing to himself, his faithful use or abuse of free-will? [see 2 Cor. v. 20, vi. 1, 2]. Rejecting the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian heresies condemned by the Second Council of Orange [II. Aurausicanum; A.D. 529], and fully maintaining that it is only through grace that we can believe and obey God's commandments, and that it is "in and through Him alone that all good works can be begun, continued and ended," it must also be asserted, according to express teaching of Scripture, that God has endowed man with free-will to accept or refuse the offers of grace, and that his salvation depends upon its faithful use.

Thus has been set forth the scriptural and Catholic teaching of predestination to grace and also of predestination to glory, founded on God's foreknowledge; Holy Scripture teaching, as we have fully proved, that predestination to grace is wholly unmerited on our part.[2] A few additional remarks are required, confirming and illustrating St. Paul's teaching, especially in the ninth chap-

[1] The interpretation of this passage mainly depends on the word προέγνω (foreknew), which may have different meanings. The Greek Fathers, generally, thought that it referred to the foreseen character of the predestinated, that is, that God predestinated those whom He foresaw would live and persevere in faith and obedience (predestination to glory). This word, however, will equally bear another sense: to "know" often means in Scripture, to "approve of" or "love." "God knows (γινώσκει) or loves the way of the righteous" [Psa. i. 6]; "Depart from Me, I never knew you" [Matt. vii. 23]; "The Lord knoweth them that are His" [2 Tim. ii. 19]. The word προέγνω is afterwards used by the Apostle in this Epistle in reference to predestination in the sense, most probable, of "loved:" "God hath not cast away His people whom He foreknew" [Rom. xi. 2], *i.e.* "loved" [comp. with Amos iii. 2, where "known" can only mean favoured or loved]. According to this more probable meaning of the word, the passage will have reference to "predestination to grace"—the "foreknown" or loved being those chosen from the rest of mankind who are the objects of God's undeserved favour and grace. It may be added that all the Greek Fathers interpreted "justified" and "glorified" in the passage before us of the gifts of baptismal grace.

[2] This is equally true of the type under the Old Dispensation. The following passages will shew that the Jewish election is assigned not to the merits of the chosen race, but only to God's sovereign purpose and undeserved mercy or grace, Deut. ix. 4, 6, xxvi. 18; Psa. xxxiii. 12, cxv. 1; Ezek. xx. 5-11.

ter of the Romans, in which he silences the gainsayer, not by attempting to prove the justice of God's dealings, but simply by alleging His sovereign purpose and inscrutable will. The mysteriousness of the election of grace is evident from the fact, that to some nations only, and thus to certain individuals, has the Gospel been preached; others have been left in heathen darkness, "without hope and without God in the world." The Apostle St. Paul was forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, and when he essayed to go into Bithynia was not suffered by the Spirit [Acts xvi. 6]. In a vision he saw a man of Macedonia, saying, "Come and help us," by which he gathered that the Lord had called him to preach the Gospel there. Our Lord also clearly intimates God's sovereignty in the bestowal of His good gifts, when He says that many widows were in Israel in the days of Elisha, but to none of them was he sent but to a widow of Sarepta [Luke iv. 25-27], and that if the mighty works done in Chorazin and Bethsaida had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes [Matt. xi. 21]. Such is God's mysterious decree of predestination to grace (widely differing indeed from the Calvinistic theory of an irrespective decree of salvation, since it does not imply that all to whom the Gospel is not preached, whatever may be their state of darkness and ignorance, will be eternally lost), but still a mysterious decree, not to be fathomed by man's wisdom or reconciled to his notions of equity. "Nay, but O man who art thou that repliest against God? shall the thing formed say to Him that formed it, Why hast Thou made me thus?"

The Church of England recognises the doctrine of predestination in its twofold aspect. The doctrine of predestination to grace is implied in the Catechism, in which every baptized child is taught to "believe in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth *him* and all the elect people of God," and in the Collect of All Saints' Day, where the elect are spoken of as knit together in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of Christ, or in the Church, the elect unquestionably meaning all the baptized or members of the Church. In the 17th Article predestination to glory is affirmed; and according to the wording of the Article, no other interpretation appears tenable than that all the elect or the predestinate are there represented as being finally saved. "Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, . . . to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity."

We have before explained the doctrine of predestination to life from God's foreknowledge of perseverance in holiness, and shewn that this doctrine afterwards met with general acceptance. In the Middle Ages different opinions were held as to the cause of predestination, some, as St. Thomas Aquinas, attributing it to the mere will or good pleasure of God, and others to His foresight of holiness and perseverance; but *all* believed in the assured salvation of the elect or predestinated. Afterwards, in the controversy between Calvinists and Arminians, in the seventeenth century, both parties believed in the final salvation of the elect. They differed on the important point of the moving cause of God's election—whether from a foresight of the believer's holiness and perseverance in grace, or merely from His own sovereign will or good pleasure. Hence the compiler of the Article takes for granted what was admitted or believed by both parties, but leaves undecided or an open question the point of dispute between them. We do not read in the Article of "foreseen merits or obedience" (Arminianism) or of God's "mere will and pleasure" (Calvinism). That the point in dispute between the rival parties is intentionally left undecided, is obvious from a comparison of the Article itself with contemporaneous confessions of faith that are avowedly Calvinistic,[1] since in all of them the cause of predestination is clearly stated (God's mere will or pleasure), nor can any reason be given why a similar clause was not inserted in the 17th Article, had the Reformers intended an exclusively Calvinistic sense. An attempt was afterwards made by the Lambeth Articles[2] to engraft a definite or Calvinistic meaning on the Article which it did not previously bear. But this important point in dispute is left undecided by our Church, after the example of the Western Church in the Middle Ages; to which may be added that of the Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation.

ELEMENTS. [Eucharist.]

ELEMENTS, Divine and human, in Holy Scripture. The co-existence of these is the source of the difficulty which many feel in accepting the doctrine of the perfect Inspiration of the sacred writers. That there is a human as well as a Divine element in the composition of the Bible is a simple matter of fact. On the one hand, God has granted a Revelation; on the other, human language has been made the channel to convey it, and men have been chosen as the agents to record it. The same fact is apparent when we consider the varieties of diction which meet us as we examine the Hebrew or the Greek text, arising partly from the changes undergone by the Hebrew language during the lapse of centuries, partly from the natural genius and personal peculiarities of the writers of either Testament. This variety is also apparent, as we notice the differences in point of style between the prophetical and historical parts of Scripture, as well as between the different prophets and historians

[1] Thus, in the *Scoticana Confessio:* "Ex mera gratia elegit nos." In the *Belgica Confessio,* "pro mera et gratuita bonitate elegit." In *Confessio Helvetica,* "prædestinavit vel elegit libere et mera sua gratia, nullo hominum respectu." Niemyer, *Confessionum Collectio,* 1840.

[2] As in the Second Article: "The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not the foresight of faith, or perseverance, or good works, or anything which is inherent in persons predestinated, but the sole will of God's good pleasure."

themselves. St. Paul has expressed this fact succinctly: "We are labourers together with God" [1 Cor. iii. 9].

To shew how this union of elements so widely separate can be effected, and how their combination secures the infallible authority of the Bible, is the object of the Dynamical theory of INSPIRATION, by which it is meant that the Divine influence acted upon the faculties of each sacred writer in accordance with their natural laws—*e.g.* God alone was the source of such or such a communication; human agency was but the condition under which that communication, through the channel of Holy Scripture, became known to mankind.

And here it may be well to examine, in order to point out its defectiveness, an illustration adduced by many as explanatory of the co-existence of the Divine and human elements in the Bible, viz. the union of the Divine and human Natures in the Person of Christ. Were we, indeed, to regard human language as an abstract entity when we speak of Holy Scripture,—just as human nature is regarded when we speak of the mystery of the Incarnation,—it might, perhaps, be legitimate to say that the Holy Ghost is manifest in the Old and New Testament, as the Eternal Word was "manifest in the flesh." In this sense, however, we deal with a vague generality which affords no aid whatever in explaining the nature of Inspiration, for we speak of language irrespectively of tongue, or dialect, or the particular person who writes; whether the language be Hebrew or Greek, or the writer the author of the earliest or of the latest book of the Bible. But on the other hand, when the consideration of the different sacred writers is included,—and on this the importance ascribed to the illustration altogether rests—language is regarded from an entirely different point of view. It is now no longer an abstraction, but the actual expression of different types of human thought and human intellect. We now deal with the language of Ezekiel or of St. Paul—language which, as it meets us in the Bible, is exalted and moulded by Inspiration; but which, without that Divine influence, must ever have retained the alloy of human imperfection. In a word, many would gladly find in that fallen humanity in which the sacred penmen confessedly share, some foundation for the alleged imperfections which they profess to discover in the pages of Scripture. It is here that the fallacy lies which lurks under the plausibility of this illustration. In order to render the illustration of the Incarnation in any degree applicable, a parallel must be instituted between the first members of the *two* combinations of the human and the Divine which are assumed to be analogous;—in other words, between the human nature which is included in our Lord's Person, and those human characteristics of the writers of Scripture of which language is but the symbol and the exponent. But this is a parallel which cannot be drawn. There can be no comparison between the spotless nature taken upon Him by the Divine Word, and that nature weakened, and sin-defiled, and subject to all the influences of passion and prejudice, which is inherited by the sons of men.

ELEVATION. The lifting up of the Eucharistic elements towards heaven after their consecration. [I.] In the ancient Liturgies it is directed that the priest shall elevate the Holy Bread, saying, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, or "Sancta sanctis." This has been ordinarily interpreted, "Holy things to holy persons;" and with reference to the Communion which shortly followed. But Archdeacon Freeman has given reasons for concluding that the true interpretation is "Holy things to holy places," and that the rite was intended to symbolize the association of the sacred elements with the "Holy Place" [Heb. ix. 12], where Christ is offering His perpetual sacrifice before the throne of His Father. "The idea is, that the Body and Blood of Christ, mysteriously exhibited here on earth may, by contact with the heavenly altar on which Christ Himself is ever presented—Himself as Victim offered by Himself as Priest—be fulfilled with *celestial* efficacy; may partake of the virtue and glory of that sacrifice, not only as it was offered at the first, but as it is in heaven, having received celestial ratification by being carried up into the Holy of Holies" [Freeman's *Princ. Div. Serv.* Introd. to part ii. p. 176]. The rite is generally supposed by Ritualists to have been derived from the Jewish heave-offering. [II.] Another elevation was introduced into the Roman Liturgy in the twelfth century, and into the Mozarabic in the sixteenth (by Cardinal Ximenes), which immediately follows the words of Institution. In the Mozarabic Liturgy this elevation of both elements is followed (at a later part of the service) by the ancient and primitive elevation of the one element as already described; but the latter is not now recognised in the Roman Liturgy. The object of this more modern rite was to bring out strongly the idea of adoration, a rubric being introduced by Gregory X., about A.D. 1271, enjoining the celebrant and people to kneel and adore. But it is observable that no such rubric was ever introduced into the Anglican Liturgy, in which the direction was, "Post hæc verba" [the words of Institution], "inclinet se sacerdos ad hostiam et postea elevet eam supra frontem ut possit a populo videri;" and for the Cup, "Hic elevet sacerdos parumper calicem . . . Hic elevet calicem usque ad pectus vel ultra caput, dicens Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in Mei memoriam facietis." In the Roman rubric the words are—"Prolatis verbis consecrationis statim hostiam genuflexus adorat."

ELOHIM, a noun plural, is the name which, in the Hebrew Scriptures, stands for GOD. When used to signify the true God, it is commonly used with a singular verb, or adjective. Being the abstract name for God, it is applied also to false gods and idols, and even in the case of false gods this plural substantive is sometimes used when only one is intended. The plural noun, however, is never used with the singular verb in the case of false gods. Thus, while it expresses the

universal idea of God in the abstract, it seems also by its form to be intended to signify the Triune character of the true God, who was personally revealed to the Hebrews under a name which is never given to any but Himself, the sacred name JEHOVAH. It will be more suitable to treat of the distinction between these two names under that heading. Let it suffice in the present place to notice the fact that the two names, though both applied to the Divine Being, have an entirely different purpose. Elohim expresses the abstract idea of godhead, whether the god thus spoken of be the true God or a false one. Jehovah is the personal name of the Covenant God of Israel, and His special revelation of Himself and covenanted relationship with the chosen race are always implied when this name is used. A school of critics has chosen arbitrarily to break up the books of the Old Testament into Elohistic and Jehovistic sections, attributing them to different writers. The attempt, however, has been a glaring failure, each section requiring to be further subdivided, for in fact it was found that the supposed Elohist sometimes used also the name Jehovah, and *vice versa*. The use of the two names arises not from any difference of theological language between various writers, but from the difference of idea which had to be expressed. This criticism—like many false criticisms—has proved to be of service in bringing out the special significance of many passages in which the name Jehovah occurs. The beautiful meaning of such passages would often have been missed, had not controversial criticism made it necessary to shew how inappropriate the mere general name Elohim would have been in the same place.

A few passages will suffice to exhibit the use of this word.

[1.] God in general. The object of worship. "Thou shalt have no other ELOHIM but Me" [Exod. xx. 3]. "Jehovah, He is the Elohim, Jehovah, He is the Elohim" [1 Kings xviii. 39]. "They are no Elohim, but the work of men's hands" [2 Kings xix. 18].

[2.] A god, a false god. "Against all the Elohim of Egypt" [Exod. xii. 12]. "Baalzebub the Elohim of Ekron" [2 Kings i. 2]. "Ashtoreth the Elohim of the Zidonians" (a female object of worship) [1 Kings xi. 5].

[3.] A representation of God, an idol. "Make us Elohim to go before us" [Exod. xxxii. 1].

These uses of the word are naturally derived from its primary use as designating the true object of worship, the God of Israel. It need not surprise us that the word should be transferred in its plural integrity to these false objects of worship. However, in its true application, it might indicate the plurality of persons in Jehovah, the true, the Triune God, yet it would naturally be applied to those beings who were falsely erected into the position of God, with consideration for the relationship only, not with any thought of the internal essential character of the being to whom the worship was paid.

The word EL, and ELOAH, the singular form of this word, is of rare occurrence except in poetical books. "Neither shall he regard the Elohim of his fathers, nor The Desire of women, nor regard Eloah" [Dan. xi. 37]. "My El, My El, Why hast Thou forsaken Me?" [Psa. xxii. 1].

The primary meaning of the word (God, in general) necessarily caused its principal use to be in designation of the true God. He is continually spoken of by this name. Sometimes the article is prefixed, in order to give additional emphasis. More often it is left out. "Elohim, Thou art My El" [Psa. lxiii. 1]. "This is none other but the house of Elohim, and this is the gate of heaven" [Gen. xxviii. 17]. "Enoch walked with the Elohim" [Gen. v. 22].

The word is used in this sense in passages far too numerous to be quoted.

The word Elohim is moreover applied in a subordinate and derived sense to those whom God has invested with His own majesty in any degree. Thus we may add two more significations, although it belongs rather to the lexicon to explain them.

[4.] Representatives of God, angels. "Thou hast made him a little lower than Elohim" [Psa. viii. 5]. "Worship Him all ye Elohim" [Psa. xcvii. 7].

[5.] Representatives of God, judges, kings, &c. "His master shall bring him to the Elohim" [Exod. xxi. 6].

[6.] Sons of God, the covenanted people as called to partake of the Divine Nature. "I said ye are Elohim, and all of you the sons of the Most High" [Psa. lxxxii. 6].

Our Lord explains this as being said of those "to whom the Word of God came," and implies that it is a mystery, a hard saying, for He adds that however difficult this may seem to be, yet the Scriptures must be taken in their true meaning, for they "cannot be broken" [John x. 35]. He then proceeds to vindicate His own claim to be the Son of God, apparently intending to lead them to recognise His own Divinity as the means of their deification. The covenanted people were to become partakers of the Divine Nature by union with Him who was truly God Incarnate.

It is plain that all these meanings except the first are only subordinate or transferred meanings. The idol receives the name Elohim because there is no other name that would express the honour falsely given to that idol. The word Elohim belongs properly and solely to Him who alone is God. The singular form remained in use only in poetical or philosophical language, unless its more abstract character were made manifest by some adjective or other addition. The plural form expressed that plurality of persons which was somewhat vaguely recognised by the Jewish mind as constituting the true idea of the true God. "Jehovah Elohim said, Lo, the man has become as one of us" [Gen. iii. 22].

In their strict watchfulness to guard the truth of the Divine Unity, the language of the Jewish writers surrendered its grammatical demands to the theological necessity, and the Name in its plural form was treated as a singular noun when it referred to the one, the only God, the God of Israel, Jehovah.

EMANATION [*e* from, and *manare* to flow]. The name given by the Latin writers to a theory of Creation which arose at Alexandria out of a fusion of the Persian worship of light and the Platonic theory of ideas. According to the doctrine of the former, the Divine operation was symbolized under the image of the rays of light issuing from the sun, which were most intense when nearest to the luminous substance of that body of which they were part, decreasing in intensity as they receded from their source, until at last they disappeared altogether in darkness. So the spiritual effulgence of the Supreme Mind formed a world of spirit, the intensity of which varied inversely with its distance from its source, until at length it vanished in matter. Plato, on the other hand, beginning from the opposite pole, regarded the world of reality as a series of ideal existences, ascending from the limit of matter and sensation, becoming more abstract and at the same time more real at every step, until they culminated in the Supreme Existence, who was at once absolutely real and had suffered abstraction of every attribute by which it could be named or described save that of existence. [Conceptualism.] These two views, thus, although not identical in outward form, exactly cover each other; and if we conceive the Platonic metaphysics clothed in the new metaphor of light, and the Persian symbol of expanding rays, integrated into a series of stages corresponding with the Platonic ideas, we shall arrive at a just analysis of the origin and nature of the theory of Emanations.

According to that theory, God (like the Supreme Idea) is the Unspeakable, the Unutterable, the Unknown Father, *βυθός* or Abyss of Being: and the world consists of a chain of ever-expanding Æons, "copulata habet sibi beata et gloriosa sæcula neque numero neque prolixitate æstimanda" [Aug. *contr. Man. Ep. quam vocant fundamenti*], which are increasing attenuations of His substance, and the sum of which constitute His "fulness," *πλήρωμα, i.e.* a perfect or complete revelation of His hidden Being. Outside of and beyond the *πλήρωμα* is the *κένωμα*, or empty void of matter, into which *σοφία*, the last of the Æons falls, away, in the attempt to attain to the complete knowledge of the *βυθός*. This relapse into matter produces the visible world, the work of a Demiurge sprung from *σοφία*. The perturbation in the *πλήρωμα* produced by this relapse was, according to some, adjusted before the world came into being by the two co-ordinate Æons, Christ and the Holy Spirit; according to others, the process takes place in time.

On the value of this theory of the world it may be remarked, [1] that although the series of Æons is said to return to its source in some way, there seems to be no reason *in the theory itself* why it should do so, God being regarded as an inexhaustible source, and the process of Divine operation merely in a line away from Him, as the stream from the spring. Emanation, therefore, does not properly involve any view of redemption or reconciliation. [2] On the other hand it must be confessed to proceed from a very vivid sense of the reality of the spiritual world; and [3] to be valuable as one of the earliest anticipations of the modern doctrine of evolution and of continuity between the Spiritual and Material, by which the Dualism of ordinary thought is sought to be bridged over.

Relation to Christianity. We may infer from the frequent occurrence of words and arguments apparently connected with this theory, that some form of it was known at the time the Epistles to the Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Timothy were written.

In 1 Tim. i. 4 it is difficult to understand what the *γενεαλόγιαι ἀπέραντοι* are, unless the procession of the different stages of the Æons [so Tertullian, Irenæus, and others]; and the same thing seems to be meant by the *θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαὶ, ἐξουσίαι* spoken of in Col. i. 16. Here, as elsewhere, in dealing with adversaries, St. Paul does not deny the existence of the Æons, nor of the *πλήρωμα* or sum of them; but insists that Christ is not merely one of them, as some of the Gnosticizing teachers asserted, but before them all, and that they are all *δι' αὐτοῦ* and *εἰς αὐτὸν*, and coexist in Him. So also He is said by His perfect sacrifice to have spoiled them (*ἀπεκδυσάμενος*), and to have displayed them (*ἐδειγμάτισεν*) as in a triumph, as included in Himself (*θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ*). And the whole of the *πλήρωμα* is said to reside in Him (*ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς*), and we to partake of it in Him (*καὶ ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι* (Col. i. ii.). The expressions *ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν* and *οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο* [Phil. ii. 7] seem also to be associated with the same theory, as also "Prince of Darkness," perhaps *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης* [Heb. i. 3], and "Light of light" in the Nicene Creed. [Gnostics. Æon. Eternity.]

EMBOLISMUS. The liturgical name of an intercalation [*ἐμβολισμός*] inserted between the last petition of the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology in the primitive liturgies. It is always in the form of a paraphrase upon the petition, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil," and varies in length, that in the Liturgy of St. James being about the length of a short collect, while in the Mozarabic Liturgy it is more than twice the length of the Lord's Prayer itself. The Embolismus was said secretly by the priest, but after saying it he repeated the Doxology aloud, and the people responded with "Amen." The Lord's Prayer having been said by the people, the Embolismus comes in thus in the Liturgy of St. James, which may be taken as a type of the others—

"And lead us not into temptation, Lord God of Hosts, who knowest our infirmities, but deliver us from the Evil One, and his works, and all his insults and devices, for Thy holy Name's sake, by which our humility is called."

Aloud. "For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever."

People. "Amen."

As a rule the Embolismus referred to spiritual

evils, but some forms of it exist in which the prayer is turned against temporal enemies; at a time, apparently, when the particular churches in which it was so used were suffering special afflictions or persecutions.

It has been supposed by some critics that the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, as it stands in St. Matthew's Gospel, was derived from the Embolismus of the Liturgy. This is a question of criticism for which reference may be made to Scrivener's *Supplement to the Authorized English Version of the New Testament*, Hug's *Introduction to the New Testament*, and to the critical commentators in general. It is sufficient here to say that the clause is omitted in only eight or nine of more than eight hundred Greek MSS., that it is rarely if ever omitted from the Versions, that it exists in the Alexandrine Codex (though absent from ℵ, B, and D), and that it is commented upon as if it were part of the Prayer itself by several of the Greek Fathers, including St. Chrysostom. [Neale's *Introd. Hist. Eastern Church*, 513, 626.]

ENCRATITES [Continentes]. A sect of heretics of the second century, who are said by Theodoret to have been followers of Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr. They were evidently a branch of the Gnostics or Ebionites, practising austerity from false principles respecting the evil origin of matter, believing in Æons, and agreeing with the Docetæ in denying the reality of our Lord's Human Nature.

ENCYCLICAL. A circular letter sent by the Pope to patriarchs, primates, archbishops, or bishops in general, or to bishops of a particular Church. It includes rescripts, bulls, briefs, and constitutions. A rescript is an apostolical letter, granting a favour from Rome to an individual who has asked for it; and receiving that name "quasi recte scripta ad observantiam juris," or "bis scripta," as containing the papal reply on paper. A bull is a letter from the Papal chancery sealed with lead (bulla), and usually containing a provision or dispensation. A brief is a shorter form issuing from the chancery or grand penitentiary without preface or preamble. A constitution is a decision and regulation made by a pope, a written law, and canonical rule. There are four kinds of rescripts; [1] of justice, where it tends to the ministration of justice, for the decisive adjustment of some legal process: in this case the Pope nominates a court of delegates, who give sentence in the matter; [2] of grace, where the Pope grants and accords aught of his sole liberality, as in dispensations, privileges, indulgences, exemptions, graces, or benedictions; [3] the mixed, where neither justice or grace are properly concerned, but both are implied, as in dispensations for marriage, the annulment of vows, &c., where a judicial procedure supplements the free act of the Pope; [4] common, where the Pope is the grantor in matters spiritual, and the sovereign in temporals towards an ecclesiastic, as in the legitimatizing of bastards, and the restoration of a criminal or infamous person.

In the early Church encyclicals were not confined to the Bishops of Rome, but were used by other bishops and churches whenever occasion required, and were of various kinds; [1] denunciatory, to abolish heresy; [2] indicative, to narrate the acts of martyrs, like that of the Church of Smyrna, touching the death of St. Polycarp; and [3] declarative, or definitive in matters of controversy, as St. Cyprian wrote *de Lapsis*. Owing to the rich use of Holy Scripture and Patristic authorities made in them they were called Tractatus, or Catholicæ. The Epistles of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John are encyclics.

ENERGUMENS. The name given in the primitive Church to those who were possessed. They were also called Δαιμονιζόμενοι. They were placed under the care of exorcists, and not permitted to come farther within the Church than the porch, or place of the lowest class of penitents, the *flentes*. Demoniacs who had been catechumens were only permitted to receive baptism at the approach of death. But if they recovered from the mysterious affliction, those who had been catechumens were baptized, and those who had already become Christians were placed among the *audientes* for a time until perfect recovery permitted their approach to the Holy Eucharist. [Demoniacal Possession.]

ENTHUSIASM. The word "enthusiasm," considered with reference to its etymology (ἐνθουσιασμὸς, ἔνθεος-ἔνθους), signifies the condition of a human mind directly acted upon by some Divine impulse. With the Greeks it was employed to express an intense possession of the soul, from the impulses of ordinary human passion up to what received from heathens the epithet of Divine, the Pythian or the Bacchic inspiration. But according to the meaning which has attached to it during the centuries of the Christian era, the word was used to denote a particular manifestation of the religious sentiment, differing from its ordinary manifestations rather in degree than in kind. According to this view, as religion or the religious sentiment has its foundation in a belief in the unseen, and varies in amount with the different degrees of intensity with which this belief is present to the mind; so enthusiasm is simply the condition becoming a mind in which this conviction is felt with a peculiar and abnormal intensity.

The strong sense of the personal existence of God and of His nearness to His creatures, which is the condition of all deep religious feeling, becomes intensified in some minds into a belief in a special intercommunion between themselves and their God. It is a necessary incident, however, of this intercommunion that it should be of a purely subjective character—that, in other words, the enthusiast, in so far as he is an enthusiast, should be a mystic. The Divine conversation to which he is admitted must be shared by no others,—the Divine utterances must be heard by no ear but his own. In the days, not only of the Apostles, but of the Apostolic Fathers, all the phenomena as well as all the results of enthusiasm were present amongst the Christians; but we do not call their devotion by the name of "enthusiasm." There is felt to be an unfitness

in applying such a term to the zeal for their beloved Master of those who lived with Him in the flesh, or even to the ardour of their immediate successors who went in and out and conversed with men "whose hands had handled of the Word of Life." We shall see that it was not till a later date, and under very different conditions of spiritual life, that enthusiasm arose in the Church, and gave birth to those religious societies which, however mistaken in their inception, or corrupt in their decline, we may yet believe to have been God's instruments for the revival of true religion amongst His people.

The causes which led to their rise may readily be traced. The strength and activity of religious sentiment, always, humanly speaking, liable to decrease in the Church, as years rolled on and the life of Christ receded further and further into the past, was yet invigorated through the earlier ages of Christianity by the stimulus of Pagan persecutions. But when this was removed, and the Church began to feel the deadening influence of temporal prosperity, from thenceforth its spiritual life began to languish and decay. The increasing political power of the head of the Western Church, and, as a necessary consequence, the increasing worldliness and arrogance of the priestly body, had their effect upon the religious sentiment of the general mass of believers: and the enthusiastic movements of the Middle Ages represent their noble revolts against the growing irreligion arround them. To give a detailed account of these movements, and of those which at other periods of its history agitated the Church, would be foreign to the purpose of this work; but it may not be out of place to glance briefly at the history of one of them, typifying, as it does in many important features, the general character of the others.

In the thirteenth century, the temporal power of Rome stood perhaps at its greatest height; and in the presence of its inordinate earthly splendour the minds of men were becoming more and more estranged from its spiritual rule. The universal discontent which prevailed is evidenced by the numerous religious associations which, whether distinguished from each other as Flagellants, Josephins, Publicani, Waldenses, or grouped together under the general name of Albigenses, protested against the pride and luxury of their spiritual lords. It was in this crisis, and in the year A.D. 1210, that a young man of some eight-and-twenty years, the son of a merchant of Assisi, in Umbria, journeyed to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope to the rule of life which he had just promulgated among his newly-assembled disciples. Innocent III., as politic as he was cruel, had not been blind to the signs which manifested themselves in the life of the Church; and he recognised in the strange youth who had surrendered fair prospects of temporal wellbeing to devote himself to a life of singular austerity, the spokesman of a general religious movement which would rend the worldly power of the Papacy in twain, unless, by placing himself at the head of this movement, he could contrive to guide it to his own ends. Accordingly he confirmed with his verbal approbation the rule instituted by this young man—known to posterity as St. Francis of Assisi—and the order of Franciscans was formally established. Its rule was of the most rigorous character. To the vows of chastity and obedience common to all the monastic orders, St. Francis had added a vow yet more stringent than theirs. The brethren were to labour with their hands, and were to be maintained by alms. Such was the ideal life held out to Europe in an age which had already begun to learn luxury with increasing wealth: and in ten years' time five thousand Franciscan mendicants assembled at Assisi to celebrate the first chapter of their order. During this interval, Dominic of Castille had obtained the approval of Honorius to the establishment of his order; and thus added the second of these two famous societies which were destined to divide between them the spiritual dominion of the Catholic world. Succeeding history shews how the missionary zeal and devotion of the mendicant orders proved more than a match for the worldly influence of the secular clergy; and how the spirit which the founders of these orders had awakened gradually overspread and leavened the whole Western Church. Their attempts to share the function of preaching with the secular priests (resisted at first by pontiffs[1] who had begun to mistrust the power they had called into existence) ultimately bore down all opposition; and on the 12th October 1409, a bill of Alexander V. conferred on several of the mendicant orders full and uncontrolled powers of ministry in every part of Christendom.[2]

The vast power which has been wielded by enthusiasm, when guided and controlled by sagacious rulers, has been exemplified even in the most corrupt periods of Church History. Even in the very throes of the Reformation, when if ever the minds of men must have been the most thoroughly estranged from the Roman hierarchy, the ardour of a repentant military profligate could in a moment call thousands to the support of the Church. Ignatius Loyola, under the guidance of Paul III., founded in 1540 that famous order whose name has now become a byword for duplicity, but whose services not only to the Papal power but to mankind are great and unquestioned. [JESUITS.] Nor has the Reformed Church been without its enthusiast movements; nor without its lapses into that state which calls such movements into being. The worldliness and spiritual torpor of Anglicanism in the eighteenth century found its St. Francis of Assisi in the person of John Wesley. Unfortunately, however, the English Church had no Innocent III. to guide that self-restorative effort in the right direction. The spiritual rulers of the day preferred that Wesley should revive the religious sentiment of the country from a standpoint beyond the pale of that Church which itself so much needed a fresh infusion of religious life.

[1] Innocent IV.; see Milman's *Lat. Christ.* v. 45.
[2] Milman, vi. 76.

The foregoing is a brief sketch of religious enthusiasm and of the work which it has done in the Church. And whatever may be the opinion which is held with regard to enthusiasm, considered in its subjective aspect, whatever may be thought of the temper of mind which fosters and is fostered by it, the great results which it has produced must perforce enter into and modify such considerations. The periodic recurrence of enthusiastic movements in the Church—the suddenness of their rise—the width and rapidity of their spread—puzzle even sceptics who seek to account for these phenomena on purely rational hypotheses. One thing is certain that no community save that against which "the gates of hell shall not prevail" has shewn so wondrous a power of self-repair from within, of renewing by the spontaneous ardour of its own members the vigour of a religious sentiment which has been tending to dissolution. Most religions have sprung from an enthusiast and a band of disciples: no religion save Christianity has been revived from time to time by a succession of enthusiasts. The history of Mohammedanism and of the purest of the creeds of India has been the history of uniform decay. And when we consider the great and undeniable services which these enthusiast movements have rendered to true religion we shall be slow to condemn unreservedly the enthusiast spirit. When we see that the light which enthusiasm has kindled in men's minds, however fitful and delusive, has yet cast its rays to the darkest corners of the world—that its fervour, however morbid and unreal, has often given a healthy glow to the chilled heart of Christendom, we ought to conclude that *it* too comes from the Father of Lights: and that we should attempt wisely to direct, rather than sternly to resist, its manifestations, "lest haply we be found to fight against God."

EPIPHANY. The Epiphany, from ἐπιφαίνω, to make manifest, with a co-ordinate idea of "suddenness," expresses those several manifestations of Christ to His people which, however preordained and declared by the sure word of prophecy, have always come upon them suddenly and unexpectedly. The different senses in which the word ἐπιφανεία is used in the New Testament are reducible to "manifestation." In 2 Thess. ii. 8 it means that manifestation of the Second Advent of Christ in the unclouded majesty of truth that shall annihilate every Antichristian error. The Syriac here has "by the manifestation of His coming." In 1 Tim. vi. 14 and 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8 it means clearly the Second Advent; in 2 Tim. i. 10 the First Advent; "the Incarnation," says Theodoret; "the fleshly 'economia' of our Saviour Jesus Christ," as Phavorinus explains the word. But as a theological term it is restricted to the manifestation of Christ; whether to the Jews at His baptism, or to the Gentiles by the leading of a star. The Eastern Church of old commemorated our Lord's Nativity and that of His Baptism by the selfsame celebration on the Feast of the Epiphany, as representing the first or natural birth of our Lord, and that which is figurative of our own second birth, our Lord's Baptism in the river Jordan. The Egyptian and Armenian Churches [Leo Allatius, *de Dom. et Hebd. Gr.* c. 32] observed the same practice [CHRISTMAS]. A very early tradition has connected this festival with the commemoration of our Lord's Baptism. So the Apostolical Constitutions [viii. 33] say, "Keep holy the Feast of the Epiphany, for then the Godhead of Christ was made manifest; the Father gave testimony to Him in Baptism, and the Paraclete descended in the form of a dove upon Him of whom this testimony was affirmed." Hence this feast was also termed the Day of Lights, and in the Eastern Church was one of the three solemn seasons at which the sacrament of baptism was administered. Such, however, was never the practice of Churches in the Latin communion.

In the Western Church the festival has always commemorated the guiding of the Magi to Christ by the miraculous appearance of a star in the heavens. The eight homilies of Leo I. on the Epiphany assign no other rationale for its observance. Other circumstances of our Lord's early ministry have been connected with the Epiphany; such as the miracle at Cana, whence the feast was also called Bethphania, and the miracle of feeding the five thousand, which obtained for it the name of Phagiphania. The tradition, however, that connects these events with this day is of no particular value.

The miraculous star of guidance can only be accepted as the plain statement of which Scripture has presented to us the record. What it was we know not; whether it yet exists we know not; whether it will return with a periodicity connected with man's spiritual hopes we know not. The occurrence of such a marvel can hardly be called a difficulty, when the whole of our religion has been established by events that are altogether beyond the ordinary powers of nature to bring about. We can only accept the account with reverence. A notable attempt has been made to explain the phenomenon on purely natural data, which is in truth full of interest. Kepler, in his work *De Jesu Christi vero Natalitio*, advanced the theory founded upon astronomical calculation, that the ἀστὴρ was a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation Pisces. But the Greek term ἀστὴρ can hardly admit of a collective force as ἄστρον or the Latin "sidus." Suidas says, ἀστὴρ ἄστρου διαφέρει, ὁ μὲν ἀστὴρ ἕν τι ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἄστρον ἐκ πολλῶν συνέστηκε. Moreover, the year of this conjunction does not agree with any possible year that can be assigned for our Lord's birth, and the astronomical data are rigid and unyielding. Kepler says, then, that the two planets having been in conjunction in the month of May [B.C. 7], when on the point of entering Aries they gradually receded from each other until the month of July, when their movement relative to the earth's progression becoming retrograde they again stood in conjunction in the month of September; Saturn dull indeed and distant, but Jupiter a magnificent object, as being at his nearest point to the sun and to the earth

also. In a Syrian atmosphere even his satellites under such circumstances may have been visible to the naked eye. After remaining in an unaltered position for a few days, their course was resumed in the same direction, but with slackened speed, to a halt, when direct movement as at first was resumed, and for a third time the planets entered into conjunction in the month of December. As viewed from Jerusalem, they would have been on the meridian line shortly after sunset, standing as it were over Bethlehem. It is an ingenious theory; and the elements having been recalculated with care by Encke and by the secretary to the Royal Astronomical Society, C. Pritchard [*Mem. of R. A. S.* vol. xxv.], and so far as the December position is concerned, by the Astronomer Royal, the phenomenon may be considered to have been thoroughly well verified. But King Herod had [B.C. 7] more than eight years of life still left; and the account of St. Matthew is wholly inconsistent with the notion of any astronomical phenomenon, however beautiful and unusual in character. The star, προῆγεν, led the way, and stood over and above, ἐπάνω, where the young child lay. Astronomy, therefore, does not help us to resolve this miraculous appearance into any regular planetary combination. Ignatius, who lived with the Apostles, speaks of the star as excelling in brilliancy every other star; and says that its novelty caused universal astonishment; that the sun and moon and other heavenly bodies were as a band of satellites around it [Eph. 19]. Chrysostom says that the star appeared to the wise men some months before the Saviour's birth, as they must of necessity have taken some time to find their way to Jerusalem; and the inquiry of Herod [Matt. ii. 7] supports his notion. The wise men, Magi of Chaldæa, may have heard of the prophecy of the Mesopotamian prophet, "There shall come a Star out of Jacob" [Numb. xxiv. 17], and in that case they would have connected at once the appearance of a strange star of unusual glory with the land of Jacob. The gifts that they offered have always been held to be figurative of our Lord as God and Man, King of Kings and Lord of Lords. The gold represented His kingly authority; the frankincense the worship due to Him as God; the myrrh the precious spices of His burial as Man. [CHRISTMAS. THEOPHANY. Bingham, *Ant.* XX. iv. sec. 6; Coteler, *Const. Apost.* v. 13; Suicer, *in voc.* and p. 1196; Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, Art. STAR; Guericke, *Lehrb. der Chr. Archäol.*; Freeman and Procter *on Lit.*; Blunt's *Annot. B. C. Pr.*]

EPISCOPACY. An Apostolical institution, approved by Christ Himself in the Revelation, and ordained in the infancy of Christianity as a remedy against heresy and schism. It is, in a further sense, of Divine institution, as comprehended in the Apostolic office, and universally established and received, as appears from Scripture and tradition, in the Christian world at all times from the very beginning. It is the dignity of a bishop, the highest degree, the fulness of the priesthood. "All orders are in a bishop, because he is the first priest, that is, prince of priests, prophet and evangelist, and the rest, to fulfil the offices of the Church in the ministry to the faithful" [St. Hilary *in Epist. ad Ephes.* c. iv.]. As Thomassin says, the Incarnate Word possessed on earth the plenitude of the priesthood, and when about to depart into heaven, He communicated it to the Apostles to transmit it to their successors, and preserve it in the Church for evermore. The Apostolate or Episcopate instituted by the Son of God is the plenitude of priesthood, and comprises in an eminent degree all degrees, orders, and perfections. "All prelates," said St. Cyprian [Epist. ix. l. i.], "are successors of the Apostles in vicarious administration." And so St. Jerome, "wherever Episcopacy exists, at Rome, Eugubium, Constantinople, or Rhegium, its merit and priesthood are always one. Power of riches or the low estate of poverty make a bishop neither greater nor less than another; for all are successors of the Apostles." The collective body of bishops assembled in a general council is the head of the Church Catholic upon earth. Bishops have received succession to the entire power of the Apostles, and are called no longer priests or deacons; they are sovereign priests. They alone have the power of administering confirmation and orders, by which the plenitude of the Holy Spirit is specially conveyed; they empower priests to administer the sacraments to the people; they require a see and diocese as a king must have a capital and kingdom; they are as essential to the Church as the soul is to the body. Episcopacy has an indelible character, and possesses a threefold power of *order*, in the consecration and ministration of sacraments; *interior jurisdiction*, in the rule of Christians in the interior court of conscience; and *exterior jurisdiction*, in their rule in the exterior court of the Church. The benefice of a bishop, consisting in temporal accidents (enthronization, the restitution of temporalities and homage), proceeds from the sovereign, who gives him power and liberty to exercise his jurisdiction. His office held from Christ, essentially distinct and belonging to the "key" of order, being spiritual, is transmitted by episcopal consecration. Episcopacy, says St. Cyprian, is one, diffused in the harmonious multitude of many bishops, whereof every bishop has an entire part [*Ep.* lii. *al.* lv.]. The borders and bounds of bishoprics were enlarged, and adventitious grandeur, with more eminent degrees of honour and a larger part in the government of the Church, was given in matters of cure and order to certain prelates as metropolitans or archbishops, primates and patriarchs, by ancient custom, by the canons of the Fathers and Councils, and by the edicts of Christian princes. [BISHOP. Du Maillane, *du Droit Canonique*, ii. 525; Thomassin, *de Disc. Eccles.* pt. i. lib. i.]

ERASTIANISM. A term formed from the name Erastus, assumed by a physician of Baden as the classic form of Lieber, his true name. He lived in the Reformation period [A.D. 1524-1583], but his name and principles were brought into prominence in England during the time of the Great Rebellion. Those principles were enunci-

ated by Erastus in a number of *Theses*, after the manner of the times, which were levelled against the rigid system of discipline established by the Calvinists. This system dealt out excommunication with a lavish hand, such as threw the mediæval system into the shade, and assumed a power over the civil government such as the most extreme Ultramontanists had never attempted. Erastus formed his "Theses" into a *Book on Excommunication*, in which he opposed the Calvinistic system of discipline with great energy; but in doing so he minimized religion into a mere system of individualism, and left no authority over it and its professors except the State. These principles were taken up by the Independents against the Presbyterians in A.D. 1643, especially by Selden, by Thomas Coleman, vicar of Blyton, in Lincolnshire, and by the learned Dr. Lightfoot. In their case, as in that of Erastus, such principles seem to have been adopted as a refuge from the extreme tyranny of a dominant sect, and the recoil from this tyranny naturally led to an opposite extreme. After the Great Rebellion there was [1] a strong current of religious individualism among Englishmen; [2] a tendency to resist all ecclesiastical authority; and [3] an exaggerated opinion of the supreme authority of Parliament. Hence "Erastianism" has taken the modern form of a politico-religious system, in which the Church as a body is assumed to be co-extensive with the people, and its administration a department of the State; while practical religion is considered to be a matter of individual opinion and inclination, in which intellect gives the only light and conscience the only law. These principles are found in all branches of the Church in Europe, whether Eastern or Western, and also among the sects; and they have influenced legislation to a very important extent during the nineteenth century. The natural terminus of them is the ground assumed by Hobbes, who considered that Christianity is not obligatory on any one unless made so by Act of Parliament or other competent secular authority [Hobbes' *Leviathan*, iii. 42].

ESCHATOLOGY. That branch of theology which treats of the "last things." These have been frequently classified as "the four last things," viz., DEATH, JUDGMENT, HEAVEN, and HELL: but additional subjects must also be included in the term, and will be found treated of in this work under the words ADVENT, ANTICHRIST, SECOND ADVENT, MILLENNIUM, NEW CREATION, INTERMEDIATE STATE, PURGATORY, RESURRECTION.

ETERNAL GENERATION. Our Lord as being God must be co-eternal with the Father; eternal existence being an attribute of Godhead as distinguished from all created or finite beings. Our Lord not only has an eternal existence as God, but is the Son of the Father, and thus must have been begotten by an eternal generation.

Some of the early Fathers appear to speak of Christ as if He were merely λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, the Divine Word or Reason, immanent in the Father, but not from eternity a distinct Person of the Godhead, and that when the world was created His Personality began, being sent forth by the Father for that office. He was then λόγος προφορικὸς—the Word manifested as a distinct Person. But Bishop Bull, in his *Defence of the Nicene Creed*, has vindicated the teaching of the Fathers alluded to—St. Athenagoras, Tatian, St. Theophilus, and Hippolytus, and Novatian,—and has proved that their language, though requiring a candid interpretation, is really orthodox, and that the charge of Arianism made against them by Petavius is unfounded[1] [Petavii *Dogmata de Trinitat.* lib. i. c. 3, 4; Bull, *Defensio Fid. Nicæan.* lib. iii. c. 5-8].

The scriptural proof of the doctrine may be thus given. Our Lord, the Wisdom of God, is spoken of [Prov. viii. 25, LXX.] as begotten before the mountains and hills were made (πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη ἑδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν πάντων βουνῶν, γεννᾷ με), an expression which means from eternity, as we find from Psa. xc. 2, LXX., where the everlasting existence of the Creator is described in similar terms (πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη γεννεθῆναι σὺ εἶ). See also Psalm cix. 3, LXX., "Before the Morning Star I have begotten Thee" (ἐκ γαστρὸς ἐγεννήσά σε), *i.e.* before the works of creation, or from eternity: hence in the next verse the Son is called an everlasting Priest (ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). Our Lord, in His last prayer [John xvii.], speaks of His eternal existence with the Father in the same manner, "Glorify Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." Hence, in the Nicene Creed, where it was the especial object of the council to set forth most clearly the everlasting existence of the Son of God, He is said to have been "begotten by the Father before all worlds."

Again, St. John says, "In the beginning (ἐν ἀρχῇ) was the Word, and the Word was with God (and therefore a distinct Person), and the Word was God." In the beginning means from eternity, as may be proved from the next verse, where the Evangelist says that all things were made by the Word, and therefore He must have existed before all things were created, or in accordance with the scriptural meaning of the phrase—from eternity. [See also Prov. viii. 23, LXX., where ἐν ἀρχῇ has the same meaning—"in the beginning before

[1] It is undoubtedly true that on account of our Lord's προέλευσις, or going forth to create the world, He might in a certain sense be called the Son of God, or the Firstborn; and that such language was used after the Nicene Council, and by St. Athanasius and other orthodox Fathers; but the real difficulty as regards the ante-Nicene Fathers is, that they *only* mention this figurative or metaphorical generation, or "going forth," without expressly stating our Lord's eternal generation from the Father as His true and only Son. Thus they give some grounds for the supposition that they only believed that our Lord's Sonship was figurative or metaphorical. Bishop Bull endeavours to prove that they must implicitly at least have held the doctrine of our Lord's true and real Sonship [see his remarks on St. Athenagoras, *Defensio Fid. Nicæan.* book iii. c. 5, sec. 1]; but surely we might fairly have expected that it would have been expressly stated. Acquitting the ante-Nicene Fathers of the charges of Arianism or Sabellianism, it can hardly be doubted that their language and ideas on the subject were only imperfect and inadequate: they wrote, as St. Augustine says, on another subject, "antequam hæc quæstio bene tractaretur in Ecclesia."

Eternity

the earth was made."] In the beginning (ἐν ἀρχῇ) has a twofold sense in Scripture, referring to time and to eternity—to time, as in the natural creation, which was in the beginning [Gen. i. 1], and to eternity, as in reference to the generation of our Lord, who, "in the beginning," was the only-begotten Son, who was in the bosom of the Father, and whom St. John speaks of as that "*Eternal* Life" which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us; and as being the true God and *Eternal* Life[1] [1 John v. 20].

ETERNITY. "Eternal" is a word of very various application in Holy Scripture and elsewhere. We shall endeavour to arrive at a conclusion as to its true meaning, by considering [1] the meaning of the words expressing it in different languages; [2] the opinions of various writers as to the conception itself.

[I.] *The word* eternal is represented in Sanskrit by *Aditi* and *Nitiya;* in Hebrew by *olam, dor v' dor, kadmuth;* in Greek by αἰὼν and αἰώνιος. To take these in their order:—

[*a*] Sanskrit, "*Aditi,*" = not tied, free, boundless; unbroken, entire, unimpaired, happy, pious; freedom, security, safety; boundlessness, immensity; inexhaustible abundance; unimpaired condition; perfection; creative power (derived from *a* priv. and root *dā* or *do* = "divide"). *Aditī* (dual) = in the Vedas heaven and earth; the gods are called *Adityas,* or offspring of Aditi. [See the *Petersburg Lexicon, s. v.* and an article on Aditi by Mure, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1866.]

The characteristic of the conception of eternity here indicated is that it stands for the sum of all things, heaven and earth, regarded as a spiritual whole. It thus = "the Absolute," of which the Vedic deities were regarded as special forms. The ideas of duration, or of the negation of duration, which enter into our conceptions of eternity, seem to be entirely absent: or to be represented by the image of boundless space.

Nitya and *Nityata* are exclusively durational.

[*b*] Hebrew "*Olam,*" commonly derived from *alom,* "to hide," = "hidden," *i.e.* distant time; but according to Ewald it = "lasting," and is connected with the Æthiopic *ĕlat,* = "time," which is from a root, = "to last." The word would thus correspond to two other Semitic words for eternity, Hebrew *ad* (from *adah,* to pass), and Arabic *huld,* in Koran = "eternity," but in Hebrew under the form *heled,* = "time." The latter word would thus = "duration," either short (Hebrew) or long (Arabic; v. Koran, *Sura* ii. *line* 23, where it = "eternity" in the sense of unbounded duration).

The use of *olam* or its cognates in Holy Scripture fluctuates between the three meanings of eternity, a cycle or age, and the world. In Dan. xii. 2, everlasting life = literally, "life of olam;" everlasting contempt, "contempt of olam." "He that liveth for ever," = that liveth "of olam" [*ib.* 7]; so in Tit. iii. 7, the Æthiopic has the cognate form "alem," "eternal." That this eternity = unlimited duration, is shewn by the parallelism in Dan. iv. 3, 34: "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom (olam), and His dominion from generation to generation" (dor v' dor) [cf. Isa. li. 8]. In the sense of a long cycle or age [Psa. xc. 2], "from olam to olam Thou art God;" a past age [Ezra iv. 15], "of old time;" the present, ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ [1 Cor. viii. 13]; Æthiopic has *alem:* especially the age or duration of the world [Eccles. i. 4], "one generation (*dor* from *dûr,* to move round) passeth away, and another cometh, but the earth abideth for ever" (*l'olam*). So the expression, "O king, live for ever" [Dan. iii. 9], the Chaldee has "almin," = Hebrew *olamim,* plural of *olam,* and apparently means no more than we mean by "Long live the king." From the signification of the duration of the world, *olam* had come, in the time of the Christian era, to mean "world" (κόσμος), in which sense it appears in the Mishna [B.C. 32—A.D. 180]. Thus, *olam haba* is the world to come, as opposed to *olam hazeh,* this world; and again [*Aboth.* v. 1], "The world (*olam*) was created in ten words, why could it not have been created in one?" Accordingly in Matt. iv. 8 and John i. 10, κόσμος is rendered in the Æthiopic by the cognate *alem.* In later Hebrew this sense had so entirely supplanted that of eternity, that Jehuda Halevi [twelfth century] asks whether the world (*olam*) is eternal or not: and makes use of a new word to express eternity (*kadmuth*), the root of which occurs in the Old Testament mainly in the sense of "early" [Ps. cxix. 147; lxxxviii. 13, "my eyes *prevent* the night watches"]. *Kadmuth* thus = antiquity or eternity *a parte ante.* [v. Cosri, ed. Buxtorf, p. 362, and Gesenius, *s. vv.*].

The general results of this investigation would seem to be, first, that the conception of eternity in the Semitic languages is that of a long duration or series of ages; secondly, that this idea passes gradually into that of κόσμος, whilst a new idea of eternity in the sense of mere antiquity takes its place. Agreeably to this it is worth noting that the sacred writers, when they speak of eternity in any other than these senses, make use of a periphrasis: "to whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years."

[*c*] Greek αἰὼν (αἰὲν ὤν, Aristotle, more probably ἄω, to breathe: Stephan. *Thes.*).

1] τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς [Apollon. *Lex.*]: so in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, the Tragedians, Herodotus, Xenophon.

2] *The soul* or *life:* ἀπέπνευσεν αἰῶνα, Eurip *Phil. Fragm.* 14 = ψυχήν, Hesych.

3] *The name of a God.*: Αἰὼν Κρόνου παῖς, Eurip. *Heracl.* 895; cf. Arist. *de Mundo,* c. 7; Varro, *ap. Aug. de C. D.* vii. 19; Plutarch, *de I. et O.* p. 363; Lactantius, *de Falsa Relig.* i. 12; Macrobius, i. 8, 22. Jupiter calls him father in *Nonnus Dion.* vii. 23, 73, ed. Musgrave. See Buttmann's *Mythologus,* vol. ii. p. 31, n.

4] *Eternity:* Æsch. *Eum.* 553; Soph. *El.* 1013; Plato, *Tim.* 37D (where time is regarded as εἰκονα κινητὴν τινὰ αἰῶνος), 38B; Demosth. *de Cor.* 257, in the ψήφισμα (where it may = "all his life long"); Plutarch, *de Suav. quid Viv.* 1104E, *ib. quæst.* 1007D; *de Ei Delph.* 393A, &c., where

[1] See St. Athanasius' *Defence of the Nicene Definition,* c. iii. Oxford transl.

it is opposed to χρόνος; Arist. *de Cœlo*, i. [ii.], *s. q.* pp. 25, 22; Philo, *de Mundo*, 1158, l a, p. 609, l. 7, ἐν αἰῶνι δὲ οὔτε παρελήλυθεν οὐδὲν, οὔτε μέλλει ἄλλα μόνον ὑφεστήκε; Plotinus, *Enn.* 328D, where it is thus defined: ἡ οὖν τοῦ ὄντος παντελὴς οὐσία καὶ ὅλη, οὐχ ἡ ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ μηδ' ἂν ἔτι ἐλλείψειν, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἂν μὴ ὂν αὐτῇ προσγενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μόνα τὰ ὄντα πάντα δεῖ παρεῖναι τῷ πάντι καὶ ὅλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ ποτὲ μὴ ὄντος· αὕτη ἡ διάθεσις αὐτοῦ καὶ φύσις εἴη ἂν αἰών· αἰὼν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀεὶ ὄντος. Proclus, *Inst.*, p. 82, ed. Creuzer, &c. In this sense with διὰ, ἐξ, εἰς, ἀπὸ, with or without article; but, ἀσχημονεῖν πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα, male audire apud posteros [Longinus]. In plural, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, and εἰς πάσας τὰς γενέας τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων (New Testament), where however the *whole expression* appears to have the meaning of eternity, whilst αἰὼν falls back into its original signification of age or generation. A curious definition of αἰὼν is given in Zonaras, i. 64, σύστημα φυσικὸν ἐκ σωμάτων ποικίλων, λογικὰ διάφορα περιέχον, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσεως ἕνεκα. [See Tittmann's note; also John Damascen. i. p. 153c.; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 38, p. 616c; *Etymol. Magnum*, xli. 9.] In these writers, then, the ideas of mere length of duration, or mere spatial illimitability, rise up to, and are lost in, the higher idea of eternity, as a spiritual whole in itself, independent of these determinations.

αἰώνιος. 1. Prolonged; μεθὺ αἰώνιος, Plato; *v.* Stephan. *Thes.* 2. In the sense of "eternal," αἰώνιος ζωὴ, αἰσχύνη [Dan. xii. 2], where also the just are said to shine "like the stars," εἰς αἰῶνας καὶ ἔτι. Cf. 2 Macc. vii. 9, where αἰώνιος ἀναβίωσις is connected with the idea of resurrection.

A more accurate idea of its meaning may be obtained from an observation of its use [1] in the Synoptical Gospels, [2] in St. Paul, and [3] in St. John's Gospel and Epistles.

[1] *In the Synoptics*, ζωὴ αἰώνιος occurs in the question of the lawyer [Luke x. 25], where in the parallel passages [Matt. xix. 16 and Luke xviii. 18] the question is resumed, εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι: in all the cases it is answered by the injunction to perform the ordinary duties of life, in one, the duty of loving God, in two, that of selling all and giving to the poor. But the ζωὴ αἰώνιος is the reward or "treasure" in heaven, "in the regeneration," and in "the world to come," where it is the opposite of τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, and of κόλασις αἰώνιος [Matt. xxv. 46]. It may be remarked on these passages that there is no distinct indication of infinite duration in any of these passages, the only common mark of all being that of futurity. The instance of κρίσις αἰώνιος [Mark iii. 29] is also against the sense of everlasting, and in favour of the sense of "future." The passage in the parable of the unjust steward [Luke xvi. 9] in which τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς occurs, is too obscure itself to throw any light on the meaning of the word.

The same predominant sense of futurity is also to be compared in Acts, xiii. 48; 2 Pet. i. 11; Jude 7 and 21.

[2] *In St. Paul*, ζωὴ αἰώνιος occurs in the sense of futurity in 1 Tim. vi. 19, (v. l. ὄντως) connected with laying up a good foundation εἰς τὸ μέλλον, by the right use of riches; Tit. iii. 7, where it is an inheritance in expectation; 2 Cor. iv. 17, where αἰώνιος βάρος δόξης is opposed to τὸ παραύτικα ἐλαφρον τῆς θλίψεως; cf. 2 Thess. i. 9; 2. Tim. ii. 10. In two passages αἰώνιος is joined with χρόνος to signify the infinite duration *ex parte ante*, during which the revelation of Christ has been withheld; but is now revealed, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου θεοῦ [Rom. xvi. 25, 26]; so 2 Tim. i. 9.

The most common use of the word in St. Paul, however, seems to be in the sense of the higher spiritual or Divine life in man, without any direct reference to past or future, to the period before or after death; thus, Timothy is told to lay hold on ζωὴ αἰώνιος to which he had been called [1 Tim. vi. 12]; and which is the aim or result of faith, πιστεύειν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον [*ib.* i. 16]; the harvest of sowing to the Spirit [Gal. vi. 8], the end or object of freedom from sin, serving God, and having fruit εἰς ἁγιασμὸν [Rom. vi. 22]; the gift of God, χάρισμα [*ibid.*]. So Christianity is called παράκλησις αἰώνιος [2 Thess. ii. 16]. Similarly, in the general sense of "unseen," τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια [2 Cor. iv. 18]; of "spiritual," in the ascription of τιμὴ καὶ κράτος αἰώνιος to God [1 Tim. vi. 16], and of the "permanent" side of ordinary life: "if our earthly tabernacle be dissolved, we *have* in heaven a building of God . . . not made with hands," αἰώνιον [2 Cor. v. 1].

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, with the exception of two passages [vi. 2 and ix. 15] in which αἰώνιος = future, the word αἰώνιος is exclusively applied to the objective work of Christ in redemption. Thus Christ offered Himself . . . διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου [ix. 14], ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου [xiii. 20], and being perfected (τελειωθεὶς, as opposed to ἔπαθε) He became to the believer the cause σωτηρίας αἰωνίου [v. 9], having brought to light αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν [ix. 12].

[3] *In the Johannine writings*, the word αἰώνιος occurs exclusively as an attribute of ζωὴ, in the three senses of [*a*] the subjective state of the Christian, [*b*] the life of Christ with the Father, and [*c*] the life of Christ in man; the notions of futurity, duration, &c., being almost, if not entirely, absent.

Thus [*a*] ζωὴ αἰώνιος is the result of the Divine Love to the world, mediated through belief in Christ; he that believeth *hath* ζωὴ αἰώνιος," [John iii. 36]; the spiritual worship of God is called a fountain of water within the soul springing up unto ζωὴ αἰώνιος [*ib.* iv. 14]; "he that heareth . . . and believeth '*hath* ζωὴ αἰώνιος,' and *hath* passed from death unto life" [*ib.* v. 24; vi. 47]; similarly as a result or gift of Christ accruing to those who follow Him and who are in virtue thereof said to be "in His Father's hand," and to be imperishable εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα [*ib.* x. 28; cf. xvii. 2]; to those who come to Him [v. 40]. So the testimony of the Scripture to Christ is called ζωὴ αἰώνιος [v. 39]; the

missionary (ὁ θερίζων) gathers fruit, of which he did not sow the seed, εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον [iv. 36]. The practice of self-sacrifice, called "hating the soul," leads to ζωὴ αἰώνιος [xii. 25], a permanent state (μένουσαν), which is manifested and evidenced by love to the brethren [1 John iii. 15]. In all these cases, the predominant idea is that of present possession, as [*ibid.* v. 13] the believers are reminded of their spiritual state, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ζωὴν ἔχετε αἰώνιον.

In the sense [*b*] of the Life of Christ with the Father [*ibid.* i. 2]. We shew to you that ζωὴ αἰώνιος, which was with the Father, and was manifested to us; so the commandment of the Father to Christ is itself ζωὴ αἰώνιος [John xii. 50]; and in 1 John v. 20, the parallelism would seem to require us to identify ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος with Christ: "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know τὸν ἀληθινόν,"

καὶ ἐσμὲν ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ιησοῦ Χριστῷ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος.

In the sense [*c*] of the Life of Christ in man. The proof that God has given His Son to the world, is that He gave us ζωὴ αἰώνιος [1 John v. 11], that the believer abides (μένει) in Christ and Christ in him, that "as I live through the Father so He . . . should live through Me" [Gosp. vi. 57]. So every one who beholds the Son and believes on Him has ζωὴ αἰώνιος [*ib.* vi. 40], which consists in the knowledge of God and Christ [*ib.* xvii. 3], in the abiding in the Son and in the Father [1 John ii. 24]. Christ is the "Bread of Life," "the meat which endureth to ζωὴ αἰώνιος" [John vi. 27], he that eateth which, "hath ζωὴ αἰώνιος" [*ibid.* 53, sqq.].

In the Book of Revelation, an angel flies in mid air, holding εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον (without article), and saying, "Fear God, and give Him glory, for the hour of judgment is come: worship Him who made heaven and earth, the sea and the springs" [xiv. 6]. What we translate, therefore, "the everlasting Gospel" should perhaps be rendered "a message from the spiritual world." Cf. however 1 John ii. 25, where the Gospel, or Christian revelation, is summed up in one phrase: "This is that Gospel which He preached unto us, viz. eternal life."

The words αἰὼν and αἰώνιος, then, manifest a progressive and enlarging import from the simple ideas of breath (cf. the analogous case of spiritus), through the negative and mechanical notions of un-seen, un-ending, past, future, &c. Up to a kind of climax, in which they express positively some of the most complex facts of the Divine operation in itself and in man, without, however, throwing off the more primitive meanings. [On the mixture of the ideas of space and time, and for transfer of αἰὼν into meaning of κόσμος: cf. Trench, *Synon. of New Testament*, p. 34 f., who instances the word "world," which originally = generation of men (weralt)].

II. We now proceed to examine some of the conceptions of eternity, which have been formed by writers of different ages, nations, and shades of opinion: and of these,

[1] *St. Augustine.* "Non enim aliud anni Dei et aliud Ipse; sed anni Dei æternitas Dei est: æternitas ipsa Dei substantia est quæ nihil habet mutabile; ibi nihil est præteritum, quasi non sit; nihil est futurum quasi nondum sit; sed quicquid ibi est, nonnisi est."

[2] *Aquinas.* "Æternitas est interminabilis vitæ tota simul et perfecta possessio. Potest definiri per temporale in obliquo, non autem in recto. Est mensura omnis durationis. Excludit principium durationis, non autem originis: ideo, aliquid quod est ab alio potest esse æternum. Significatur pluralitas, quia participatur in multis, propter mensuram inferiorem et propter tempus. Est ingenitum, incorruptibile, antiquum et totum tempus. Æternitas et ævum (= αἰὼν) sunt mensuræ indivisibiles: ideo sunt unitas permanentiæ actûs. Æternitas est tota simul, quia est mensura permanentis; non autem tempus, quia est mensura motûs. *Nunc æternitatis* est causa ejus secundum rationem, non autem secundum rem. *Nunc temporis* et tempus differunt re et successive: *nunc ævi* et ævum differunt tantum re; nunc vero æternitatis et æternitas differunt secundum rationem tantum. Deus non est actor nec causa suæ æternitatis: Deus est æternitas. Æternitas manet eadem et subjecto et ratione: ideo non est idem quod nunc temporis. Tempus non differt ab æternitate per habere principium et finem, nisi per accidens vel ex parte mensurati. Æternitas et tempus non sunt mensura unius generis. In tempore aliud est indivisibile seu instans, et aliud durans seu tempus; sed in æternitate est idem indivisibile et semper stans. Ævum excludit omnem mutationem in actu, sed æternitas excludit eam etiam in potentiâ. Æternitas vere et proprie convenit soli Deo, sed participative convenit diversis diversimode."

[3] *The Trent Catechism* [*de 12mo symb. art.*] has the following on the constituents of eternal life: "Beatitudinem ex iis duobus constare; tum quod Deum intuebimur qualis in naturâ suâ ac substantiâ est, tum quod veluti Dii efficiemur. Nam qui Illo fruuntur, quamvis propriam substantiam retineant, admirabilem tamen quandam et prope divinam formam induunt, ut Dii potius quam homines videantur" [§ 7], which is thus illustrated: "quemadmodum ferrum admotum igni, ignem concipit, et quamvis ejus substantia non mutetur, fit tamen, ut diversum quippiam, nimirum ignis, esse videatur: eodem modo qui," &c. [§ 10].

[4] *Spinoza* distinguishes eternity as the infinite existence of God, from the finite existence of created beings. The latter is derivative, the former self-originated. The latter "fruitur existentiâ," but God cannot be said "frui existentiâ;" His existence is Himself, *i.e.* of His essence. But this not being the case with the creature, its present existence is no guarantee for its future; and is different from its future existence, which is not yet, as from its past, which is no longer. Its characteristic is, therefore, to pass from moment to moment, by virtue of its dependence upon God, from whom its existence is derived; in Spinoza's language, "duratione frui;" but it is

impossible to conceive that the existence upon which this durational existence depends should also be durational, for that would imply that God derived His existence from some higher source, and so on *ad infinitum*. Eternity with Spinoza therefore = necessary existence, as opposed to contingent; which, as he says, would never be eternal, though it might last from everlasting to everlasting.

An illustration will make this clear: the equality of the radii of a circle is an "eternal" truth, not because it has been true an infinitely long time, but because it is of the essence of a circle to have equal radii. In the same way the existence of God is "eternal," because it is of the essence of the Divine Being to exist; that of man, apart from God, is durational and not eternal, because it is not of the essence of the human being to exist, and therefore his existence this moment is not identical with his existence the next moment. It is important to observe that in this view eternity is not merely a negation of time, but time is the defect or negation of eternity.

[5] Martensen has the following lucid passage on the subject: "As having life in Himself God is eternal. The Eternal is the I AM, who is Himself the origin of His own being, the Unchangeable. But His immutability is not a dead immutability, for it consists in producing Himself with infinite fruitfulness from Himself. His eternity is therefore not like that of the 'eternal hills,' . . . but a living eternity, blooming with unwithering youth. But His self-production is not the fragmentary growth we witness in time. The creature has time outside of itself, because it has its fulness outside of itself. The Eternal lives in a present of undivided powers and fulness, in the rhythm of a perfect life. His life is unchangeably the same, and yet He never ceases to live as new."

Eternity or eternal life, then, is the Divine life [*a*] in itself, as it is "before the foundation of the world" in the fulness of absolute existence, and [*b*] as it is manifested through Christ in man. In the latter case, *as seen by us*, it is a process taking place in time, and admitting of degrees, "the blade, the ear, the grain," and is manifest outwardly in the individual by love to the brethren [1 John iii. 14]. But this process, *as known to God* as His own life in man, is present at every step in its consummation; He sees the beginning and the end in one. Hence it is that whilst eternity is in itself really exclusive of time, it is nevertheless conceived by us as an endless progress (sempiternity), *i.e.* under the form of duration of which it is really the condition.

In conclusion we must not omit to mention a now almost forgotten controversy as to the meaning of "eternal" in its application to punishment. [*The word "Eternal" and the Punishment of the Wicked*, a letter &c., by F. D. Maurice; Macmillan, 1853: and *Grounds for laying before the Council of King's College, London, certain statements in the Theological Essays of the Rev. F. D. Maurice*, by R. W. Jelf; Parker, 1853.] It will appear from what has been said that recourse must be had to other passages and expressions in Holy Scripture to illustrate the doctrine of the interminability of the punishment of the wicked. The word "eternal" as properly excluding duration seems not to be decisive either way; for if eternal punishment cannot be said *to end*, neither can it be said *to last for ever;* both ending and lasting being attributes of duration. In short, "eternal" "describes rather the quality than the quantity of a state." [See EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT.]

[Consult Augustine, *Confess.* xi. 13, *Enarr. in Psa.* cii., *Serm.* xi. vol. iv. p. 830; *Tabula Aurea in omn. Opp. D. Thomæ Aquin.*, by Peter de Bergamo, Venet. 1593, *s. v.* for a digest of all the passages; *Catechismus ex Decreto Conc. Trident. ad Parochos*, Romæ, 1858, cap. xiii.; Spinoza, *Cogit. Metaph.* ii. 1, 4, ed. Bruder; Martensen (Lutheran), *Christian Dogmatics*, sec. 48; see also Hooker, *E. P.* bk. V. lxix. 1, 2; More's *Notes on Glanville's Letter to him on Drollery and Atheism*, 1682, p. 32.]

EUCHARIST [lit. "thanksgiving"]. The name given to the sacrament which Christ instituted before His Passion, primarily derived from εὐχαριστέω, the word probably used by our Lord in consecrating the elements of bread and wine. It signifies that the sacrament is especially one of thanksgiving as commemorating the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Lord, and as being the appointed means of conveying to our souls the heavenly gift of His most precious Body and Blood, the spiritual nourishment of our souls and the pledge of eternal life. This name was *usually* given to the sacrament from the earliest period in the Eastern and Western Churches,[1] and from the Apostolic age "thanksgiving" formed a very prominent portion of the Eucharistic service.

There are many *types and predictions* of the Holy Eucharist in the Old Testament, of which the chief are these following.

First of all, undoubtedly, was the Passover. Our Lord, after celebrating the last Passover with His disciples [Matt. xxvi. 17-20], instituted the sacrament of His Body and Blood: the type was followed by the Antitype which it had very strikingly foreshadowed. The Jewish Passover was a rite of thanksgiving, commemorating the redemption of Israel from Egyptian bondage, just as the Eucharistic sacrament is a commemoration of the deliverance of the world from the slavery of sin; the one was instituted the night before the ransom of Israel, the other the night before the redemption of mankind. In the Jewish Passover, the paschal lamb, before it was eaten in the house, was offered in sacrifice in the Temple, a type of the Eucharistic oblation of the Lamb of God and of the sacramental eating of His Body and Blood. In one house the paschal lamb was to be eaten, the flesh was not "to be carried

[1] See Suicer, *Thes. Eccl. in loc.* The Eucharist was also called εὐλογία, as by St. Cyril of Alexandria (μυστικὴ εὐλογία), the word probably derived from 1 Cor. x. 16, "The cup of blessing" (τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν). The Eucharist was also called συνάξις or union—the sacrament by which we are united to Christ and to each other

abroad out of the house" [Exod. xii.]—a type that the true Paschal Lamb can be eaten only in the one Church of God.[1] So intimate was the connexion between type and antitype that St. Paul says, in allusion to Eucharistic celebration, "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" [1 Cor. v. 7, 8]. Here Christ is not only called the Passover or the Paschal Lamb, but the Jewish unleavened bread is represented as typifying purity of heart and life, which are indispensable for a beneficial partaking of the Eucharistic feast.

Another type was the offering of Melchisedec [Gen. xiv. 11-18]. Meeting Abraham after the slaughter of the kings, Melchisedec "brought bread and wine, and (*or* for) he was the *priest* of the Most High God." Thus not only the Eucharistic elements of bread and wine were foreshadowed, but there was also, as we shall find, a manifest type of the Eucharistic offering.

The Manna, as our Lord, who speaks of type and antitype [John vi. 49-51], and St. Paul [1 Cor. x. 3] declare, also presignified Eucharistic food. When the children of Israel had passed through the Red Sea, Pharaoh and his hosts being destroyed, they were miraculously fed with manna on their journey through the wilderness to the land of Canaan, typifying the pilgrimage of the baptized Christian, who, saved from his spiritual enemies by the laver of regeneration, has still to pass through the wilderness of this world, supported by the Living Bread which comes down from heaven, till he reaches the Canaan of heavenly rest.

Again, the Shew-bread[2] offered before the Lord on the Sabbath in the Tabernacle and Temple [Exod. xxv. 30; Lev. xxiv. 5-9] was a type of the Eucharist, and also the "fine flour" which was to be offered for the cure of leprosy.[3]

The prophets had predicted that God should be sacrificially worshipped by Gentiles no less than by His ancient people [Isa. xix. 19; lxvi. 21; Jer. xxxiii. 15-18]; or rather we may say that there should be a new sacrifice, of which the former one was only an imperfect emblem. "In every place," says Malachi [i. 11], "incense shall be offered to God and the pure oblation," or the mincha of fine flour; which not only implies the *typical* nature of Jewish sacrifice (*shall be* offered), but the unblemished sanctity of the Christian sacrifice, "a *pure* offering," in contrast with the earthly or carnal oblations of Judaism.

In illustrating the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Church on the Holy Eucharist, we shall [I.] speak of the Matter, or outward signs; [II.] of the Form; [III.] of the inward or spiritual Grace of the sacrament.

I. *The Matter of the Eucharist.* This is bread and wine, according to the institution of our Blessed Lord, wheaten bread and wine from the grape [Matt. xxvi. 26-29]. There were many heresies as regards the matter of the sacrament in the early Church. St. Cyprian mentions some who offered water only in the cup of the Lord.[4] St. Epiphanius says that the Ebionites celebrated their mysteries with unleavened bread and water only,[5] and that the Artotyritæ offered bread and cheese in the Mysteries,[6] imitating, says St. Augustine, in his account of the same heretics, the first oblations of the fruits of the earth [Gen. iv. 3]. St. Augustine also mentions the Aquarii, so called as offering water only in the Eucharistic Cup,[7] and not that which the whole Church offers.[8] St. Chrysostom likewise refers to some who used water only in the Mysteries.[9] In the Apostolical Canons, "If any bishop or presbyter offer anything at the altar but what the Lord commanded (*i.e.* bread and wine) let him be deposed."[10] The offering of milk and of grapes instead of wine was forbidden by a council in the seventh century [Concil. Bracarens. III. or IV. can. 2, A.D. 675].

The Matter, according to our Lord's institution, must then be wheaten bread and wine from the grape. It has been asserted that bread made of bran, barley, or maize, in case wheaten bread cannot be procured, will suffice; but this at best is doubtful, as being a change of the Matter which was divinely instituted; nor can any other liquid be used but wine from the grape, or most probably the sacrament would be invalid.[11] It has been for many ages a subject of dispute between the Eastern and Western Churches, whether the sacramental bread should be leavened or unleavened; the Eastern Church making use of leavened, and the Latin Church from an early period of un-

[1] "Loquitur Deus dicens, 'In domo una comedetur, non ejicietis e domo carnem foras.' Caro Christi et sanctum Domini ejici foras non potest, nec alia ulla credentibus præter unam Ecclesiam domus est." St. Cyprian, *De Unitate.*

[2] Called ἄρτοι ἐνώπιοι [Exod. xxv. 30], ἄρτοι τῆς προσφορᾶς [1 Kings vii. 48], ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως [Matt. xii. 4]. St. Jerome says there was as much difference between the shew-bread (panis propositionis) and the Body of Christ as between the shadow and the body, the representation and the reality, the types of future things and those things prefigured by the types [*Comment. on the Epistle to Titus* i. 8, 9]. Thus also St. Cyril of Jerusalem: "Even under the Old Testament there was shew-bread, but this, as it belonged to the Old Testament, came to an end; but in the New Testament there is the bread of heaven and the cup of salvation sanctifying soul and body" [Lect. xxii. Oxf. transl.].

[3] St. Justin calls it a "type of the bread of the Eucharist" [*Dial. c. Tryph.* § 41].

[4] *Epist.* 191.

[5] *Hæreses*, 10 *sive* 20.

[6] *Ibid.* 29 *sive* 49.

[7] *De Hæres.* 64.

[8] That is wine and water. There can be no doubt that it was the usage of the early Church to mix water with wine in the Eucharistic cup, typifying the water and the blood which flowed from the Redeemer's side, as we know from the Fathers, and from councils and liturgies: but the "mixture" (κρᾶμα), as St. Justin terms it, is not essential to valid consecration. Bona, after proving the usage of the primitive Church, adds, "Refert Bernardus [*Epist.* 69] quorundam opinionem existimantium aquæ mixtionem necessariam esse ad sacramenti integritatem; sed certa est theologorum sententia, omissa aqua, validam esse consecrationem, quamvis omittens graviter peccet" [*Rerum Liturg.* lib. ii. c. 9].

[9] *Homil.* 82, on St. Matt. xxvi. 29.

[10] Canon 3.

[11] See Aquin. *Sum. tertia pars, quæst.* 74, *art.* 3, 5.

leavened bread, all theologians admitting that the consecration in either case is equally valid. Whether the Greek or the Latin Church first innovated upon the usage of our Lord cannot with certainty be ascertained. Cardinal Bona says[1] that the Eastern Church always used leavened bread, and the Latins leavened or unleavened bread indifferently till the tenth century, and that afterwards it became the custom of the Latin Church to consecrate with unleavened bread only; but this opinion is at the best doubtful, and has been controverted by other learned writers.[2] We can only say that *probably* in the Apostolic age, and immediately afterwards, the question had not been raised, or the subject in dispute would have been considered immaterial; that bread which could readily be procured, whether leavened or not, being consecrated. Such would certainly be the obvious inference from the celebrations recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, where the bread was apparently the ordinary bread in use [see ii. 46; xx. 11]. It need only be further remarked, that there can be little doubt as to our Lord consecrating with unleavened bread. The Jews, in obedience to God's command, put away all leaven from their houses before they prepared the Passover [Exod. xiii. 3]. At the Last Supper of our Lord, no leavened bread *could have been procured;* nor can it be supposed, *without any evidence,* that our Lord, when eating the Passover, violated the express command of the Divine Law.

II. *The Form of the Eucharist.* The form of words by which the Sacrament is consecrated is given by the synoptic Evangelists and St. Paul: "This is My Body. This is My Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many" [Matt. xxvi. 26-29, Mark xiv. 22-25, Luke xxii. 19, 20, 1 Cor. xi. 23-25]. The priest speaks in the Person of Christ:[3] "This is *My* Body. This is *My* Blood." The Divine Words uttered at the first institution, being effective throughout all ages of the Church, changing ineffably the creatures of bread and wine into the heavenly food of Christ's most precious Body and Blood.

The Fathers expressly and uniformly teach that consecration is actually effected by the words of Institution. Thus St. Justin Martyr: "The food blessed by the prayer of the Word which proceeded from Him (Christ) is the Flesh and Blood of that Jesus who was made flesh;"[4] and St. Irenæus, that Christ "took bread which is of His creation," and said, "This is My Body, and likewise the Cup. . . . He confessed to be His Blood."[5] "Let us hear," says St. Jerome, "that bread which the Lord brake and gave to His disciples is the Body of the Lord our Saviour [Domini Salvatoris], He saying to them, 'Take, eat, this is My Body.'"[6] "Since then," says St. Cyril, "He Himself has declared and said of the bread, 'This is My Body,' who shall dare to doubt it any longer? and since, He has affirmed and said: 'This is My Blood,' who shall ever hesitate, saying that it is not His Blood?"[7] Prayers and thanksgivings are indeed an integral part of the Eucharistic service, but strictly speaking are not essential: the words of Institution being alone needed for valid consecration. Another opinion, however, has, from an early period, been held by the Eastern Church, that after the words of Institution a prayer must be added for the descent of the Holy Spirit, to complete the consecration. [Invocation of Holy Spirit in Eucharist.]

III. *The Grace of the Eucharist.* We have now to consider the inward or spiritual grace of the Holy Eucharist—"This is My Body. This is My Blood." That these words are to be understood in their literal sense; or that the Bread and Wine become by consecration really and sacramentally (though in an inconceivable manner which cannot be explained by earthly similitudes or illustrations), the Body and Blood of our Lord, is clear from the obvious meaning of the Words of Institution, which the Fathers, as we have seen, understood literally. A figurative sense does not seem even to have occurred to them: nor has any reason ever been given why, if our Lord had intended His words to be understood figuratively, He did not say "This is a sign or figure of My Body."[8]

Let us first consider our Lord's teaching in the sixth chapter of St. John. He distinctly asserts the necessity of receiving His Flesh and Blood, or Himself, as the nourishment of the soul. It had been the custom of our Lord, before announcing sacred mysteries, to prepare the minds of His disciples to receive and believe them by previous teaching.[9] Thus, in this chapter, after feeding five thousand with five barley loaves and two small fishes, He takes occasion, after this miraculous supply of earthly food, to announce the more wonderful mystery of feeding His disciples with the spiritual food of His own Body and Blood. Some have supposed that our Lord, in this chapter, alludes only to spiritual "eating" by faith; and undoubtedly at the beginning of His discourse He especially dwells on the necessity of salvation

[1] *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. c. 23.

[2] A full account of this controversy is given in Dr. Neale's *Introduction to the History of the Eastern Church,* pp. 1056-76 [1850].

[3] Thus also St. Paul [2 Cor. ii. 10] speaks of forgiving a sinner "in the Person of Christ" [ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ].

[4] *Apol.* i. sec. 66. [5] *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iv. c. 17.

[6] *Ad. Hedibiam,* cxx.

[7] *Lect.* xxii. sec. 1 [Oxf. transl.].

[8] The various interpretations which have been devised to evade the literal meaning of our Lord's words are examined and ably refuted by Maldonatus [*Comment. Matt.* xxvi. 26]. Had our Lord's words been merely a figure, there would have been, as Paschasius Radbertus truly remarks, a repetition of two types having the same meaning:—the Paschal lamb and the Eucharistic Bread and Wine—each equally and in the same sense a memorial of Christ's death: "Quod si nihil habet hoc mysterium præter figuram corporis et sanguinis Christi et non hoc est quod Ipse dixit; quid necesse fuit iterare in facto, quia hoc totum præfiguratum erat in Agno!" *Epist. ad Frudegardum.*

[9] Thus the disciples were prepared beforehand for the institution of baptism by our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus [John iii.], for His sufferings and crucifixion Matt. xx. 19], for His ascension [John xvi. 16], and the gift of the Holy Spirit [John xiv. 16].

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by faith, but at ver. 51 He announces a new mystery, for which His previous teaching had been intended to prepare His hearers—that of eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood. Why, before announcing the Eucharistic mystery, He dwelt on the essential importance of faith is obvious for two reasons. The Eucharist is especially the sacrament of faith. Ere our Lord's words could be received, His hearers needed faith in the highest degree—an implicit, unwavering reliance upon God's power and word. Besides, for another reason our Lord prominently urged the necessity of faith: it is through faith only that His blessed Body and Blood can be beneficially received: faith must open our eyes to behold Him, and draw us to Him in loving affection, thus inclining us to obey Him, and preparing us to receive Him as the nourishment of our souls.

Our Lord having thus shewn the necessity of faith, goes on to announce the Eucharistic mystery, which has been ever termed by the Church "mysterium fidei." That there was no *exclusive* reference to "faith" in this chapter is clear from the oft-repeated expressions of "eating Christ's Flesh and drinking His Blood," which are not found elsewhere in Scripture as synonymous with "faith," and can only acquire this meaning by supposing that the Redeemer used a strange and unprecedented form of language, a form which would lead into error. Besides, His words will not permit us to suppose that He referred to faith only. He says, "the Bread which I will give" [ver. 51] "is My Flesh"—had He referred to spiritual eating by faith, He would have said, "the Bread which I have given"—since of the Jews some even then believed on Him, and by faith had eaten of the living Bread. But He speaks of something afterwards to be given—"the Bread which I will give [δώσω] is My Flesh."

Again, that this chapter refers to the Eucharist is manifest from comparing it with the words of Institution. Our Lord in the passage just quoted, says "the bread which I will give:" if this promise was not fulfilled in the Holy Eucharist, so far as we know from the Evangelists it was not fulfilled at all. But can we mistake the time and mode of the fulfilment of our Lord's promise? If we compare the expressions in the sixth chapter with the words of Institution, we shall find an almost verbal identity: "he that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life"—"take eat, this is My Body which is given for you. This is My Blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins."

Again, from this chapter we may understand the *meaning* of Christ's giving His Flesh and Blood; for He uses another form of expression which is unmistakably identical, saying, "He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me" [ver. 57]; by His Flesh and Blood, therefore He means Himself God and Man. "Flesh and blood," and sometimes "flesh" only, are used in Scripture as synonymous with "man:" thus our Lord says to St. Peter, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee" [Matt. xvi. 17]. St. Paul conferred not with flesh and blood [Gal. i. 16], that is, as he explains, he did not take counsel with men. St. John says, "the Word became flesh (*i.e.* assumed human nature in its entirety), and dwelt among us" [i. 14]. St. Paul [Rom. iii. 20] that no flesh (*i.e.* no man) shall be justified before God (οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ). The Psalmist [cxlv. 21] says "let all flesh (*i.e.* men) praise His holy name (εὐλογείτω πᾶσα σὰρξ).

Let us also consider our Lord's prayer in the seventeenth chapter of St. John. The Evangelist does not relate the Institution of the Holy Eucharist which had been recorded by the other evangelists, but adds to their account our Lord's prayer after giving the Apostles His blessed Body and Blood; of which we read at the close of this chapter, that after our Lord had spoken it to them He went over the brook Cedron [xviii. 1]. Now with what frequency in this chapter, with what marked reiteration, is the Eucharistic Presence of our Lord implied, *i.e.* that the words of Institution just spoken were literally true. Our Lord had said in the sixth chapter "He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood dwelleth in Me and I in him." And when the heavenly gift had just been bestowed, He reiterates forcibly the blessed truth of His being united to the Apostles, and of their union with the Father and with each other in Him, praying "that they all may be one as Thou Father art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us. . . . The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them, that they may be one, even as We are one; I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one. . . . I have declared unto them Thy love, and will declare it, that the love wherewith Thou hast loved Me may be in them and I in them."

Reference to the teaching of St. Paul seems to place beyond doubt the sense in which he understood the words of Institution. He says: "The Cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ, and the Bread which we break is it not the communion of the Body of Christ? For we being many are one Bread, and one Body, for we are all partakers of that one Bread" [1 Cor. x. 16, 17]. In the original the word here rendered "communion" is κοινωνία, which implies "real union with Christ." "Wherefore," according to St. Chrysostom's *Commentary*, "saith he not the 'participation,' because He intended to express something more, and to point out how close was the union, in that we communicate, not only by participating and partaking, but also by being united. For as that Body is united to Christ, so also are we united to Him by this Bread. . . Further, because he said *the communion of the Body*, and that which communicates is another thing from that whereof it communicates, even this which seemeth but a small thing he took away. For having said *the communion of the Body*, he sought again to express something nearer. Wherefore he added [ver. 17], *For we being many are one Bread, one Body.* For why speak I of *communion*, saith he, we are that selfsame body. For what is the

Bread?—the Body of Christ And what do they become who partake of it? The Body of Christ, not many bodies, but one Body."[1]

Again, St. Paul says: "Whosoever shall eat this Bread, or drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord; but let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup, for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body: for this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep" or die [1 Cor. xi. 27-30]. Knox, the friend of Bishop Jebb, after quoting the above passage, adds: "There is a kind of physiognomy in language by which we seem to see as well as understand the mind of the writer. Thus, in the passage now transcribed, we not only receive the instruction intended to be conveyed, but in the precision of the terms, the strictness with which they are adhered to, and the energy with which they are applied, we have the very stamp and signature as it were of St. Paul's own mind and heart. Not only from first to last does he keep the Eucharistic elements in his view, but he says nothing which does not expressly refer to them. Thus, as the crime is eating and drinking unworthily, so the punishment is the *eating and drinking* of judgment (that is, of bodily infliction), as if the very receiving of those holy things into the human person when defiled by polluting contact, or desecrated by actual irreverence produced, of itself (like the Ark of the Covenant when profanely treated) the calamity or destruction of the offender. Again, the desecrating irreverence is stated to arise from not discerning *the Lord's Body:* that is, from approaching the sacramental symbols without due discrimination of their transcendent quality." The writer then adds, that the Apostle strengthens what he had said, by referring to the judgments inflicted on the Corinthians, and that this awful explanation would lead them to compare their crime and punishment with those signal cases of a like nature recorded in Holy Scripture (he refers to Nadab and Abihu, the Philistines when bringing the Ark into the house of Dagon, and Uzzah, who died on touching the Ark), "Since every reason that could be conceived for fencing the symbols of Divine presence and power under the Old Testament must hold good for an equal fencing of similar symbols under the New Testament. It could not for one moment be imagined that either the Ark or the Altar of the Lord should be guarded with more terrible majesty than that which on equally Divine authority was to be "discerned" as the "Lord's Body."[2]

[1] *Comment. in loc.* [Oxf. transl.].

[2] On the use and import of the Eucharistic symbols [*Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 198-200, 1834]. Knox generally throughout the treatise speaks of the Body and Blood of Christ as being present in "spirit and efficacy," but realizing as he goes on, how imperfect and inadequate was this view of a "virtual Presence," he rises near the conclusion to the full expression of Catholic truth. "Let not, therefore, the simplicity of what is visible to our bodily sight, veil from our mental eyes those invisible realities which are to us so consolatory and in themselves so glorious. On the contrary, let us recognise the same spirit of meek majesty which veiled its transcendent brightness in the mystery of the Incarnation, as still continuing the same gracious condescension in the mystery of the Eucharist; and let us joyfully and reverently approach to do homage to our King, who in this His own peculiar institution comes to diffuse benediction in His mystical Zion, with the same apparent lowliness as when in conformity with the Divine prediction, He entered His literal Jerusalem 'sitting on an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass'" [*Ibid.* p. 221, 222].

The illustrations which have been given from Holy Scripture of the meaning of the words of Institution are confirmed by the teaching of the Fathers, and the early monuments of the Church in the Catacombs. Thus in the chamber of St. Calixtus, the Eucharistic presence is denoted by a three-legged table with two loaves and a fish placed upon it; which, presenting the appearance of a common repast to the heathen, would be a memorial to Christians of the heavenly Bread, the mysterious ΙΧΘΥΣ[3] received in the Holy Eucharist. Hence in the inscription at Autun [A.D. 170], first published by Dr. Rock,[4] we read, "—— eat, drink, having Ἰχθὺς in the palms of thy hands."

Let us now consider the testimony of Apostolic and early Fathers. St. Ignatius calls the Eucharist "the Flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins—the gift of God."[5] "The Bread of God which is the Flesh of Jesus Christ,[6] and bids the Philadelphians partake of the same Eucharist, for there is but one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one Cup in the unity of His Blood."[7] St. Justin terms the Eucharist "the Flesh and Blood of Jesus who is incarnate."[8] St. Clement of Alexandria says that our Lord gives His Flesh and pours out Blood as the

[3] Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour). The initial letters of those titles make up the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ, or fish, and accordingly in every story of sacred writ connected with a fish the early Church recognised some figure of our Lord. "He is our fish," says Tertullian, "who by His descent, when we call upon Him, into the baptismal font, causes that which before was water to be now called 'piscina.'" So St. Optatus, "a pisce piscina." "He is the fish," says St. Jerome, "in whose mouth is found the tax or tribute money to be paid to those who demand it, whereby alone Peter and all other sinners can be redeemed." Finally, "He is that fish," says St. Optatus again, "whom Tobias seized in the river Tigris, whose flesh was good for food, whose liver drove away the devil from his wife Sara, and whose gall restored sight to his aged father." "Even so we," say St. Prosper and St. Augustine, "are daily fed and illuminated by Jesus Christ." Accordingly it was with especial reference to the Christian's privilege of feeding upon his Lord in the Holy Eucharist that this symbol of the fish is most frequently used both by Christian writers and artists. A Greek sepulchral inscription (quoted in the text) of the greatest antiquity, bids us receive the sweet food of the Saviour of the saints, taking into our hands *the fish*. St. Austin in his Confessions describes the Eucharistic feast as that solemnity in which *that fish* is set before us, which, drawn forth from the deep, becomes the food of pious mortals; and the "piscis assus," or the broiled fish of the Gospels, wherewith our Lord fed seven of His Apostles by the sea of Tiberias [John xxi. 13] is always by the Fathers held to be mystically significant of "Christus passus." [Northcote *on the Catacombs*, p. 65, 66, *ed.* 1859].

[4] *Hierurgia*, p. 171 [1851]. [5] *Ad Smyrn.* secs. 7, 8

[6] *Ad Rom.* sec. 7. [7] Sec. 4. [8] *Apol.* i. sec. 66.

nourishment of His children, that we may have the Saviour within our breasts[1] (τον Σωτῆρα ἐνστερνισᾶσθαι). And St. Irenæus, that "when the mixed Cup and the created (γέγονως) Bread receive the Word of God, the Eucharist becomes Christ's Body."[2] "The flesh," says Tertullian, "is fed with the Body and Blood of Christ that the soul may be fattened of God."[3]

The Liturgies may also be referred to, which, though not committed to writing till the fourth century, are unquestionably of Apostolic origin, and shew the belief of the Church from the earliest age.[4] In all Liturgies which are extant, the sacramental Presence of our Lord is asserted and clearly implied. In the liturgical form given in the Apostolical Constitutions, the priest, on giving the Eucharist, says to the communicant, "the Body of Christ," who answers, "Amen;" and the deacon, on giving the Cup, says, "the Blood of Christ, the Cup of Life," the communicant answering, "Amen."[5] A few passages may be added from one of the earliest Liturgies, that of St. James. "*The priest breaks the Bread and puts a piece into the Cup,*" and says, "the union of the most Holy Body and precious Blood of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ," and afterwards, "taste and see how gracious the Lord is, who is broken and not divided; is given to the faithful and not consumed; for the remission of sins and for everlasting life, now and ever, to eternal ages." The priest, before communicating, says, "O Lord our God, the Bread that came down from heaven is the Life of the world. I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and am not worthy to partake of the immaculate mysteries. But, O merciful God, do Thou make me worthy by Thy grace, that I may receive Thy Holy Body and precious Blood, not to my condemnation, but for the remission of sins and eternal life."[6]

Again, the Liturgies exhibit another proof of the reality of the sacramental Presence. We learn from them that after consecration worship was paid to our Lord as really present.[7] Thus in St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, "they have not bowed down to flesh and blood, but to thee, a terrible God"[8] [see Keble on *Eucharistic Adoration*, where the subject is fully treated, with quotations from the Liturgies and the Fathers.]

The Eucharistic Sacrifice must next come under our consideration. This aspect of the Holy Eucharist is clearly exhibited in Scripture and by the records of the primitive Church. Thus our Lord says, in the Institution of the Eucharist, "do this in remembrance of Me," which, as Johnson and others have shewn, should be rendered "offer this as a memorial sacrifice;"[9] an interpretation, moreover, confirmed by the Fathers[10] and early Liturgies.[11] St. Paul also uses liturgical forms of expression; speaking of himself as a minister (λειτουργόν) of Christ to the Gentiles, ministering as a priest (ἱερουργοῦντα), and offering an oblation (προσφορὰ) sanctified by the Holy Ghost.[12] He also says that we have an altar [Heb. xiii. 10], and that his words are to be understood in their ordinary sense is clear from the fact that from the earliest period this term was applied to the Holy Table. Thus St. Ignatius, "that except a man be within the altar, he is deprived of the Bread of God."[13] "There is one Altar."[14] In the Catholic Epistle of St. Barnabas the altar is mentioned,[15] and also in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.[16] In a work attributed to St. Andrew the Apostle, though its genuineness has been disputed, the Christian altar and sacrifice are

[1] *Pædag.* lib i. c. 6. [2] *Ad Hæres.* lib. v. 2.
[3] *De Resurrectione Carnis*, sec. 8.
[4] Palmer's *Antiquities of the English Ritual*, vol. i. c. 1 [1839].
[5] Book viii. sec. 13.
[6] Brett's *Collection of Liturgies* [1720].
[7] "In Liturgiis Græcis quæ adjunctas sacramentalis disciplinæ regulas habent, vulgo rubricas, ut sunt omnes ferme quæ ab annis octogentis aut amplius descriptæ sunt, paulo ante communionem dum inclamatur *Sancta Sanctis* elevatur Eucharistia et hic ritus vocatur Ἁγια ὕψωσις, *sancta elevatio:* omnes in genua procumbant adorantque sacramentum; neque ad testandam fidem suam dicunt credere se corpus Christi datum fuisse pro salute sua et sanguinem ejus effusum; verum ad eum tanquam vere præsentem preces suas dirigunt, eam præsertim quam latro in cruce pendens fudit, *Memento mei Domine cum veneris in regnum tuum:* scilicet ut explicant Orientales Theologi, quemadmodum latro in cruce, turpi scilicet et ignobili supplicio omnibus malis oppressum Christum Deum agnovit, ita et Christiani Eum in pane agnoscunt." [Renaudot. *Orientalium Liturg. Collectio Dissertatio*, lix. 1847].
[8] Brett's *Collection*.
[9] Schleusner gives to "sacrifice" as one the meanings of ποιεῖν,[1] and brings forward as examples from the LXX. 1 Kings xi. 33, *ἐποίησε scil. θυσίαν τῇ Ἀστάρτῃ*, sacrificavit Astarte; Isa. xix. 21; Levit. ix. 7, xvi. 9; Luke ii. 27, ποιῆσαι, sacrificium offerre. Liddell and Scott [*Lexicon*] also say, "In Alexandrian Greek ποιέω means 'to sacrifice,' like the Latin 'facere,' ποιεῖν μόσχον like ῥέζειν ἑκατόμβας, LXX." The word translated "remembrance," ἀνάμνησις, is also, as Johnson says, "a sacrificial word, and is by the LXX. translators applied to the offering of the shew-bread, which was a most plain type of the Christian sacrifice [Levit. xxi. 6, 8]." [*On the Unbloody Sacrifice*, p. 171, Oxf. ed.].
[10] St. Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* § 117. St. Iren. *cont. Hæres.* lib. iv. c. 17, § 5.
[11] "Qui sacrificandam novam legem sacerdos Dei verus instituit hostiam se tibi placitam et Ipse obtulit et a nobis jussit offerri, Christus Dominus ac redemptor æternus." [In secun. Dom. post oct. Epiphaniæ, *Missale Mozarab.*]. "Qui (Jesus Christus) formam sacrificii perennis instituens, hostiam se Tibi (Patri) primus obtulit et primus docuit offerri" [*Missa Domin., Gothico-Gallicanum Missale*].
[12] The terms here used by the Apostle have a technical meaning, and were so understood by the Fathers from the Apostolic age. For this meaning of λειτουργία and λειτουργὸς, see Deut. x. 8, xvii. 12; Num. viii. 22; Joel i. 9: and Canons Apostol. 14, 27, 37. ἱερουργοῦντα (offering sacrifice, *e.g.* θύω, Schleusner *in voc.* and Rose *ap.* Parkhurst, *Lex.*); προσφορὰ (a sacrificial oblation), τὰς δὲ προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, St. Clement, *Epist.* i. 40; Ἐυχαριστίας καὶ προσφορὰς οὐκ ἄπο δεχδνται, St. Ignatius, *ad Smyr.* § 7; καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορὰς, Canon Apost. 3.
[13] *Ad Ephes.* § 5.
[14] *Ad Magn.* § 7.
[15] Accedere ad aram illius, § 1.
[16] Ego illos super aram probabo, lib. iii. simil. viii. § 2.

[1] See on the sacrificial use of the verb ποιεῖν in the LXX. the list of passages given in Bishop Hamilton's *Charge*, 1867, Appendix.

expressly taught;[1] also in an apocryphal work called the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*,[2] probably written at the close of the first century.[3] Again, altars are found in the catacombs, which it has been proved are of the earliest or of Apostolic date;[4] and in an inscription of the second century we have an account of a martyr who was put to death when about "to offer sacrifice."[5]

The Fathers also unanimously believed that the Eucharistic sacrifice was predicted and typically represented by the offering of Melchisedec;[6] and if we consider what is related of him, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion. Let us first consider the Psalmist's words, "the Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou (Christ) art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec" [Ps. cx. 4]; and then St. Paul's language to the Jews respecting him. The Apostle says [Heb. v. 11-13] that the doctrine which he intends to bring forward for the instruction of the Hebrews, Judaizing Christians as they may be called, was hard to be explained or of difficult interpretation (δυσερμήνευτος), since they were slow of hearing, and had need of milk rather than strong meat. He then states with emphatic reiteration—no less than five times—that Christ was a priest after *the order of Melchisedec*. Now, as nothing is related of Melchisedec but his blessing Abraham and offering bread and wine, "and" (or for) "he was a priest of the Most High God," it is impossible to understand how Christ could be a priest after the order of Melchisedec, unless His oblation and that of the priesthood of His Church was also offered under the same outward and visible elements. The Apostle unmistakeably thus intimates or implies the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice without openly stating it; and his meaning (whilst obscure to unbelievers, or to Christians too ignorant or prejudiced to receive it), would be immediately recognised by the well-instructed faithful. The Apostolical Fathers have been already quoted: the writer who follows, St. Justin Martyr, often refers to the Eucharistic sacrifice. Thus he speaks of the sacrifices (θυσιῶν) offered in every place by us Gentiles, that is, of the bread of the Eucharist and likewise of the cup of the Eucharist,"[7] and that "God receives sacrifices from no one, but through His priests"[8] (διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν Αὐτοῦ). St. Athenagoras says it is "needful to offer (προσφέρειν) the unbloody sacrifice and to bring in (προσάγειν) the spiritual worship."[9] St. Theophilus relates of Melchisedec that he was the first priest of the Most High God: from him priests originated (εὑρεθήσαν καὶ ἱερεῖς γένομενοι) over the whole earth."[10] St. Irenæus says "the oblation (oblatio) of the Church which the Word hath taught to be offered throughout the whole world, is accounted a pure sacrifice and is acceptable to Him."[11] "And this pure oblation the Church alone offers to the Creator, offering to Him of His creature, with thanksgiving. But the Jews do not offer, for their hands are filled with blood, for they have not received the Word which is offered to God."[12] Further extracts are needless; we shall only add Tertullian, who mentions the altar,[13] offering oblations,[14] and sacrificing.[15]

But we may again refer to the ancient Liturgies, as best illustrating the true nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice. We learn from the Apostolical Constitutions, or the Clementine Liturgy, that the bread and wine were first offered by the bishop or priest,[16] then followed the Anaphora or

[1] When examined by the proconsul Ægeas, or Ægeates, the blessed Andrew said, "To the Omnipotent and only true God, I daily offer a victim, not the smoke of frankincense, not the flesh of bellowing bulls, not the blood of goats, but I daily sacrifice a spotless Lamb upon the altar of the cross, whose body afterwards the whole multitude of believers eat, and drink its blood; the Lamb which was sacrificed remains whole and living. It is therefore *really* (ἀληθῶς) sacrificed, and its body is really (ἀληθῶς) eaten by the people; yet, as I said, it remains whole, and spotless, and living."

[2] See *Testament of Levi*.

[3] Gallandii *Prœmialis Dissertatio*, § 2.

[4] Thus the author of *Fabiola* [1855] says, sometimes "at the closing of a grave the relatives or friends, to mark it, would press into its wet plaster, or leave there, a coin or cameo, or an engraved gem. The coin is sometimes of Domitian [A.D. 81-96] or other early emperors" [pp. 144, 145]. Another writer mentions an inscription in the catacombs of an earlier date, during the reign of Vespasian [A.D. 69-79]. Another inscription refers to the consulship of Surra and Senecio, which took place in the year 107 [*Hierurgia*, Appendix, iv.]. Or, to refer again to *Fabiola*, "Although inscriptions with dates are rare, yet out of ten thousand collected and about to be published by the learned and sagacious Cavalier de Rossi, about three hundred are found bearing consular dates from the early emperors (that is during the first century) to the middle of the fourth century" [p. 146]. Thus there is no doubt that the catacombs were coeval with the Apostolic age; and as we find in their oratories altars of various kinds, the sanction thus given to the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice must be Apostolic or Divine. Dr. Rock, in *Hierurgia*, gives a description of altars in the catacombs [pp. 493, 494]. In 1848 catacombs were discovered at Chiusi, the ancient capital of Etruria; the writer from whom we borrow the account gives reasons for concluding that they were formed in the very earliest period of the Church, or at least in the time of the persecutions under Domitian and Trajan, and so reached to the first preaching of the Gospel in Etruria. And, after much interesting description, he adds, "Let us, however, return for a few moments to the great chamber, the chapel or oratory, where the faithful assembled in times of persecution. In the midst yet remains the altar, and at its right, that is on the Gospel side, is the episcopal chair. The altar is a slab of marble, supported as on a base by a mass of travertine (a species of limestone)" [*Union*, Feb. 12, 1858].

[5] Alexander mortuus non est sed vivit super astra, et corpus in hoc tumulo quiescit; vitam explevit cum Antonino Imp. Qui cum multum beneficii antevenire præviderat pro gratia odium reddit: genua enim flectens vero Deo sacrificaturus ad supplicia ducitur [Maitland *on the Catacombs*, pp. 31, 32, 1846].

[6] As, *e.g.*, St. Justin, Clemens Alexandrinus, St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, and St. Augustine. The following passages may be quoted from the Liturgies:—"Melchisedec exhibuit et Jesus implevit" [*Missale Mozarab*]. "Panem et vinum quæ Melchisedec in præfigurationem futuri mysterii sacerdos obtulerat" [*Vetus Missale Gallicanum*]. Τὸν Μελχισεδὲκ ἀρχιερέα λατρείας προχειρισάμενος [*Constit. Apostol.* lib. viii. sec. 12].

[7] *Dial. cum Tryp.* sec. 41. [8] *Ibid.* sec. 116.
[9] *Legatio pro Christ.* sec 13. [10] Lib. xi. sec. 31.
[11] Lib. iv. c. 18, sec. 1. [12] *Ibid.* sec. 4.
[13] Nonne solemnior erit statio tua si ad aram Dei steteris. De oratione xix.
[14] Pro qua oblationes reddis. *De exhort. cast.* c. xi.
[15] *Ad Scapulam*, c. 2.
[16] *Constit. Apostol.* lib. viii. sec. 12. There were

long Eucharistic prayer, concluding with the words of institution, and afterwards a prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit to complete the consecration; then followed the Oblation, "the tremendous and unbloody sacrifice," as it was termed, with prayer for the Holy Church throughout the world: for the living and those departed in the faith. [Prayer for the Dead.]

The Liturgies may be further illustrated from the teaching of the Fathers. Thus St. Chrysostom says in his commentary on the tenth chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians:—"And in the Old Covenant, because they were in an unperfect state, the blood which they used to offer to idols He Himself submitted to receive, that He might separate them from those idols, which very thing again was a proof of His unspeakable affection; but here (in the Eucharist) He hath transferred the sacred office to that which is far more awful and glorious, changing the very sacrifice itself, and instead of the slaughter of irrational animals, commanding to offer up Himself."[1] St. Cyril of Jerusalem thus speaks of the Eucharist after consecration—"Then after the spiritual sacrifice is perfected, the bloodless service upon that sacrifice of propitiation, we entreat God for the common peace of the Church, for the tranquillity of the world; for kings, for soldiers, and allies; for the sick, for the afflicted; and, in a word, for all who stand in need of succour, we all supplicate and offer this sacrifice. Then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us; first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that at their prayers and intervention God would receive our petition. Afterwards, also, on behalf of the holy fathers and bishops who have fallen asleep before us; and, in a word, of all who in past years have fallen asleep among us; believing that it will be a very great advantage to the souls for whom the supplication is put up, while the holy and most awful Sacrifice is presented."[2] St. Augustine says "there was formerly the sacrifice of the Jews according to Aaron, with slain beasts and in a mystery; there was not the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ which the faithful understand, and they who have read the Gospel, which sacrifice is now spread throughout the world. . . The sacrifice of Aaron is taken away, and the sacrifice begins which is according to Melchisedec."[3] Instead of those (Jewish) sacrifices and oblations, His Body is offered and ministered to the receivers;[4] or, as St. Ambrose says, "formerly a calf was offered, now Christ is offered."[5]

Such is the teaching of the Fathers and Liturgies. The Nonjurors, as Brett, Hickes, and Johnson, maintained a theory that the Eucharistic offering was bread and wine sanctified by the descent of the Holy Ghost. This error partly arose from mistaking the meaning of a prayer in the ancient Liturgies (after the words of Institution), for the descent of the Holy Ghost to perfect the consecration; the object of this prayer was not to change the bread and wine into a new body of Christ, distinct and differing from the natural one, but to transmute the elements sacramentally by the power of the Holy Ghost into Christ's true and only Body and Blood. It cannot be supposed that our Lord has any other body than that in which He sits at the right hand of God. Besides, this novel theory is plainly contrary to the declaration of Scripture, so often repeated, that Christ "was *once* offered, and by one offering hath perfected for ever the sanctified." [Heb. x. 12-14.] If an Eucharistical body be offered, totally differing from the natural body, once offered for the remission of sins, we cannot truly say that there is only one oblation.

The offering of Christ is only one, He is the priest consecrated,[6] for evermore [Heb. vii. 28] pleading in visible presence in heaven His atoning sacrifice upon the cross, and as the eternal Priest after the order of Melchisedec, offering the same sacrifice, through His priesthood upon earth —His priesthood offering ministerially, but in the

properly, as Hickes says, two oblations in the Eucharist; one before the consecration, when the elements of Bread and Wine were presented to God upon the Altar as the first-fruits of His creatures to acknowledge Him as our Sovereign Lord and Benefactor; and the other oblation after consecration, when they had become sacramentally the Body and Blood of Christ. It is to the latter offering, the oblation so called (the Bread and Wine presented on the Altar being its commencement), that the expressions of the Fathers and Liturgies belong—"tremendous and unbloody sacrifice" [St. James' *Liturgy*]; "heavenly and tremendous mysteries" [St. Chrysostom's *Liturgy*]. *Christian Priesthood Asserted*, p. 119 [1711].

[1] *Commentary in loc.* [Oxf. transl.].

[2] *Lect.* xxiii. [Oxf. transl.].

[3] *Com. in Psalm.* xxxiii. sec. 5, 6.

[4] *Ibid. De Civitate*, lib. xvii. c. 20, sec. 2.

[5] *De Officiis*, c. 48, sec. 248.

[6] εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, τετελειωμένον, consecrated as a priest and ever-offering sacrifice. St. Justin, after relating the institution of the Christian sacrifice [*Apol.* i. sec. 66], says, "The same thing in the Mysteries of Mithra also the evil demons imitated and commanded to be done; for bread and a cup of water are placed in the mystic rites for one who is to be initiated (ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μυουμενου τελεταῖς), with the addition of certain words as you know or may learn." Hickes, after quoting this passage, adds, that we have here a parallel between the two mysteries (of Christ and Mithra), implying "that the oblation of the Eucharistical bread and wine was τελετή, a solemn material sacrifice in the opinion of the Christians, as the oblation of the other diabolical bread and water was in the mysteries of Mithra, and that by consequence their bishops and presbyters, who were ministers of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, were τελεστάς, as Pollux calls priests, even as proper priests, as the priests of Mithra, or the sun, were esteemed by his worshippers to be." Hence, as the writer afterwards adds, "The degrees or introduction to any religion were three, κάθαρσις, *purgation*, μύησις, *initiation*, and τελείωσις, *consummation*, which was by sacrifice, and, therefore, sacrifice was called τελετή, because it was the consummation and perfection of all the rites, by which men were initiated into the worship or religion of any god; and also because it was the last rite, by which excommunicates were reconciled to their gods upon their repentance. Hence the sacrifices of the Holy Eucharist came to be called Τέλειον, *perfection*, as that which finisheth the initiation of a Christian and the reconciliation of a Christian penitent. It is so called in six several Canons [4, 5, 6, 9, 22, 23] of the Council of Ancyra, relating to the re-admission of penitents, lapsers, adulterers, and murderers, to the peace and perfect communion of the Church." [*Christian Priesthood*, vol. i. p. 100-1. 1711.] Suidas: Τελετή—θυσία μυστηριώδης, ἡ μέγιστη, ἡ τιμιώτερα. *Telete*—Sacrificium mysteriorum, plenum, maximum, honoratissimum [Hickes, *note*].

fullest and most perfect sense, being really present under the sacramental veils, He is Himself the offerer and the oblation, the priest and sacrifice, ὁ προσφέρων καὶ ὁ προσφερόμενος. The Church in Eucharistic worship bears witness to the sacrificial presence of her Lord, atoning and interceding for His people. "Agnus Dei qui *tollis* peccata mundi miserere nobis."

An interesting and important inquiry remains bearing on our subject, to ascertain so far as possible the earliest or apostolic form of Eucharistic celebration. It is manifest from the New Testament that the Eucharist was regarded as the great act of Christian worship: when the disciples met together it was to "break bread:" they broke bread from house to house: when Paul preached till midnight then followed the Eucharistic feast [Acts xx. 11]. There are in his epistles allusions to the Eucharistic offering. Thus, in the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, "When thou shalt bless in spirit, how shall he who occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" [ver. 16.] St. Chrysostom interprets this passage of the Anaphora, or long thanksgiving, in the Eucharist, the conclusion of which was "for ever and ever," to which, if said in an unknown tongue, the unlearned (or laymen) not understanding, could not respond Amen. That the Apostle does refer to the Eucharist is highly probable, for giving of thanks would scarcely otherwise be mentioned rather than any other act of worship, while "thanksgiving" was the prominent feature in the apostolic Eucharist and that of the following age. Other terms in the passage quoted lead to the same conclusion. It may be thus rendered and explained. "When thou blessest [εὐλογήσῃς or εὐλόγῃς Lachmann] in the spirit, or celebratest the Eucharist (εὐλογία or blessing being, as was remarked, a common name for the Eucharist) with the presence and aid of the Holy Spirit"—the mysterious sacramental change being always in the early Church attributed to the presence and working of the Spirit of God—"how shall he who occupieth," &c.

Again, in his first epistle to Timothy, St. Paul says, "I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men"[1] [ii. 1]—a passage which St. Augustine understands of the prayers which formed the Eucharistic service, and he shews that in the Roman Liturgy they followed in the sequence here indicated by the Apostle.

In the apostolic celebration of the Eucharist, a long prayer of thanksgiving formed a principal portion of the service, at first, it would appear, extempore and of a length suited to the time and occasion. St. Justin, who follows the apostolic age, says, "We offer up our prayers, and when we have concluded our prayer, bread is brought, and wine and water, and the president likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings with all his strength or ability (ὅση δύναμις ἀυτῷ), and the people giving their assent by saying Amen." There is no reason to think, at that early period, there was an appointed form of thanksgiving everywhere used. A form is given in the Clementine Liturgy of great length, which alone would have precluded its general use in times of danger and persecution. The primary form of celebration is supposed to have been a thanksgiving prayer varying in length according to circumstances, then the words of institution and probably also the Lord's Prayer.[2] The dress of the bishop or priest who celebrated is called in the Apostolical Constitutions a "shining garment."[3] St. Paul mentions a "cloak" (φαιλόνη or rather φελόνη, the true reading) that he left with Carpus [2 Tim. iv. 13], which could not have been ordinary clothing or dress then worn, since there is no proof that the word ever had such a meaning: it can only be supposed that it was an Eucharistic vestment, probably of value, a supposition confirmed by the fact that the same name is now given in the Eastern Church to the Eucharistic vestment. Dr. Rock, in *Hierurgia*,[4] gives an engraving of a Greek priest, robed in the φελόνιον, which he describes as "a large round mantle enveloping the whole figure;" a chasuble it may be called, but not open in front, like the chasuble of the Western Church. It resembled and was probably used in imitation of the "robe of the ephod" worn by the Jewish high priest [Exod. xxviii. 31, 32].

An account is given of the controversies in the early and mediæval Church, on the Eucharistic Presence, and of the history of Eucharistic doctrine, in another article. [Real Presence. Transubstantiation.]

EUCHELAION. [Unction, Extreme.]

EUCHOLOGION. A liturgical volume containing the prayers, rites, and ceremonies of the Greek Church, and answering to the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. It is sometimes divided into two parts, the one containing what would be called the Missal and Pontifical in the Western Church, and the other

[1] "Obsecro itaque primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones" [1 Tim. ii. 1]. "Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere quod omnis vel pæne omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut *precationes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici: *orationes* cum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur; quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia dominica oratione concludit . . . *interpellationes* autem, sive ut nostri codices habent, *postulationes*, fiunt cum populus benedicitur. . . . Quibus peractis et participato tanto sacramento *gratiarum actio* cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apostolus." [*Epist. ad Paulin.* 149, al. 59, sec. 16.]

[2] Krazer says, after quoting the passage already given from St. Justin, "Arbitramur tamen cum Card. Bona, Apostolos *brevem* et *prolixam* diversis temporibus adhibuisse formulam. *Brevem* cum temporis angustia et persequentium metu premerentur; *prolixam* vero cum id per tempus et occupationes liceret." [See *Eruditi Cardinalis*, lib. i.; *Rer. Liturg.* c. v. [vi.] sec. 4.; *De Apostolicis Eccl. Orientalis Liturgiis*, p. 6, *note.* 1786].

[3] λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα μετενδύς, lib. viii. c. 12.

[4] P. 437, &c.

containing the Occasional Offices, the Hours, and the Epistles and Gospels. The great work on this subject is Goar's *Euchologion, sive Rituale Græcorum*, first published in 1647, and again in 1730 at Venice.

EULOGIA. [ANTIDORON.]

EUNOMIANS. A sect of Arian heretics, so called from their leader Eunomius, Bishop of Cyzicus in A.D. 360, and previously secretary to Aëtius. Their tenets were strongly opposed by St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Gregory Nazianzen. [AËTIANS. ANOMŒANS. DICT. *of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

EUTYCHIANISM. A heresy originated in the middle of the fifth century by Eutyches, abbot of a monastery near Constantinople. The distinctive characteristic of Eutychianism was an opinion that the Godhead and the Humanity of Christ were fused into one Nature. Hence the followers of Eutyches were called by themselves and others "Monophysites" (*μόνη φύσις*). This heretical opinion was distinctively opposed to the Catholic doctine that Christ has two Natures hypostatically united (*καθ' ὑπόστασιν*) in one Person.

Eutychianism was a recoil from NESTORIANISM, which imagined two Persons as well as two Natures in Christ. The statements of its originator apparently were that the Human Nature existed in the first instance without any union between it and the Divine Nature, and that when the latter united itself to the former, the two were amalgamated into one composite nature. But if the Divine Nature of the Son is consubstantial with that of the Father (which Eutyches maintained that he held as strongly as the orthodox held it), there could not be any mingling or amalgamation with it of any human or created substance, the substance of the Father being wholly Divine. The Eutychian theory, therefore, makes it necessary to believe either that [1] the Human Nature of Christ was annihilated by union with His Divine Nature, or that [2] it was, as the Docetæ alleged, a mere phantasm.

After one of the most violent periods of controversy on record, Eutychianism was finally condemned by the Council of Chalcedon [A.D. 451], the following being the summary of the decree given by the assembled bishops. "We, then, following the Holy Fathers, all with one consent, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in Manhood; truly God and truly Man, of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the Manhood; in all things like unto us without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and for our salvation, born of Mary, the Virgin Mother of God, according to the Manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably, the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one Person and one subsistence, not parted or divided into two Persons, but one and the same Son, and Only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Prophets from the beginning have declared concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself has taught us, and the creed of the Holy Fathers has delivered to us."

A vague theory like that of the Monophysites enters largely into modern misbelief respecting the Person of Christ and His work in the Church; many sympathizing with the views of Arius as to our Lord's Human Nature while he dwelt on earth, and with Eutyches as to His present Person in heaven. [HYPOSTASIS. COMMUNICATIO IDIOMATUM. DICT. *of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

EVANGELICAL. By this epithet is distinguished a school in the English Church, which, with a very partial grasp of Christian truth, and with an erroneous belief regarding the Holy Sacraments, has yet, through its zeal and through its advocacy of certain truths which had fallen into the background, been one of the principal means, during the last hundred years, of rousing the energies of the Church.

I. *History of the Evangelical School.* From the time of the Synod of Dort [A.D. 1619], doctrinal Calvinism in the Church of England began to decline. After the restoration of Charles II. it was generally abandoned. There is a curious testimony to the change in a letter to Boyle from one of his most constant correspondents, J. Beale, dated 1666: "When I first entered Cambridge the Ramists were in such great esteem that we gave very high rates for such of them as began to be out of print; but within three or four years they fell so low in credit that we might buy them at the rate of tainted fish. Soon after the same fate befell Calvinism in both our universities, and yet that claimed the title of holy oracles, the uncontroulable mystery. . . . This new doctrine deserted the throne and chairs of the universities upon the restoration of better antiquities, and hid itself in the smoke and smother of plebeian pulpits" [Boyle's *Works*, vi. p. 411].

This extract is given because it takes us to Cambridge, the headquarters of that remarkable set of divines, the LATITUDINARIANS. The historical importance of these divines is that in their school were bred the men to whom the Church of England was committed at the Revolution. A fuller account of them will be given hereafter, and at present it will be sufficient to notice that in the troubled times of the Rebellion and Commonwealth they had learned moderation (to give the quality its mildest name) and a love of liberty, that they regarded forms of Church government with comparative indifference, that they discarded Calvinism, that they were deep students of Greek philosophy, Plato and Plotinus being their favourite authors. They held the Creed honestly, the Thirty-nine Articles they regarded as articles of peace, and do not appear to have troubled their heads much about them. The defect in their

theology was that while they dwelt much and worthily on the spiritual life of the renewed man, and insisted on purity of heart and holiness of life, they did not add to this, or rather did not lay as its foundation, the full sacramental doctrine and practice by which the renewed life is to be sustained. Now the doctrines flowing from the Incarnation of the Son of God, around which all theology gathers, can only be rightly maintained when they are not merely received as articles of faith, but are made living powers by the mysteries which make us partakers of the death and resurrection of our Lord. This the Latitudinarian school neglected, and consequently, as their doctrine of the Eucharist degenerated from that of Cudworth to that of Hoadly, so did their teaching of righteousness degenerate from the high tone of "evangelical righteousness" to lifeless expostulations touching the inexpediency of sin.

On the other hand, the truer sons of the Church of England, represented at the Restoration by Barrow, were much weakened by the loss of the Non-jurors, weakened not so much in learning as in their tone of piety. They much missed Ken and Kettlewell. In common with the other school also, they were injured in their theological tone by the necessities of the controversies with the Deists of George I.'s reign and their successors. This controversy was a perpetual defence of the outworks of the Christian faith, a putting of the Apostles and Evangelists, as it were, on their trial, instead of receiving from them the words of life. There was a coldness, a want of unction, among the best of the clergy, and a want of zeal among the clergy in general. The profligacy of the nation during the first half of the eighteenth century is matter of history: immorality and irreligion were rampant in England.

Such was the state of the Church and nation when Wesley and Whitfield began their career. Other men of less power were roused by similar causes, but it was principally zeal caught from Wesley and Whitfield that gave rise to the Evangelical school. [Methodism.]

Of the doctrine of this school it may be said, in general, that regarding redemption and the natural state of fallen man, they held the tenets common to Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith was put foremost. It became again the test of a standing or falling Church. The doctrine of free grace was much insisted on. The necessity of an experience of religion was taught, by which was meant that men were to judge themselves not by the testimony of a good conscience, but by their feelings and an inner sense of God's love and favour. In this was made to reside the proof of conversion to God, and a sense of sudden conversion as from a state of utter irreligion to an assurance of forgiveness was very commonly required. Calvin's doctrine of election and predestination was received, an Augustinian phase of belief looked coldly on. Regarding the Holy Sacraments, the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were certainly not followed. Neither Luther nor Calvin so depreciated baptism; both Luther and Calvin condemned Zwingli regarding the Lord's Supper. Baptismal regeneration was held in abhorrence, and with justification baptism was held to have nothing at all to do. The statement of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist could not be distinguished from Hoadly's, but practically the far greater devoutness of the Evangelicals invested this sacrament with greater sacredness than did their doctrine. As to the constitution and order of the Church, the Evangelicals were Episcopalians by habit, and so far as Episcopacy consented to be subservient to their view of the Gospel. The Liturgy was little more than tolerated. It was a current opinion that Dissenters from the Church of England were the salt of the land.

But it will be well to give a summary of the Evangelical creed in the words of a distinguished member of the school regarding one of the greatest and best of the school. Daniel Wilson, in a funeral sermon, spoke thus of Thomas Scott: "He was thus taught the apostolical doctrines of the deep fall and apostacy of man, of his impotency to any thing spiritually good, the proper atonement and satisfaction of Christ, the tri-unity of Persons in the Godhead, regeneration and progressive sanctification by the Holy Spirit, justification by faith only, and salvation by grace. These great principles he perceived to be indissolubly connected with repentance unto life, separation from the sinful customs and spirit of the world, self-denial and the bearing of reproach for Christ's sake, holy love to God and man, and activity in every good word and work. Further, he learned to unite both these series of truths with dependence upon Christ for the supply of needful grace, humble trust in His promises for final victory, and an unreserved ascription of all blessings to the Divine grace. Lastly, and after some interval, he embraced the doctrines relating to the secret and merciful will of God in our election in Christ Jesus; although he did not think a belief in these mysterious doctrines to be indispensable to salvation, nor consider the evidence for them, satisfactory as he deemed it, to carry with it that irresistible conviction which had attended his inquiries with respect to those essential and vital truths of religion before enumerated" [*Life of Scott*, p. 582].

This doctrine is connected with the Latitudinarian theology by the link of Leighton, whose works were again and again reprinted at the rise of Evangelicalism. It was, thus, the zeal of Whitfield and Wesley that, reanimating the remains of the foreign reformed theology, and assimilating with it the better teaching of the Latitudinarians, formed the Evangelical school. In neither of these sources was true sacramental doctrine to be found. In Leighton's works, *e.g.* there is scarcely a sentence of sacramental teaching.

In the foregoing extract from Daniel Wilson's sermon, the strength of the system is fairly brought out, and a comparison with primitive and apostolic Christianity will soon shew how partial, and in some respects erroneous, a system it is. Its great weakness is the same as that observed as the

weakness of the Latitudinarians. The strength of the system, that which it had of truth, has been absorbed into the teaching and practice of the Church. Evangelicalism did a good work, and the memories of Scott and Newton and Venn, with not a few others, will ever be cherished by the Church as the memories of men of high and sterling piety, who contributed in no small measure to the restoration of religion, and who, in their day, held up the cross of Christ to the eyes of the world.

EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT. The Scriptures expressly declare, and the Church in all ages has taught, that the future punishment of the wicked will be everlasting. This statement is first distinctly found in the Prophets Isaiah and Daniel, and was believed in the later Jewish Church before the coming of our Lord, though like other important doctrines, *e.g.* the resurrection of the body, it was not clearly revealed at the beginning of the Mosaic dispensation. The passage principally bearing on the subject will be found in the last chapter of Isaiah [ver. 24], the expressions of which are often repeated by our Lord and His Apostles, and formed, it may be said, the foundation of their teaching—"For their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched" [ὁ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει καὶ τὸ πῦρ αυτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται]. The Prophet Daniel [xii. 2] also teaches that some shall rise to everlasting life and others to everlasting shame [ζωὴν αἰώνιον—αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον]. In proof of the teaching of the later Jewish Church, we find the eternal punishment of the fire and worm denounced against the wicked in the Book of Judith [xvi. 17] (δοῦναι πῦρ καὶ σκώληκας εἰς σάρκας αὐτῶν καὶ κλαύσονται ἐν αἰσθήσει ἕως αἰῶνος), and in the Wisdom of Sirach [vii. 19] the fire and worm are said to be the punishment of the wicked. In the Book of Maccabees the seven brothers tortured by Antiochus, threaten him with the never-ending punishment reserved for the wicked—they speak of "eternal torment by fire," "interminable torments," "intense and eternal fire and torments which will not cease for ever."[1] In the Book of Enoch, an ecclesiastical work quoted by St. Jude, and probably written about the time of Herod,[2] the eternal punishment of fallen angels and of the wicked is expressly taught. Thus the writer speaks of the prison of the fallen angels in which they are kept for ever, and of wicked men "whose souls are punished and bound there (in prison) for ever."[3]

Such was the teaching of Judaism before and at the coming of our Lord; and we must remember that His object was not to destroy, but to purify and amend the existing system, which was originally of Divine institution. A large portion of Jewish or Rabbinical teaching was incorporated into His discourses and parables,[4] and though He sometimes denounces the corrupt glosses on the Divine law by the Scribes and Pharisees, yet, *generally*, He affirms the truth and orthodoxy of their teaching: "they sit in Moses' seat, therefore what they say unto you observe and do" [Matt. xxiii. 2, 3]. Now let us bear this in mind in considering the teaching of our Lord—had the doctrine of eternal punishment then taught by the Jewish Church been erroneous, we may infer, that such erroneous teaching would have been exposed and censured; but, on the contrary, our Lord always affirms this doctrine in the same terms and under the same symbolic representations and figures in use in the Old Testament and by writers of the later Jewish Church. The identity of teaching on this subject in the Old and New Dispensation could hardly have been more clearly exhibited.

On referring to our Lord's teaching in the New Testament, we shall first quote His express declaration, "that the righteous shall go into everlasting [αἰώνιον] life, and the wicked into everlasting [αἰώνιον] punishment" [Matt. xxv. 46]. Now, that the word here used, αἰώνιος, sometimes indicates a temporary, as well as an everlasting duration, is admitted,[5] but this does not set aside the proper meaning of the word as regards the punishment of the wicked; which may be inferred from the use of the same word, when describing the happiness of the righteous. If αἰώνιος means temporary in one case, we *can only* suppose that it must mean temporary in the other. It would be most arbitrary and unwarrantable to understand the same word in one member of the sentence as "temporary," and the other as "eternal," meanings widely and totally differing; nor, let it be remarked, would there be any other reason for doing so than to bring the passage into accordance with certain preconceived opinions and prejudices, a worthless kind of criticism unworthy of the name.

But the proof of this doctrine does not rest merely on the meaning of the word αἰώνιος, for there are other passages of Scripture in which the same doctrine is clearly taught, as in the ninth chapter of St. Mark, where our Lord, quoting the passage from Isaiah, declares with threefold reiteration the perpetuity of future punishment—"where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not

[1] Cotton's *Translation of the Five Books of Maccabees*, book iv. c. 12 [1832].

[2] "Upon the whole we may be assured that the book was written before the rise of Christianity, most probably at an early period of the reign of Herod."—Archbishop Laurence's *Dissertation* prefixed to his translation of the Book of Enoch, xliv.

[3] *Ibid.* c. xxi. 22 [1838].

[4] See Lightfoot's works [A.D. 1684], and Schoettgen's *Horæ Hebraicæ* [A.D. 1733]. The latter writer shows that large portions of the Sermon on the Mount and the petitions in the Lord's Prayer were taken from Rabbinical writings; also as regards other portions of our Lord's teaching the coincidence is sometimes very striking.

[5] Schleusner, *Lex. in loc.* He quotes from the LXX. as instances of the word meaning "temporary," πύλαι αἰώνιοι, ὄρη αἰώνια, ἔτη αἰώνια. He explains the word αἰὼν, "*de quocumque temporis spatio* ita dicitur, ut quale sit, judicari debet in singulis locis, in orationis serie et mente scriptoris, rebus adeo et personis de quibus sermo est," and interprets the word in the passage before us as meaning "eternal" (omne quod est finis expers), quoting the passages where αἰώνιος occur as having this meaning in reference to future happiness or misery:—Matt. xviii. 8, xix. 16, xxv. 41, 46; Mark iii. 29; Rom. ii. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 10; Heb. v. 9; 2 Cor. iv. 17; Luke xvi. 9 Heb, ix, 15; 2 Pet. i. 11.

quenched"[1] [vers. 44, 46, 48]. A great gulf or chasm is represented as fixed in the future state between the righteous and the wicked which is impassable [Luke xvi. 26]; the punishment of the wicked is called the "second death" [Rev. xxi. 8], which cannot, as appears from the passages quoted, mean annihilation or extinction of being, but final and hopeless woe.[2] An objection has been made, derived from passages quoted—the fire, it is argued, is said to be unquenchable, but the wicked who are cast into it may cease to exist—but why was the fire kindled but for the punishment of the wicked? besides, the wicked, as our Lord says, "go into everlasting *punishment*" (κόλασιν).

The next thing is to inquire how the teaching of Scripture on this subject was understood by the early Church. "Thou threatenest me," says St. Polycarp to the proconsul, "with fire which burns for an hour and so is extinguished, but knowest not the fire of the future judgment, and of that eternal punishment which is reserved for the ungodly."[3] St. Justin says that the devil will be sent into fire with his host, and the men that are his followers, there to be tormented to an endless eternity[4] (κολασθησομένους εἰς ἀπέραντον αἰῶνα). In the account of the martyrdom of St. Felicitas and her seven sons [A.D. 150], one of them threatens eternal fire to the worshippers of demons (adorantes autem dæmonia cum ipsis in interitu erunt et in incendio sempiterno), another denounces eternal destruction to heathen gods and their worshippers (Dei autem tui cum cultoribus suis erunt in interitu sempiterno), and another, that all who do not confess Christ to be true God shall be cast into eternal fire[5] (in ignem æternum mittentur). Minucius Felix says of the future punishment of the wicked, "There shall be neither bound nor end to their torments."[6] St. Theophilus also speaks of the eternal punishment reserved for the ungodly[7] (αἰωνίοις τιμωρίαις, —αἰωνίους κολάσεις,—πῦρ αἰώνιον). St. Irenæus shews that the eternal punishment of the reprobate, and the eternal rewards of the elect, are given according to a man's deserving[8] (præparans utrisque quæ sunt apta . . . utrosque in aptum mittens locum). Tertullian—"the wicked shall suffer the punishment of eternal fire, receiving from the very nature of that fire, being as it were divine, the supply of their own incorruption."[9] St. Cyprian warns us of "the prison eternal, the ceaseless flame, the everlasting penalty."[10] Arnobius has been represented as denying this doctrine, but the fact is very doubtful, and as his work, *Adversus Gentiles*, was written before he was a Christian, it is of very little authority.[11]

Origen was the first who argumentatively opposed the received doctrine respecting the future punishment of sin. His denial probably originated from other strange uncatholic theories which he held. The reader will find in another article [CREATIONISM] his theory on the soul and its transmigration: he also held that all, both angels and men, were in a state of probation, that punishment either now or hereafter was only corrective or emendatory, and that all evil would finally be destroyed (even the perverse will of the devil being turned to God), which would be followed by a general "apocatastasis" or restoration of all things according to his interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 24-28.[12]

St. Gregory Nyssen, and one or two others as Pseudo-Ambrose, probably held some of the opinions of Origen either on the termination of future punishment, or a general restoration of all things, a subject which will afterwards be considered.[13] [UNIVERSALISM.]

Strange as it may seem, Origen himself, in some of his works, clearly intimates the everlasting character of future punishment: his denial was a mere theory contrary to the general belief and tradition of the Church, which sometimes unthinkingly, and as it were in spite of himself, he follows. "Hear," he says, respecting sinners and those who love this present world, "what is the declaration of the prophet, 'their worm,' he says, 'shall not die' and their fire shall not be

[1] This passage is verbally quoted by our Lord: in the Alexandrian MS. of the LXX. we do not read, as in the Vatican MS. οὐ τελευτήσει, but οὐ τελευτᾷ—the words of our Lord as given by the Evangelist.

[2] Bishop Ellicot says [*Charge*, 1864]: "Whilst lastly he (the thoughtful Christian) would bless and praise God for the universality of several forms of expression in the Book of Revelation [Rev. vii. 9], he would nevertheless say that entrance into the heavenly city of at least some classes of sinners was denied in the most emphatic form that the flexible language of the original could supply [Rev. xxi. 27—*lit.* shall not, not enter]—and further, that one sin there was which, if words are to have any meaning at all, was to be accounted for ever irremissible" [Matt. xii. 32; Mark iii. 28; Luke xii. 10]. [P. 110.]

[3] *Martyrium*, sec. 11.

[4] *Apol.* i. sec. 28. See also *Apol.* i. sec. 45; *Apol.* ii. sec. 8; *Dial. c. Tryp.* secs. 117, 120.

[5] Ruinart, *Acta Martyr.* tom. i. p. 54 [1802].

[6] C. 35. [7] Lib. i. *ad Autolycum ad finem.*

[8] *Adv. Hæres.* lib. iv. c. 40.

[9] *Apol.* c. 48 [Oxf. transl.]. [10] *Treatise* viii.

[11] *Vid.* Nourry's *Dissertation* c. 9, art. 4 [Migne].

[12] Satis ex superioribus, etiam me silente colligitur, damnatorum pœnis modum aliquando et finem ex decreto Origenis impositum iri; cum enim futurum ratus sit, ut quemcumque teneant statum animæ, peccare possint, et reipsa persæpe peccent, ac pro peccatis vel meritis perpetuo circuitu ab imis ad summa, a summis ad ima revolvantur, ipsiusque diaboli aversa a Deo voluntas olim conterenda sit, et Deo Patri regnum Christus sit traditurus, tumque existimaverit plenam omnium ἀποκατάστασιν ac perfectam felicitatem futuram, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus; consequitur illinc necessario desitura damnatorum supplicia, eaque noxarum duntaxat expurgandi causa a Deo hominibus infligi. [Hueti *Origenian.* lib. ii. c. 2, *quæst.* xi. sec. 16.]

[13] Petavius shews that St. Gregory Nyssen probably held the opinion of Origen on the future punishment of sinners; and also the author of the *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles*, published under the name of St. Ambrose: he also quotes passages from St. Gregory Nazianzum, who sometimes appeared to doubt the truth of the orthodox doctrine. Some of the Fathers, as St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, held that the sufferings of the lost, though never finally to be terminated, might be relieved by the prayers of the Church: an opinion, which, though never formally condemned, and apparently sanctioned by a few Missals in which such prayers occur, is without scriptural warrant, and wholly opposed to the general belief and tradition of the Church. [*Theol. Dogm. de Angelis.* lib. iii. c. 7, 8.]

quenched,' these are the worms which avarice breeds," &c.[1]

It will be, strictly speaking, unnecessary to add to the quotations already given from the Fathers of the first three centuries: for all, with the exception of Origen and a few followers, held the doctrine of future suffering. We shall, however, in further illustration, refer to two other great Doctors of the Eastern and Western Church, St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, not merely as proving identity of teaching with writers previously quoted, but because the latter has entered upon the subject at considerable length and with especial reference to objections against its truth. Thus St. Chrysostom, after describing the miseries of the avaricious in this world, adds, "Such are their circumstances in this world, but those in the next what discourse shall exhibit?—the intolerable furnaces, the rivers burning with fire, the gnashing of teeth, the chains never to be loosed, the envenomed worm, the rayless gloom, the never-ending miseries."[2] See also his awful teaching on this subject in his Commentary on 1st Thessalonians, Hom. viii., and in the thirteenth Homily on the Epistle to the Philippians.

St. Augustine, in one of his latest works *De Civitate Dei*, has fully treated the subject;[3] thus he inquires whether the fire and the worm of torment are to be literally understood, whether the fire be corporeal or material (which is the usual belief of the Church). He refutes the opinion of those who think that the torments of hell are only purgatorial, and thus of limited duration, and that all who die in the unity of the Church, however sinful their lives, will finally be saved. He shows that the errors of Origen had been condemned by the Church,[4] and points out from the passage quoted from St. Matthew [xxv. 46] the "absurdity" of supposing that the happiness of the righteous could be eternal, and the punishment of the wicked only temporary.[5]

The evidence of many more writers might be adduced to shew that the Catholic Church, with the exception of Origen and a few followers or imitators, whose opinions have been condemned, held in early ages, and afterwards to the present day, the belief that future punishment will be everlasting.[6]

The objections against this doctrine have next to be considered. Probably the chief of them is that founded on its supposed contrariety to the love and justice of God: to His love, by the condemnation of His creatures to everlasting punishment; to His justice, since sins which men now commit cannot, it is supposed, really *deserve* endless retribution. Punishment, it is often taken for granted, according to the opinion of Origen, *can only* be intended for the correction and amendment of the sinner; but, as Butler has proved,[7] we have no reason to think, from our present knowledge of the government of God, that punishment *is* exclusively intended for such a purpose; *e.g.* men by profligacy often bring diseases upon themselves which, notwithstanding their unfeigned repentance, lead to inevitable death. Certain crimes also, according to human legislation, incur the sentence of death, the offender not being punished for the sake of his reformation, which is thus rendered impossible, but as a penalty for his crime and a warning and example to others. How then shall we presume to assert, in the face of Scripture and in contradiction to our present knowledge and experience of God's dealings, and even to *our own* universal belief and practice (*e.g.* in punishing the crime of murder with the penalty of death), that future punishment can only be intended for the correction and reformation of the sinner? Moreover, those who venture to assert that the wicked will be cast into hell for their reformation, do not sufficiently consider whether, in such a place and and with such associates, repentance and amendment would be even possible. In the present world, if we intended the reformation of a criminal, should we commit him to a prison where the worst, most hardened malefactors only, would be his companions? All will admit that with such associates his depravity would be increased, and his repentance and amendment, morally speaking, rendered impossible. What hope, then, can there be for the repentance of the reprobate, associated in torment with devils, and with the vilest evildoers who have ever lived upon earth, God's grace, which can only lead to repentance, withdrawn, and sin, by its own certain effect and penalty, leading to increased impenitence and guilt? The place of torment, we may be assured,

[1] Homil. vi. in Exodum, sec. 6.

[2] Comment. in 1 Cor. x. [Oxf. transl.].

[3] Lib. 21, c. 9, et seqq.

[4] Origenis errores ab Anastasio papa fuisse damnatos testatur Hieronymus Apologia adversus Ruffinum et Epist. 78 ad Pammachium; item a Theophilo in Synodo Alexandrina. Post Augustinum etiam Vigilio Papa et Justinano imperatore, Synodus quinta œcumenica multis anathematismis impia et absurda damnavit Origenis dogmata, quæ extant apud Nicephorum Callistum, lib. 17, c. 27, 28, et in ejus Concilii actione, 4, c. 11. Coquœus. Augustini *Op.*, note *in loc.* [Migne ed.].

[5] "Par pari enim relata sunt, hinc supplicium æternum, inde vita æterna. Dicere enim hoc uno eodem, que sensu, Vita æterna sine fine erit, supplicium æternum finem habebit, multum absurdum est. Unde quia vita æterna Sanctorum sine fine erit, supplicium quoque æternum quibus erit, finem procul dubio non habebit." *De Civitate*, lib. xxi. c. 23.

[6] The teaching of the Eastern Church is given in *Confessio Orthodoxa*, quæst. 63, 68 [Kimmel's *Libri Symb. Orient. Eccles.*]; of the Roman Catholic Church in the Catechism of the Council of Trent on the Fifth Article of the Creed. In the Forty-two Articles of the Anglican Church there was a declaration of the eternity of future punishment, afterwards withdrawn: it was directed against the errors of the Anabaptists, but omitted when the sect was extinct or its numbers too few to call for any notice or censure of their opinions. The emphatic language of the *Reformatio Legum*, which passed both Houses of Convocation, leaves no doubt of the opinions of the Reformation Divines: "Nec minor est illorum amentia, qui periculosam Origenis hæresim in hac ætate nostra rursus excitant: nimirum omnes homines (quantumcumque sceleribus se contaminaverint) salutem ad extremum consecuturos cum definito tempore a justitia divina pœnas de admissis flagitiis luerint. Sed sacra Scriptura damnatos sæpe pronunciat in perpetuos cruciatus et æternas flammas præcipitari [c. xi. Cardwell, ed. 1851].

[7] *Analogy*—on the government of God, part i. c. 2.

at least cannot be a school of discipline, in which sinners are to be reformed and brought to newness of life.

But the inquiry before us, as a little consideration will shew, really depends upon this, "What is the real nature and guilt of sin *in the sight of God?*" There is much danger of self-deception on this point warping the judgment. Being sinners ourselves, we are thus ready and willing to make excuse for sin either in our own case or in that of others, forgetting that sin remaining the same, has one unchangeable character in the sight of Almighty God. Now, what is sin, what its guilt and heinousness in the sight of God? To know its real nature and guilt, we must consider the price which was required for its pardon. St. Augustine and others have supposed that God, without the satisfaction on the Cross, could have pardoned sin;[1] but this is a mere speculation of certain writers respecting a subject upon which Holy Scripture gives no information. All we know is that God's ways are the wisest and the best, and may perhaps be in this case the *only* means by which the desired end *could be* attained. Leaving mere theories, let us simply attend to the teaching of Holy Scripture. "God," says St. Paul, "spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all" [Rom. viii. 32]. If we would realize God's hatred of sin, its real guilt and heinousness in His sight, let us behold the sacrifice offered on Calvary, God giving up His own Son to torments and death for man's redemption. This unfathomable mystery of Divine love we cannot understand, but it proves the awful nature and guilt of sin, and shews that *our own* notions on the subject are miserably imperfect and erroneous. We cannot therefore justly argue against the doctrine of eternal punishment from our own opinion of the guilt of sin, or of what we may think that God's justice requires for its pardon.[2] The subject is not only beyond our comprehension, but probably has a bearing on other matters of which we have no knowledge whatever. St. Paul speaks of the wisdom of God in redemption being made known by the Church to "the principalities and powers in heavenly places" [Ephes. iii. 10], that is, according to Scriptural usage, to the principalities and powers either of light or darkness [Ephes. i. 21, vi. 12]. Thus the doctrine of the Atonement has a connection, of whatever kind, with other worlds or orders of beings besides our own; may we not then suppose that the eternal punishment of the wicked (the two doctrines being inseparably connected, and equally shewing the heinousness and guilt of sin in the sight of God; the crucifixion of His eternal Son being required for its pardon, and an eternity of woe its penalty if unpardoned) may have a bearing of an as yet unknown character on other worlds or orders of creation, as a vindication of God's justice in the sight of the universe, and an everlasting spectacle of the guilt and punishment of sin? The prophet Isaiah and St. John seem to intimate that the doom of the impenitent will thus be a spectacle of triumph to the righteous,[3] as the merited penalty of rebellion against God and disobedience

[1] He speaks of "innumerabilibus modis quibus ad nos liberandos uti posset Omnipotens" [*De Trinitate*, lib. xiii. c. 16, sec. 21].

[2] That the reprobate in the place of torment are beyond the possibility of repentance, is to be believed, not only for reasons already given; but especially on this account, that the will, after the separation of soul and body, is incapable of essential change, being unalterably fixed in its bias towards good or evil. Our present life is always represented in Scripture as one of probation, in which not only the duty, but the efficacy, of repentance (a change from evil to good) is constantly set forth. We read that "there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave" [Eccles. ix. 10], in which are "the days of darkness" [*Ibid.* xi. 8]. "The night cometh," says our Lord, "when no man can work" [John ix. 4]. "The Holy Ghost saith *To-day* if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts" [Heb. iii. 7, 8]. "Now is the accepted time, behold now is the day of salvation" [2 Cor. vi. 2]. It is impossible, after reading such passages, to suppose that man has equally the power beyond the grave as in the present life, of changing from sin to holiness; for they would then lose their chief force and meaning. The declaration in the Apocalypse [xxii. 11] is therefore founded on unchangeable necessity, it *cannot* be reversed, "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; he that is righteous, let him be righteous still."

St. Augustine, writing to Deogratias [*Epist.* cii.] endeavours, in explanation of Matt. vii. 2, to shew that everlasting punishment is founded on justice. He speaks of a will averse from God, as if containing in itself a perpetuity of guilt, necessarily and always putting forth fresh acts of sin "quia æternum *voluit* habere peccati perfructionem (*al.* perfruitionem), æternam vindictæ inveniat severitatem." The will to commit sin does not become extinct, nor does the penalty cease.

Some writers have asserted that sins committed against an eternal Being deserve on the score of justice an eternity of punishment. However unable we may be to speak with certainty on this point, it is at least quite clear that the greatness and majesty of the Being offended must in some proportion aggravate the guilt of the offender; a sin against God, we shall all admit, must widely differ in degree of guilt from a sin against a fellow being. Besides, the guilt of sin is increased in proportion to the advantages and privileges of the sinner. Thus the sins of Christians are not as those of the heathen, but are greatly aggravated, being the sins of the regenerate, who are members of Christ, God's children by adoption and grace. The prophet Amos [iii. 2] says of the Israelites, "you only have I known of all the families of the earth, *therefore* will I punish you for all your iniquities." Whatever be my dealings towards others, *you* whom I have especially favoured cannot expect to escape punishment.

If we cannot now fully understand the *justice* of eternal punishment, let us bear in mind, as was observed, that our knowledge on the subject is limited, and that we are not qualified to decide on the question until in all its bearings it is fully brought before us. Our present duty is to rely implicitly on the teaching of God's Word and Church, though on this and other subjects our knowledge may be imperfect and inadequate, and we can only, in the Apostle's words, "see through a glass darkly."

[3] It may appear strange and revolting to mere human feelings to represent the righteous as in any sense *exulting* over the doom of the reprobate; yet undoubtedly the song of the redeemed before the throne will be a song of triumph over God's enemies. They sing the song of Moses the servant of God [Exod. xv. 1-21] and of the Lamb [Rev. xv. 3]. The righteous, let us remember, will then fully know the real evil and guilt of sin in the sight of God, and view it with the most intense abhorrence; *their* will being entirely conformed to, and absorbed in, His will, they will love those whom He loves, and hate His enemies [see Ps. cxxxix. 21, 22], with an entire acquiescence in His acts of retributive justice. "Just and true are Thy ways, O thou King of Saints."

to His laws. Isaiah says in the passage before quoted, "And they shall go forth (from the holy city, Jerusalem) to look on the carcases of the men that have transgressed against Me, for their worm shall not die," &c., and St. John [Rev. xiv. 10] also speaks of the wicked being tormented "in the presence of (ἐνώπιον) the holy angels and the Lamb."

A few remarks may be added respecting the danger of rejecting this doctrine on account of certain *à priori* opinions or objections of our own. We are thus undermining the foundation which supports many other essential or fundamental portions of Divine revelation. If doctrines, which, like this, are unquestionably contained in God's Word, are to be given up because we think them unreasonable and untenable, the same criterion may fairly be applied to other doctrines which have the same authority and sanction; and thus we may reject, and on this principle many have rejected, what Christians generally consider the fundamental or essential doctrines of the faith, as the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Atonement, and the resurrection of the body. If we profess to believe that the Bible *is* really God's revealed Word, we are bound by our very admission to receive it in its entirety, and cannot without manifest inconsistency either admit or reject any portion merely in accordance with our own private opinion or judgment. It is also to be remembered that Holy Scripture only brings this doctrine before us in its practical aspect. No attempt is made to reconcile it with God's attributes, or to shew its accordance (which cannot be doubted) with His justice and His love. It is revealed in all its awfulness, that having before us the terrible penalties of sin, we may know, and unfeignedly believe to our soul's health, that "it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God." "From Thy wrath and from everlasting damnation, Good Lord, deliver us."

EVIL. "Unde malum et quare,"[1] was the question that of old met the Church at every turn. Her answer was that evil is our allotted element of trial; it is as the fire that purges out the dross, where it is endured in a fitting spirit; and is always the standing proof that man's will is free. Evil was considered by heresy to have a being of its own, distinct from everything else, and co-existing from all eternity collaterally with the principle of good. This theory was the active principle of Gnostic and Manichæan error. [Gnosticism. Manichæism. Dualism.] The Greek philosophy, developed from germs and growing points of deeper truth (obtained either through Phœnician sources from Zion, or preserved through the Deluge as traditions of Paradise), held nobler, though still distorted views. Thus the Pythagorean Empedocles taught that the one Divine principle (τὸ ἕν) contained nothing in itself that was discordant, but as soon as unity became by creation the author of subordinate being, confusion and discord ensued. Unity was φιλία, the universe was a widespread antagonism, δῆρις καὶ νεῖκος, for the imperfection of the creature introduced variance with the Good that is Supreme. Evil and corruption were derived from this νεῖκος, which itself came in with the creation of the universe.[2] And this may help us at the present day to account for the origin of evil. Scripture declares of the creature, that evil is inseparable from it, even in its purest forms. The Creator alone is absolute Holiness and Purity and Truth; the angels "He chargeth with folly," and "the heavens are not clean in His sight." Glorious in their purity indeed they are, as compared with the impurities of earth; even as the tarnished condition of man's life on earth is holiness, as compared with the degeneration of those lost spirits whose enmity has lowered the life of man to its present ruined state.

Imperfection, then, is inseparable from created substance, and imperfection is evil in varying degree.[3] It is difficult to account for evil in any other way. The Creator can never have been the cause of it by the creative Word; neither can it be imagined that the Spirit of Evil unknown to the Creator should have poured poison into the world of His creation by a secret act of malice. The Tempter bade our First Parents remedy the imperfection of which they were conscious by an act of disobedience. Pure and happy and good as they were, they still knew that their knowledge was limited; darkness closed in their moral perception on every side, and the Tempter flattered their vanity with the promise that disobedience should raise them to a level with the Omniscient: "Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." They disobeyed and fell. But before they had disobeyed, the imperfection of their nature made itself felt as evil. There was the wish for forbidden knowledge, which in itself was sin. The Fall was scarcely a simple act of unsuspecting rashness. The Tempter made his assault as he makes it now, step by step. Appetite and imagination and ambition were successively tried, and the fruit of the tree was coveted as "good for food, and pleasant to the eye, and to be desired to make wise," and the *vitium* of imperfection led straight to sin; Eve took of the fruit and ate thereof: but minor shades of frailty had already preceded the last fatal act of disobedience, as the will gradually yielded to evil.

The origin of evil may be traced to this natural imperfection of all created being. It is not by positive creation, nor by unforeseen intercalation; but it is the natural, inseparable attribute of every thing but the Uncreate. That evil should be inseparable from our existence on earth is less wonderful perhaps than that the created imperfection of angelic being should be separate from all shades of positive evil. In the angels that stand round God's throne, there is a falling short of absolute perfection, but no nearer approach to evil; and this imperfection is possibly aggravated

[1] Tert. *de Præscr. Hær.* 7.

[2] Τίθησι μὲν γὰρ (Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) ἀρχήν τινα τῆς φθορᾶς τὸ νεῖκος· δόξειε δ' ἂν οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ τοῦτο γεννᾶν ἐξ αὑτοῦ τοῦ Ἑνός. [Aristot. *Metaph.* iii. 4.]

[3] Archbishop King, *Orig. of Evil*, c. iii. *Of the Evil of Defect.*

into concrete forms of evil by slow degrees in its transmission through many intermediate worlds that link our fallen nature with angelic excellence; also from this sullied nature of ours it descends possibly, step by step, to those fallen angels that kept not their first estate. Our earth was the paradise in which the powers of heaven conversed with our First Parents, but it is bridged in an opposite direction by sin and death, whereby

> "The spirits perverse
> With easy intercourse pass to and fro
> To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
> God and good angels guard with special grace."[1]

The further question why evil should be permitted to exist admits of many answers; the drift of which only can be given. First, man can only be a free agent,[2] and make that choice between good and evil which is his discipline for a more perfect state, by being himself a being of imperfection, an heir of corruption. Freedom of will can only be exercised in connection with the power of sinning; when man's will is purified by the light of Heaven, and moves spontaneously in lines that are parallel with the teaching of God's Law, he has attained the highest perfection of which he is capable upon earth; and that which is seen in God's people should be sufficient to convince any one that such divinely inspired obedience is possible. It is God's way of overruling evil with good. To have a chastened will is better than to have it fettered;[3] evil is our element of trial, and this would in itself be a sufficient answer to the question why evil should be permitted, even though it were not the natural accident of imperfection. Then many things that men deem evil are only so in imagination. Many, if we could only see them in all their bearings, are positive blessings. God, as we have every reason to believe, governs the world by general laws; hence in the administration of those laws, as in the natural world, we must expect to see something like uneven action, one law controlling the operation of another. Some may seem to have every earthly blessing heaped upon them, but these may only be blessings in appearance; and the artisan in his lowly home, surrounded by his children, will often be a far happier man than the possessor of lordly revenues, to whose hearth such blessings have been denied, and whose very position has isolated him in great measure from intimate relations with his brother man. His lot is cast by the operation of the general laws whereby God governs the world, and of the two cases instanced he has the most reason to wish that the course of the world could have been ordained otherwise; the poorer man has the truest cause to use the prayer of Agur: "Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with food convenient for me." [Prov. xxx. 8.] Moreover, uneven though the apparent action of such laws may be, it is but for a moment that they have force, for life is but a moment as compared with eternity, ῥιπὴ ὀφθαλμοῦ. If the memory of earth accompanies us into the life of the world to come, we shall wonder at the importance that we have attached to position, and power, and prosperity in life: all such things will then seem to us to be lighter than vanity itself.

Again, physical suffering is an evil, of which the chastening effect is easily visible. The house of suffering is a school of virtue, and more especially the house of mourning. There is a wholesome medicine in the thought of death; and the lengthened illnesses that lead to man's dissolution have a beneficial effect both on the sufferer and on those who witness his mortal anguish. In the case of the sufferer, "Tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope" that "maketh not ashamed" [Rom. v. 3]; and if the bodily ill be taken in a proper spirit, it has its sure issue in the faith that looks through the sorrows of earth to the glories of Heaven, and feels most truly that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed"[4] in spirits schooled in adversity. Death, in such a case, is no real evil, but rest to the weary; and the anticipation of it causes almost less moral disturbance to the soul than preparation for an important journey in full health; the sufferer in such a case has long foretasted, and by rumination digested, whatever bitterness there is in death. It is a wholesome discipline also for others to witness. It helps to open their eyes to the vanity of life, and to think more seriously of the deep purpose of God in placing us under trial, that "this is the will of God, even our sanctification." Death is indeed the penalty of sin. But it is the minister of good to man. It is the handmaid of life; while it removes us one by one as we become unsuited for the active duties of our being, it hands over those same duties to younger and more vigorous hands. The main trunk is preserved in vigour by the pruning away of decayed and withered branches.[5]

Other bodily evils there are that do not shorten man's life, calamitous indeed to think of, but less grievous perhaps in endurance than in imagination. Use is here a channel of mercy, and it is a spectacle of moral beauty to behold the cheerful resignation with which such privation, for instance, as the loss of sight or hearing can be endured by the afflicted. When one sense is destroyed, others are observed to become more acute, and he who is cut off from one channel of intercourse with the world of outer sense, may have the inward sense made proportionately keen and penetrating, causing him to make "melody in his heart" for the rich inward ray that cheers him;—

[1] Milton, *P. L.* b. ii.

[2] Archbishop King *on Evil*, v. 5, subs. 2, xi.

[3] "Of evil, the best condition is not to *will*, the second not to *can*." [Bacon, *Essays Civil and Moral*, xi.]

[4] Rom. viii. 18.

[5] Even the heathen moralist could see the beneficial effects of suffering—"Nihil infelicius mihi videtur eo, cui nihil unquam evenit adversi. Non licuit enim illi se experiri, ut ex voto illi fluxerint omnia, ut ante votum; male tamen de illo Dii judicaverunt. Indignus visus est a quo vinceretur fortuna. [Seneca, *de Prov.* iii.]

> "As the wakeful bird
> Sings darkling, and in shadiest coverts hid
> Tunes her nocturnal note."

In such instances as these, then, and they might be varied infinitely, we can see clearly that the so-called evils of life are not unmitigated evils; in a more perfect state of being we shall see that they were no evils at all, but lay at the root of blessings that are eternal.

One evil however there is, absolute, unqualified, and inveterate, yet to a certain extent under man's control, the evil of heathenism. The working of general laws that subserve the purposes of the Creator in the world of nature, and by which His moral government of the world of souls is conducted, also spreads the knowledge of His ways throughout the earth, as the undulations of thin ether convey the rays of light to the eye, or the vibrations of air awaken within the ear the sense of sound. But as man is able, in a certain degree, to make those physical laws subservient to his purposes, and as in the moral world he may by his perverseness thwart, or by an intelligent co-operation further, the counsels of Divine wisdom, so, as regards the progress of Gospel principles, the death-blow of heathenism can only be struck by the exhibition of Christian holiness. Example is the general law, precept the particular application; and religion in its objective phase, as carried into practice in the daily work of life, is that which must win souls to Christ, whether among the rude uncivilized tribes of the earth, as the progress of civilization carries us onward, or among the dense masses of our population that are in fact as dead to God's teaching as the most benighted savages of Africa. Without the teaching of Christian example, embodying the active charities of our calling, the missionary's labour is in vain, whether here or at the antipodes. The law is general, and every individual man has his own proper work in helping to resolve the antagonism of good and evil principles, that the νεῖκος of human sin and infirmity may be absorbed in the φιλία that is Divine. "Thy kingdom come" is the spirit of our daily prayer; it should be the spirit also of our daily practice. [Sin. Archbishop King *on the Origin of Evil;* Brown's *Philosophy of Human Mind,* lect. 93-95.]

EXCOMMUNICATION. The Church of Christ being a true and proper society, distinct from civil society, and administered by her own laws and governors, has the power of admitting worthy and fit persons, and of ejecting, that is, of excommunicating or putting out of her communion, persons unworthy, wicked, and obstinate.

The Apostles themselves exercised this power; St. Paul [1 Cor. v. 2-6] put away the incestuous Corinthian as a grievous sinner, cast him out of the Church, and "delivered him to Satan," in order that by means of this severe discipline he might return to a better life; that the Church might suffer no damage, and that the sounder part might not be infected by corrupt example. The same power is still necessary to the Church, whether exercised in rejecting unworthy candidates from Holy Baptism, or depriving those who are baptized of participation in the other sacrament of Christ.

Our Lord committed this power of denying admission to sacraments to His Apostles, and it did not expire with them [Matt. xvi. 19; John xx. 22, 23; Isa. xxii. 22]. The keys, and the power of opening and shutting, designate the whole power of government.

The Catholic Church has always claimed this authority as the ground of her Founder's commission, as appears from [1] the express testimonies of the Fathers, [2] the penitential canons made by councils general and particular, and [3] the schisms which in ancient time arose out of its exercise.

The whole Christian world submitted cheerfully and willingly to this sound and wholesome discipline and pious mortification for the comfort and salvation of souls: and those who denied it were branded with heresy, as countervening the institution of our Lord, made in express words and founded by God Himself, who delegated it to those that watch over the flock which He bought with His own Blood.

Excommunication is defined to be expulsion from the communion and society of the faithful, by virtue of the power bestowed by Christ on His Church, and inflicted by bishops and priests only [Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 11, 12; 2 Thess. iii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 20; Titus i. 13, iii. 10; 2 John 10]. There are two kinds, [1] remedial, penitential, or medicinal, in the case of those who on conviction, or by voluntary confession are proved to be guilty of some grievous sin, and mourned and lamented their fall: such being removed from the communion of the faithful, both as an example and with the design of amending them; [2] punitive or mortal, as in the instance of those who continue rebellious and impenitent and refuse to acknowledge their guilt. Anciently, the bishops and clergy condemned; and no other bishop could receive the offender into communion until restored by the judgment of a provincial synod; or if it was a question of an article of faith, then only by a general council. The person accused was judged by his own diocesan, and the case could not be tried in the first instance even by a patriarch or metropolitan: the latter in case of negligence could issue a monition to his suffragan; and if his warning was not respected, then the suffragan and accused were cited before the provincial synod. If the synod pronounced sentence, bishops were forbidden to offer to the offender communion by the Councils of Nicæa [c. xviii.], Elvira [c. liii.], and I. Arles [c. xvi.], and an easy guarantee for the maintenance of this discipline lay in the grant of commendatory or circular letters with which Christians when travelling were furnished.

Separation and exclusion from the communion of the faithful [Matt. xviii. 17] is called the Greater, denial of sacraments the Lesser excommunication.

The Greater Excommunication cuts off the

offender from the body of the Church, deprives him of ecclesiastical communion, so that he can neither receive nor administer the sacraments; neither attend divine worship nor take part therein. The Lesser Excommunication deprives a person from receiving the sacraments or being presented to a benefice, but does not render him incapable of administering sacraments or presenting another to a benefice, as defined by Pope Gregory XI. The popular term for the greater excommunication was "by bell, book and candle."

"Ipso facto" excommunication was pronounced on all who violated the liberty of the Church; the greater excommunication was incurred by those who [1] maliciously deprived churches of their rights, [2] who disturbed the peace of the Church or state, [3] who gave or procured false witness, [4] who laid unjust information against others, [5] who maliciously offered impediments to marriage, [6] who interrupted patrons in their right of collation, or [7] who from motives of gain, favour, or ill will despised the royal mandate for excommunication.

In fulminating an anathema, twelve priests assisted the bishop, holding candles in their hands; these they cast upon the ground whilst the sentence was pronounced, and bells were tolled during the ceremonial. The minor excommunication was pronounced by the bishop with the consent of his clergy, and lasted only for a time; the penalty being a deprivation of church privileges.

In the rubric to the office for Burial of the Dead, Christian interment is denied to the excommunicate, that is (as appears from the sixty-eighth canon) to such as are denounced excommunicate "majori excommunicatione" for some grievous and notorious crime, no person being able to testify of their repentance. Both before and after the Reformation, upon evidence of repentance being given to the bishop, he has granted commissions not only to bury but to absolve the dead in order to Christian burial. Thus "ipso facto" excommunications appear no longer to be recognised.

The sentences of excommunication given by an ecclesiastical judge or ordinary are to be read out after the Nicene Creed. In the year 1695, Archbishop Tenison required his suffragans to "see that none be instrumental in pronouncing sentences of excommunication and absolution without such solemnity as that great and weighty matter requires." Archbishop Williams called excommunication "that rusty sword of the Church," but in 1681 it was directed against "Popish recusants," and in the following year against Nonconformists.

Sentence of excommunication cannot be given until after three admonitions have been made to the offender, under pain of suspension of the judge from entry of a church for one month, unless the excess be manifest. But if there is a law to the point and used as the authority, it is itself constituted a monition, and no written sentence is required. [ANATHEMA. Ferraris; André; Beyerlinck; Gibson; Ayliffe, *Parergon*, 259, 263; Lyndwood; Grindal's *Remains*, 451.]

EXEMPTION. A privilege exempting from the claims or obligations of common law; in ecclesiastical language, a privilege which withdraws a church, or religion, or secular community from episcopal jurisdiction. It took its rise in the monasteries, when bishops never interfered in their discipline, except to confirm or give benediction to an abbot elect; and the Second Council of Limoges, A.D. 1031, in order to exhibit the confidence of the Synod in the conduct of the monasteries, subjected them solely to their abbots, as the Council of Arles long before had adjusted the relations of Lerins to its diocesan the Bishop of Frejus. Bishops, however, in many instances, sought to recover their lost or impaired powers, and in consequence the monasteries appealed for protection to popes and sovereigns, seeking to restrict the episcopal power to the benediction of an abbot chosen by the monks, and to the correction of offences of which abbots neglected to take cognizance. They also sought to prohibit bishops from demanding money for the consecration of altars or for giving Orders, from interfering in their temporal concerns, and frequent visitation. Great formality was observed before these concessions were made, the acquiescence of the bishop and the consent of the metropolitan in synod being made indispensable, and granted only upon allegations of usefulness and necessity. The authority of the sovereign was also required. Until the tenth century, these preliminaries were carefully guarded, but in the eleventh century, the bishops fostered the growth of exemptions. The great abbeys of Clugny, Citeaux, and Monte Cassino, with the mendicant orders (privileged to hear confessions and preach without any license but that of the pope), obtained such privileges, that at length intending founders exacted from the diocesans a grant of exemption and independence as a previous condition of carrying out their design. Another evil sprung up, the creation of extra-diocesan places, that is, of churches dependent only on some great church to which they were appropriated by the pope, he being regarded as the sole superior, and appointing a representative with episcopal rights, known as "quasi-episcopal." Such "Peculiars" in England have been recently abolished by statute and restored to the jurisdiction of the diocesans.

Beneficed parish priests are said to be exempt, simply with regard to their inherent privilege of preaching and administering Sacraments within their several churches without license from the bishops, and of prohibiting any others from intruding upon their function without their consent.

EXEGESIS. The exposition of Holy Scripture. It is a comprehensive word which properly takes in all that is connected with full interpretation of the Bible: but it is often restricted to the meaning of literary interpretation, or the determination of the sense which the text bears when viewed in the same manner as the texts of an uninspired work. Thus used, the word is often minutely subdivided, and the grammatical, the

historical, the philological exegesis are spoken of as branches of Biblical exposition.

EXOMOLOGESIS. [CONFESSION.]

EXORCISM. The adjuration of evil spirits in the Name of God to depart from persons or places of whom or of which they are holding possession. This was extended, for many ages, to salt and to water which were to be used in Divine Service, the ceremony of exorcism immediately preceding that of benediction.

The exorcism of persons about to be baptized is a ceremony contemporary with the earliest detailed accounts of baptism that have come down to our times from the Primitive Church, and was founded on a keen appreciation of the power of Satan over fallen man in an unregenerated condition. It is still continued in the Eastern and Roman Churches, and was used under the first English Prayer Book [A.D. 1549-1552], but the form disappeared from the latter after its revision. The words of the Benedictio Aquæ, now incorporated with the Baptismal Office, represent, however, in some degree, the ancient principle, though the actual words of exorcism are no longer there.

Respecting the exorcism of persons possessed, see the article DEMONS, DEMONIACAL POSSESSION. The seventy-second Canon of the Church of England forbids any clergyman from attempting exorcism without special license from his bishop.

EXPIATION. This word does not occur in the Bible otherwise than as a marginal gloss [Num. xxxv. 33], where the Hebrew word is "jekuppar," the passive form of "kipper," to make atonement for. The term "expiation" has as its correlative "propitiation;" the former referring to the purgation of sin, the latter to that altered condition with respect to Divine favour that is expressed by RECONCILIATION. The two words conjointly make up the complex idea involved in ATONEMENT, SATISFACTION, to which words the reader is referred. [SACRIFICE.]

F

FAITH. A supernatural mental quality, bestowed by God, whereby truth is apprehended without the evidence of experience or of argumentative proof. It is partly of the understanding and partly of the will. As far as it is of the understanding it is [1] the knowledge of its object (*i.e.* of the proposition which is to be believed); and [2] a rational conviction as to the competency of the authority by which the proposition to be believed is communicated. So far as it is of the will it is an assent to what is thus presented by competent authority, as to truth.

These three component parts of faith may be illustrated by the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.

Understanding.	1.	*Knowledge of the proposition:* that there exist three Persons in one God.
	2.	*Conviction as to the authority:* that this mystery is revealed by God Himself.
Will.	3.	*Assent.* I believe that there are three Persons in one God, because God Himself has revealed that proposition.

To these three component parts may also be added a fourth as belonging to a well-developed, or "living faith," viz.:—

Affections. 4. *Love* actuating the conduct.

The scriptural character of the definition thus given may be shewn by a few out of many passages in the New Testament. [1] "By grace are ye saved through Faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God" [Eph. ii. 8]. "Lord, increase our Faith" [Luke xvii. 5]. Hence it is rightly called the "grace of faith." [2] "Faith is the substance (ὑπόστασις) of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" [Heb. xi. 1]: the ground on which it is accounted *evidence* being stated thus, [3] "Faith cometh by hearing (ἐξ ἀκοῆς) and hearing by the Word of God (διὰ ῥήματος Θεοῦ)," where it is clear that the "report" or "hearing" means *hearsay knowledge*, and "the Word of God" means *information in any way received from God.* [4] "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but Faith, which worketh by love" [Gal. v. 6]. "Unto you, therefore, which believe, He is precious" [1 Pet. ii. 7].

The practical power of faith is in proportion to the perfection of its integrity; that is, in proportion to the degree in which love actuates it and co-operates with it. Hence its efficacy in making persons receptive of miraculous operations, as in the case of those to whom our Lord said, "Thy faith hath saved thee;" and also in enabling persons to exercise miraculous powers or gifts, as in the case of those to whom our Lord said, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you" [Matt. xvii. 20].

The sense in which faith is often used as meaning *trust* is sufficiently evident: for living faith, whether as an evidence or as a power, must always involve the idea of dependence on God, the evidence and the power coming solely and entirely from Him. Hence, living faith involves trust in God's Word, in His wisdom, in His power, in His truth, in His justice, in His providence, in His promises, and in His love.

Finally, it may be added that there are many Articles of Faith for which there is inferior corroborative evidence as well as the direct Word of God; and that in such cases such evidence is by no means to be disregarded, since that also is provided for our conviction by His Divine Wisdom. [Justification. Doubt.]

FAITHFUL, THE. The word πιστοὶ, fideles, faithful, is used in ancient liturgies and canons to distinguish the baptized members of the Church, who were in full communion, from the catechumens and penitents. Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Origen, refer it to the laity alone; the Church being divided by the first-named into ἡγούμενοι, πιστοί, and κατηχούμενοι. The faithful were distinguished from the catechumens by many privileges, of which the chief were: [1] Admittance to the Eucharist, called λειτουργία τῶν πιστῶν, missa fidelium, in contradistinction to the λειτουργία τῶν κατηχουμένων, missa catechumenorum, which consisted of the reading of the Scriptures, prayers, and hymns. [2] Permission to join in all the prayers of the Church, especially the Lord's Prayer, which St. Chrysostom calls εὐχὴ πιστῶν and St. Augustine "oratio fidelium." [3] Admittance to discourses on the profounder doctrines of Christianity, whereas the catechumens were only allowed to hear discourses on morals and daily life. Tertullian makes the non-observance of these distinctions a ground of reproach against heretics. "Quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est. Pariter adeunt pariter

orant" [*de Præscrip. Hær.* c. 41]. The faithful were also called φωτιζόμενοι, illuminati, the third Canon of the Council of Laodicea styling the newly baptized προσφάτως φωτισθέντες, a term which the words of Justin Martyr explain, καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λοῦτρον φωτισμὸς, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων. Other names for the faithful were οἱ μεμνημένοι, μύηται, initiati, often used by St. Chrysostom in the phrase ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι; the catechumens, on the other hand, being termed ἄμυστοι or ἀμύητοι; and τελείοι the perfect, in reference to their Eucharistic privileges, the perfection and crown of Christian worship. [CATECHUMENS. FLENTES, &c.]

FALL OF MAN. The conscious and wilful disobedience of our first parents to a positive command of God resulted in [1] a change of man's relation to God; [2] the loss of certain special gifts originally belonging to his nature; and [3] an impetus of degeneration by which his nature grew more and more corrupt, and therefore more and more alienated from God. These three are conveniently summed up in the expressive phrase which stands at the head of this article. For its effects in more detail see ORIGINAL SIN; BODY, NATURAL; SPIRIT, and such articles as treat of our Lord's work in the restoration of the creature.

FANATICISM. Fanatic, a word derived from "fanum," a temple, in its primary meaning denotes the religious votary; but in time it became restricted to the frenzied priest wild with inspiration, India perhaps having supplied the model to Greece. Such were the self-mutilated Corybantes, priests of Cybele [Juv. *S.* ii. 112], the Salii, a "saltando" [Virg. *Æn.* viii. 663] priests of Mars, the Bacchanalian rout, and the priests of Bellona, who after the manner of Baal-worshippers gashed themselves with knives and lancets, and poured out libations of their own blood to the goddess of war [Juv. *S.* iv. 123; Lactant. i. 21]. Subsequently the term was applied to any form of madness. In its modern acceptation fanaticism may be defined as an overwrought fancy, working by passion and not by reason; a master-thought that becomes a monomania, narrow-minded, blind, and cruel. Its barbarity can be hideously grotesque, as when Pizarro, having plundered the victim of treachery, doomed him to the stake, but in consideration of his conversion allowed him the privilege of previous strangulation; or as when the persecutor put to the sword a mixed multitude of victims in the towns and villages of the Albigenses, saying, "The Lord will know his own." The "Te Deum" solemnly celebrated by Gregory XIV. after the horrors of St. Bartholomew's night [A.D. 1572], and the ovation in Spain for the triumph of the Church militant on the same occasion, are instances of such fanaticism [Fleury, *H. E.* clxxiii. 40]. Fanaticism, however, is not coupled of necessity with the perversion of religious principle. The atheistic fanaticism of France during the Reign of Terror shews that in its irreligious aspect it can cause a truly terrible amount of evil; irreligion in its fanaticism can be downright demoniacal, doing evil for the sole sake of evil. Fanaticism may exist under any form of partizanship—politics in all its phases, trades' unions, clanship, nationality; in the present article it must be confined to the one subject of religious fanaticism.

Fanaticism must be clearly distinguished from enthusiasm. The latter may be animated by the pure love of God and man; whereas the former is fired with the worst passions; and with an object in a certain sense good, the means of attaining that object may be hateful. Its hand is against everything that does not run along the narrow groove of its own thoughts. The madman may reason rightly from wrong premises, and in a converse way the fanatic may seek a right object, but by means that are morally wrong. A righteous cause, followed out by righteous means, however warmly, never can fall under the category of fanaticism. Conversion by missionary effort is one thing, by "autos da fé" something widely different. So Saul was the unreasoning fanatic; Paul the administrator of a reasonable service. Fanaticism may spend its energy upon itself as well as on other victims. The cutting self-reproach of the Corinthian penitents [2 Cor. vii. 11] has been literally followed out; "yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge" has the fanatic been found to practise upon himself. The most conspicuous instance, perhaps, is the sect of the "Flagellantes" of Germany, in the middle of the fourteenth century. During the sweeping pestilence of 1347-49, they imagined that the Divine wrath might be satisfied with the self-inflicted torture of penance; and during a march of thirty-three days (to correspond with the years of our Lord's human life), they scourged themselves publicly with whips rough with knots and points of iron, which lacerated the flesh with every stroke. They were numbered by thousands, of either sex and of every rank and every age [Milman, *Lat. Chr.* ii. 11; Fleury, xcv. 49]. Clement VII., attacking fanaticism with a counter manifestation, convicted the party of heresy [Fleury, xcv. 49], and sent against them an array of Teutonic knights, who in a single day massacred eight thousand [Isaac Taylor's *Fanaticism*, 148].

Monasticism, in its origin, aimed at a high ideal of perfection, and the light of the Gospel streamed over pagan Europe from the monasteries. But they became nurseries of fanaticism. The self-mortifying austerities of the cloister produced a callous disregard of suffering, and those who had little pity on themselves in process of time had less upon others. The fanaticism of persecution was the natural offspring of the fanaticism of self-discipline. A Dominic and a Torquemada were animated by different characteristics of the same spirit, and the merciless arrests of the Inquisition were prepared by the hair shirts and scourgings, and the harsh "zona pellicia" eating into the flesh of the "savage heroes of the Romish Calendar." "Cogite intrare" was the command of Spain to her American adventurers; "hæreticos de vita" was the cry at home in the day of her power. The wild Americans deemed the Spaniards to be gods, such gods as they had made

for themselves in their ignorance, the spirit of the whirlwind and of the storm, the dreaded authors of the earthquake, the instigators of bloodshed and rapine in the more terrible sweep of savage passion.

Fanaticism enters largely into the religious history of our race. The persecution of Christians in the earliest ages at the instigation of the heathen priesthood, was followed by outbursts of fanatical passion within the Church that drove such men as Athanasius, Ambrose, and Cyprian into banishment, and packed fanatical councils, as the "Synodus Latronum." The paschal difference was sufficient to inflame the bitterest hate, of which twelve hundred monks at Bangor were the victims when first the Western rule was introduced [Bede, *H. E.* ii. 2]. The feuds, so often bloody, between the rival Rabbinical schools of Hillel and Shammai [Jost, *Gesch. d. Jud.* ii. 13], were more than rivalled by the fanaticism with which the battle of the schools was fought between the Nominalist and Realist factions; which in fact became a cause of national embitterment, Louis of Bavaria siding with Ockham and the Nominalists, and Louis XI. of France patronizing the Realist cause; and in those days when kings condescended to philosophize, war was sure to be the "ultima ratio." The Crusades owed their origin to an outpouring of religious enthusiasm. But enthusiasm easily passes over into fanaticism, under which heroism evaporates. Fanatical hordes found their way across Europe, and tortures inflicted upon Jews along the line of march shewed the spirit of the followers of Baldwin and Godfrey, Tancred and Cœur de Lion. It is the character of fanaticism to attract to its banner those who have no other interest in its objects than a hope of gain or a love of mischief. This swelled the ranks of the Crusaders with all the turbulent spirits of the age. At a later date also the horrors of St. Bartholomew's night were not entirely chargeable to religious frenzy; but in many cases, to be wealthy, or to hold a desirable office, or to have a needy heir, was to be doomed as a Huguenot. Similar crimes accompanied the revocation [A.D. 1685] of the Edict of Nantes, whereby the toleration accorded to those of the Calvinist sect in France was annulled, and the attempt was made of literally dragooning heresy back into orthodoxy. In a few months fifty thousand families had emigrated from the country [Macaulay, *H. Eng.*], the representatives of the manufacturing industry and intelligence of France; when, as part of that emigration, a colony of French weavers set up their looms in Spitalfields. In France fanaticism produced its like once more, and the Camisards, or "smock-frocks," of Languedoc, worked up by the ecstatic visions of their women, raised the standard of revolt; and met with sufficient success to be admitted to an honourable capitulation. One of their regiments, incorporated at first in the French army, transferred its allegiance to the British flag and fought at Almanza [A.D. 1707]. Its commandant, J. Cavalier, afterwards died governor of Jersey.

The history of the Anabaptists in Germany in the sixteenth century is a dreary account of the reciprocal action and reaction of fanaticism. Their spirit was inherited by the Covenanters and Puritans of our own history, and the regicidal crime in which it culminated might never have been perpetrated had it not been for the reckless turbulence of the generations that preceded. The libertinism of John of Leyden is only equalled by the Mormonite of the present day; he too had his army of fanatical followers.

During the Reformation fanaticism has at times been the outward expression of religious fervour in the dominant party; and every banner has had its band of zealots, who have pushed their chieftain's principles to excesses that he himself never contemplated. The unsuccessful attempt on the life of Henry IV. by Châtel, and his murder by Ravaillac, were the logical results of Loyola's constitution as developed by Mariana and Suarez. As fanaticism is very distinct from enthusiasm, so it is easy to see its points of incompatibility with heroism. The self-devotion of Gustavus Adolphus was heroic, because a necessary war was humanized by him; but its horrors were intensified by Tilly and Pappenheim in such scenes as the sacking of Magdeburg; human fanaticism had passed on into the fiery hate of demons. It was heroism rather than the impulse of fanaticism which impelled the Jews before the taking of Jerusalem to slay first their women and children, and then themselves, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans, and witness the defilement of all that they held sacred and dear; and a like tragic deed was repeated by the Jews of the Rhenish provinces rather than submit to the licentiousness of Crusaders on their march. But was it heroism or vengeance when Charlotte Corday took the vile life of the "buveur du sang," Marat, the cause of so much misery to her country and of so irreparable a loss to herself? Fanaticism became a principle in the Moslem, as soon as the Prophet had declared the sword to be the implement of converting the impenitent; repentance in the language of the Korân always meaning the renunciation of idolatry. The Christian and the Jew acknowledged one God, and were generally left free to pursue their own path of perversity. Fanatical as the Almohad dynasty was in Spain, it was satisfied with outward compliance, and so that the unbeliever attended the service of the mosque no very close scrutiny of his religious principles was made. Thus Maimonides was a Jew in his heart, though he conformed outwardly to the rites of Islam. Something of the same kind took place at a later date, though the obligation was more strict as proceeding from a more thoroughgoing fanaticism, when fear of the Inquisition compelled the Jews in Spain to adopt the outward semblance of Christianity, which they reviled in the inmost heart of their Judaism, and were known as "nuevos Cristianos." The Indian mutiny, that caused such deep national sorrow, was ascribed at first to Hindû fanaticism, and religious reluctance to use cartridges smeared with animal grease; but Mohammedan ambition

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was the main spring of action, to which native superstitions were made subservient. [Isaac Taylor's *Fanaticism;* Balmez, *Prot. y Catt.* c. 7, 8; Herzog, *Real Encycl.;* Wetzer u. Welte, *Kirch. Lex.* art. *Fanatismus.*]

FASTING is of four kinds, spiritual, moral, natural, and ecclesiastical. Spiritual fasting is the abstinence from all unholy pleasure, and without this all fasting is valueless. Moral fasting is the habitual regulation of one's food in accordance with right reason within the limits of necessity. Natural fasting, or fasting in its true or proper sense, is the abstinence from all food.

Scriptural illustrations of fasting. It is a devotional practice common to all religions, and based upon the instincts of our common nature. Amongst the Jews it was regulated by special laws, fixed days being appointed in the Mosaic law and by subsequent enactments. The great public fast-day of the Mosaic law was the Day of Atonement. "Whosoever failed to observe this day with fasting and rest from labour was to be cut off from among his people" [Lev. xxiii. 29]. Fasting was recognised also as an act undertaken by individuals in accordance with a vow. Persons making such a vow and failing to fulfil it would be cut off; as also would a husband or father who might interfere with the vowed fast of a wife or daughter, unless objections were made immediately upon hearing of it [Numb. xxx. 2, 13, 14]. In the Old Testament we have many instances recorded of individuals and communities observing fasts with great strictness in seasons of penitential sorrow and special prayer. So the children of Israel in the conflict with rebellious Benjamin, upon occasion of the defeat, fasted before going up again against Gibeah [Judges xx. 26]. The fasting of Moses, David, Elijah, and Daniel, as also of Ezra with his companions at the river Ahava, and of the Jews for Esther when she ventured her life for their deliverance, will occur at once to every one. Joshua and the elders of Israel fasted after the defeat at Ai [Josh. vii. 6]. Samuel gathered all Israel to a fast at Mizpeh, when the people humbled themselves for their sin in worshipping Baalim and Ashtaroth [1 Sam. vii. 6], preparatory to receiving back amongst themselves the ark, and covenanted presence of God. All Judah gathered themselves together to ask help of the Lord, even out of all the cities of Judah they came to observe the fast proclaimed by Jehoshaphat in his fear of Moab and Ammon [2 Chron. xx. 3].

The solemn call of Joel to fasting, reiterated as it is in our Commination Service, cannot be forgotten. We find fasts appointed for various months in the Prophet Zechariah [vii. 1, 5; viii. 19], but the exact occasion of them is uncertain. Anna the Prophetess was constant in fasting during her long life, and was thus found worthy to be amongst those who welcomed the Lord when He came into His temple. The Pharisees, in our Lord's time, kept two fast-days in the week. These were Monday and Thursday, and these two days are said to have been fixed in memory of Moses being supposed to have ascended the mountain on Thursday and returned on Monday. Our Lord rebukes them, indeed, for disfiguring their faces in order that they might seem to fast, but if His disciples differed from those of John the Baptist in having no set fast-days, it was only a temporary difference. After He had been taken away from them, fasting would become an essential element of their religion, as it had been of the Jews previously, and accordingly He left rules for fasting as well as for almsgiving and prayer. The observance of fasting in the Christian Church will be mentioned hereafter, but we must recall to mind, that it was no special feature of Judaism, although thus familiar to all ages of Jewish worship. It is the natural expression of sorrow. Deep sorrow takes away the very desire of food. Pleasant food is but a mockery in the house of mourning. Fulness of bread, therefore, indicates absence of contrition. The devout penitent cannot help, in the language of the Pentateuch, setting himself "to afflict his soul."

That fasting is pleasing to God, as the expression of penitence, is evident from the history of Ahab, and from that of Nineveh. It was a great event when a whole nation humbled itself at the call of Jonah and the bidding of their sovereign. Jonah had prophesied the overthrow of that vast city. It was laid prostrate, but in penitence, not in devastation. Its pride fell, and its glory remained. But that was no mere pretence of fasting. Even the brute creation was forced to take part in it. "Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything; let them not feed nor drink water" [Jon. iii. 7].

Objections to the practice. The objections of those modern religionists who would set fasting entirely aside, are plainly opposed to the law of nature and of revelation. They are based upon the grounds of formalism and self-righteousness, as if fasting must tend to these results, and must consequently be at variance with the spirit of Christianity. It will at once be seen that fasting is no more a formality than prayer. All acts must be regulated and formal if they are to be habitual and real. Our sense of contrition demands a form of expression as much as our sense of need. Confession is not enough, since the acts for which we have to repent are acts involving our whole body. The body must humble itself for its sin, and the repudiation of fasting is indeed a denial of the great truth that our body is a part of ourselves. If the body is here an instrument of sin, and is to be a partaker of the joy of the soul in the glory of the resurrection, it is plainly necessary that the body should be united with the soul in the humiliation of penitence. [Asceticism.] The charge of self-righteousness, moreover, holds good only against the abuse of fasting. Those who recognise it as a necessary act of obedience to Christ and His Church, and who feel that its neglect is indeed a violation of the fundamental principles of our nature, cannot be likely to be self-righteous because of its observance. Self-righteousness would have been as great an evil in Jewish days as in the present day, but we do not find that Daniel, or Anna, or St. John Baptist fell

into self-righteousness by the greatness of their fasts. On the other hand, those who desire to become holy like them will naturally take the same means which they used. Again, the more persons strive to fast the more they will be dissatisfied with themselves that they can do so little. If God were to enable any one to fast in an extraordinary manner, as Moses and Elijah did, He would give the grace of humility to preserve such a person from self-righteousness, and without that special help we can only realize the more fully, as we walk in the footsteps of the saints, how far we come short of their gifts and their holiness.

Effects of Fasting on the Health. It is not unusual for persons to suppose that fasting must be injurious to the bodily health; but in all probability the observance of this duty would tend to the improvement of health, in ordinary cases, much rather than the reverse. Many fall into various diseases, and die, through habitual repletion, to whom probably the regular observance of the Church's weekly fast-day would be the means of recovering the balance of the bodily system. A bygone generation used to practice bleeding in the spring and fall. Some physicians prescribe medicine as desirable at those seasons, in consequence of the bodily system needing to be somewhat lowered. The proper observance of Lent and Advent would probably effect this natural result for good, in addition to the spiritual good attendant upon obedience to the Church in this respect.

It does indeed seem that people of the present day are not able to fast to the same extent which our forefathers used to do. But, in all probability, the great reason of this, although not the only reason, is that they are not habituated to the practice. The possibility of prolonged fasting, although in a great degree dependent upon natural constitution, and very much influenced by climate, is also to a very considerable extent the result of training. Persons who accustom themselves to defer their meal until a late hour of the day, soon get to do so without difficulty; but if they have been accustomed to eat it at an early hour soon after rising, they ought to let the hour of breakfast gradually become later, and not attempt a long fast at once. So also with prolonged seasons of fasting. The Church has shewn her practical wisdom, and it comes out in remarkable harmony with the physical law of God's Providence, in appointing the short penitential season subsequent to Septuagesima before the fasting time of Lent. The world changing this *carnival* into a time of feasting and merriment incapacitates itself physically as well as morally for the due observance of the great fast. On physiological grounds, there is reason to think that most persons might fast much more strictly than they do; and on theological and religious grounds, there is no doubt that God will help with special grace those who seek to do a religious act in a religious spirit.

Probably the luxuriousness of modern times is one great reason why the constitution of men seems to be less equal to fasting than it formerly was. This luxury shews itself in the substitution of unwholesome, unnourishing food for the simple meat diet of our ancestors. A system of diet which manages the stomach and pampers the appetite with continual corrections, instead of leaving labour to supply the sauce which makes solid food acceptable, must be injurious to the constitution. When we require a succession of courses in order to be able to go on eating with comfort, it shews that the bounds of a true natural moderation are past, and the artificial hunger which is stimulated takes in not healthy food for the sustenance of an exhausted frame, but superfluous material to clog the functions of nature, and so to impede their healthy action.

Probably the exaggerated nervous excitement of the present day is another great reason why so much difficulty is experienced in fasting. They who would fast for the love of God, must learn to rest in the love of God. Eagerness and anxiety eat out the enduring powers of nature, whereas reliance upon God in tranquil devotion has a natural tendency, in addition to its spiritual power, to give permanent healthy action to the vital organs. Eastern Christendom still observes fasts to an extent which appears incredible in the West. In all probability this is owing to the greater absence of political fermentation and social struggle in Eastern countries. Our rapid locomotion, the constant interchange of thought through the medium of the press, the zest with which all classes claim their share in political power, the loss of God's blessed ordinance of manual labour by the adaptation of machinery to all sorts of production, the undue strain of the intelligence necessitated in consequence, the artificial wants which our overhasty productiveness occasions, the exaggerated attention to merely intellectual development in the education of children; these may be suggested as causes why the human being of modern Western Europe should be less able to fast than were our forefathers, or than contemporary Christians, and even Mohammedans, in the East. It is well to bear this in mind, for it will help to make individuals realize the great necessity of joining habits of prayer and inward tranquil devotion to all their attempts at fasting.

Exemptions from Fasting. Christian prudence requires that none should fast who cannot do so free from physical injury; and the causes which excuse from fasting are generally given as four, namely, Age, Impotence, Labour, and Piety.

[1.] Young persons are excused by reason of their age. This exemption, however, does not extend to abstinence. The age of twenty-one is fixed as the limit. Old persons, in like manner, are exempted, according to some authorities, from the age of sixty, but in reality this limit must be determined morally by the power of the individual, as many persons can fast with strictness, and without any detriment to health, to a much later period of life.

[2.] Impotence excuses sick and very delicate persons, women in time of maternity, and the very poor who have not ordinarily what is necessary for their sustenance, and are, therefore, per-

mitted to take what may be given them even at times set apart for fasting.

[3.] Labour excuses all persons engaged in hard work of whatsoever kind, if it makes fasting to be a serious inconvenience to the duties of their calling. At the same time, persons are bound to see if they cannot arrange their time so as to be able to fast. Parish priests, for instance, can arrange to do upon Fridays such works as may be most compatible with their due observance of that day. Care must be taken faithfully to fulfil the work of the day, if the work is made the reason for not fasting. Labour, in order to excuse, must be of such a kind as to demand solid nourishment. Thus diggers, carpenters, masons, smiths, could be excused; but there are light occupations which do not demand a full diet. Those who are occupied in severe study, judges, lawyers, and the like, can scarcely plead entire, though they may partial exemptions. Clergy engaged in daily preaching, or schoolmasters occupied during a large part of the day in teaching, would be exempted, but the mere preaching of a simple sermon would not generally excuse a clergyman.

[4.] Piety exempts from fasting, when the want of food stands in the way of the perfect fulfilment of any duties of devotion, for we must never allow that which is a means to an end to become an impediment instead of an assistance to the end desired.

In all cases, it should be added, exemption must be taken with great caution. In cases of doubt, persons should have recourse to their superior, the parish priest, or bishop, or individual director. The practice of giving written dispensations continued in England long after the Reformation. Such dispensations for eating meat in Lent are to be found with Hammond's name attached; and a few even after the Restoration.

Fasting before Communion has been practised from the time of the Apostles in all countries. St. Augustine says, "It is plain that when the disciples first received the Body and Blood of the Lord, they received it not fasting. Does any one then, on this account, blame the universal Church because it is always received fasting? Nay, for it has pleased the Holy Ghost that, in honour of so great a Sacrament, the Body of the Lord should enter the mouth of the Christian before any other food, for it is the custom observed throughout the whole world. For neither does the Lord's having given it after food, make it a duty for the heathen to dine and sup before coming together for that sacrament, nor to do as those whom the Apostle blames and corrects because they mingled the Lord's Supper with their own repast. For the Saviour, in order more forcibly to commend the greatness of that mystery, wished to leave this as the last and deepest impression on the heart and memory of the disciples, when He was about to leave them and go to His Passion. But He abstained from ordering in what manner it should be received, in order that this might be reserved for His Apostles to do by whom He was about to arrange His Church. For if He had enjoined that this should always be taken after other food, I believe that no one would have altered that custom. But when the Apostle says, speaking of this Sacrament, 'Wherefore, brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another; and if any man hunger, let him eat at home, that ye come not together to condemnation;' He immediately subjoins, 'The rest will I set in order when I come' [1 Cor. xi. 34]. Inasmuch, therefore, as it would have taken more than could be comprised in a letter if he had laid down all that order of procedure which the Church universal throughout the world observes, it is given us to be understood that by him was arranged that which is done without any variation of custom everywhere. . . . Some, however, have been led by a probable reason to allow of the Body and Blood of the Lord being offered and received after food on one certain day of the year, that, namely, on which the Lord gave the original Supper, as if to commemorate it more specially. But I think it is better to observe the hour, and to remain fasting until after the refection, which takes place at three o'clock, before coming to the Oblation. Therefore we do not require any one to dine before that Lord's Supper, but also we do not forbid it. However, I think this was only instituted because most persons (and almost all, in many places), are on that day accustomed to bathe. And because some keep the fast, the offering is made in the morning to Christ, because of those who dine, because they cannot have their fasts and their bath together; but towards evening the Oblation is made for them who are fasting." [St. Aug. *Ep.* cxviii. *ad Januar.* 6.]

St. Chrysostom uses strong asseverations against his supposed guilt of giving the Holy Communion to those who were not fasting.

There are also various decrees of councils upon this subject. As, *e.g.*:—

Council of Carthage, III. c. 29. The Sacrament of the Altar shall be celebrated only by those who are fasting, except on the one anniversary when the Supper of the Lord is commemorated.

Council of Braga, II. c. 10. If any presbyter shall be found in this madness after this our edict, so as to consecrate the oblation not fasting, but after having taken any food, let him be immediately deprived of his office and deposed by his own bishop.

Council of Macon, II. c. 6. No presbyter with a full stomach, or having indulged in wine, shall touch the sacrifices, or presume to celebrate mass on private or festive days, for it is unjust that bodily food should take precedence of spiritual; but if any continue to do so, let him lose his dignity.

Council of Auxerre, c. 19. No presbyter, deacon, or subdeacon shall touch the mass after taking meat or drink.

Council of Toledo, VII. c. 2. Lest what has been advised by reason of the languor of nature should be turned into a dangerous presumption, let it be understood that no one shall celebrate mass after taking any, even the least, meat or drink.

Council of Trullo, c. xxix. After quoting the Canon of Carthage with reference to Maundy Thursday, it is said, "Although for some local reasons profitable to the Church those divine Fathers made such a regulation, yet since there is no inducement for us to abandon the strict line, we determine, in accordance with the apostolical traditions of our fathers, that in the last week of Lent the fifth day must not be broken, for it is a dishonouring of the whole Lent."

Council of Mayence [A.D. 1549] c. xxxiii. "We seriously enjoin all parish priests and ministers of churches not to give the Eucharist to any except those who are fasting and have made confession, unless it be in cases of infirmity and necessity."

Persons about to die have always been allowed to receive the Blessed Sacrament, even though they may not be fasting: and there are some (even among Roman theologians) who hold that this dispensation must be extended to the Paschal Communion for those who could not otherwise communicate without serious injury to health. It is argued that since communicating is of Divine obligation, and the preparatory fasting is only of ecclesiastical precept, therefore fasting must be given up rather than so necessary a duty as communion be omitted. So, again, the same argument may be carried on beyond the one annual communion, and weakly persons may be communicated not fasting, as often as shall seem desirable, provided it is not done too frequently.

The present authoritative practice of the Roman Church is, however, opposed to these relaxations, and admits to unfasting communion only when the Eucharist is received as the viaticum.

The rules of the Eastern Church as to fasting before Communion are still more rigid than those of the Western.

The observance of fasting before Communion has continued on in some places in England amidst all the lax habits of the last century, and persons now living [A. D. 1869] remember their mothers omitting breakfast on Sacrament Sundays. But in the present day, the importance and value of this duty is still more appreciated, and it is becoming a general practice to communicate earlier in the day than formerly.

It may be as well to add, by way of caution, that the early canons need not be considered as prohibiting such small quantities of food and drink as may be necessary to enable persons to go through their duties without exhaustion. Those who cannot do so fasting, should take a little simple sustenance as long a time before communicating as they can, and thus act up to the spirit of the rule, though the literal observance of it may be beyond their power.

Ecclesiastical Fasting is abstinence from flesh meat and certain other kinds of food, one meal being only taken in the day, which is not taken till after a given hour. The custom of the Church does indeed allow, besides the one meal, a slight collation to be taken towards evening in consideration of bodily infirmity, and the further relaxation was established in the time of St. Thomas Aquinas [A.D. 1270], that Vespers should be said before the mid-day meal in Lent, and Nones before it on other fast-days.

Fasting has a special promise from Almighty God; for our Lord says that some kinds of evil spirits cannot be cast out save by prayer and fasting. The Church of the present day would therefore be very culpable if she were to attempt to carry out her work in the world without using this important weapon. Probably the decay of missionary power is more to be attributed to the neglect of fasting than to any other cause. However much the relaxation of ecclesiastical custom may exempt individuals from the external obligation of strict fasts, yet it is certain that those relaxations cannot make strict fasting less necessary for any who wish to carry out their mission against Satan and accomplish the work of God. Fasting is one of those spiritual weapons of our warfare which are mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. Its profit, therefore, is first of all as a means of self-discipline and penitential sanctification; and, secondly, as an instrument of power for the overthrow of Satan's kingdom. The more we practise detachment from the world by mortification of our earthly members, the more shall we find that God will make manifest within us the powers of the new life. But we must remember that if this is the case, fasting must always be accompanied by prayer and almsgiving. If we would die to ourselves aright, we must live in love to God, which is prayer, and in love to man by giving of alms. "Is not this the fast which I have chosen, saith the Lord, to deal thy bread to the hungry?" Fasting must expand the soul with the largehearted happiness of beneficent charity. It must be instrumental to our becoming the more like to God, or it will not bring us to any closer union with Him. We must expect fasting times to be seasons of special temptation, for Satan came to tempt our Blessed Lord in the wilderness. But it is a time of temptation, because it is a time of grace. Satan is eager to rob us of that grace, and we must put the grace to good account by using it to resist the temptation.

FAST-DAYS. The habit of fasting as a religious discipline is probably coeval with the presence of sin in our nature, but a system of days for its regular and methodical practice belongs to a highly organized form of ecclesiastical polity. By the Mosaic Law only one day in the year was thus appointed for a Fast-day, the Day of Atonement which foreshadowed the day of our Lord's sacrifice on the cross. This was observed with the greatest possible strictness, by abstinence from food, drink, washing, anointing, and labour. At a later age of Jewish history four other annual fast-days were added, commemorating sorrowful events connected with the captivity, viz.: [1] The fast of the 17th of the fourth month, for the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; [2] the fast of the 9th of the fifth month, for the destruction of the temple; [3] the fast of the 3d of the seventh month for the

final destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar after Gedaliah's assassination; and [4] the fast of the 10th of the tenth month, instituted when the captives in Babylon heard of the final ruin of Jerusalem.

In the early Church, Christians soon began to keep every Wednesday and every Friday as a fast-day, the one in memory of our Lord's betrayal, the other of His crucifixion. They also kept Lent very strictly. "There are those," writes St. Chrysostom, "who rival one another in fasting, and shew a marvellous emulation in it. Some, indeed, who spend two whole days without food; and others, who reject from their tables the use of wine, oil, and every delicacy, and, taking only bread and water, persevere in this practice during the whole of Lent." The Eastern Church has also always kept a fast before Christmas, answering to our season of Advent.

In the Book of Common Prayer we have a tabular list of the "Fasts and Days of Abstinence to be observed in the Year." They are divided into five classes :—

1. The forty days of Lent.
2. The Ember Days.
3. The Rogation Days.
4. All Fridays except Christmas Day.
5. The Evens or Vigils before certain festivals.

It will be convenient to take these in order.

[1.] *Lent.* A fast before Easter is of primitive antiquity, though the length of it varied at different times and places. One of the earliest questions which arose in the Church was on what day this fast should end, and the Easter festival be celebrated. Origen speaks of a forty days' fast before Easter [*Hom.* x. *in Levit.*], and at the Council of Nicæa this was taken for granted as having been long in use. There was, however, much difference in the way of reckoning these forty days—in some cases they were extended over eight or nine weeks, and Lent thus began at Sexagesima. It was St. Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, who fixed Lent precisely as it is now observed, viz., commencing on Ash-Wednesday (the ancient "caput jejunii"), and extending to and including Easter even, omitting the Sundays only.

In the East the μεγάλη νηστεία begins on the Monday after Quinquagesima, and the rule of fasting is extremely strict. On Sundays and Saturdays there is some, but not entire relaxation from the rule. The last "Great" or Holy Week is kept with most rigid strictness. On Easter even (called the Great Sabbath), the fast was anciently kept till midnight. This was, in the early Church, the chief day for baptizing the catechumens who had been prepared during Lent.

The object of Lent is to commemorate the sorrows of the Lord Jesus, to follow the example of His forty days' fast, and, especially, to keep in vivid remembrance His most Blessed Passion and Death. Thus Lent becomes a most precious season of spiritual discipline, and a fitting preparation for the joy of Eastertide.

[2.] *The Ember Days.* These are days of special fasting and prayer on behalf of those who are to be ordained to the ministry of Christ's Holy Word and Sacraments. They are the

Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after	The First Sunday in Lent.
	Whitsunday.
	September 14th (Holy Cross Day).
	December 13th (St. Lucy).

The weeks in which these days occur are called Ember weeks, and a special prayer is appointed for use each day. The name is most probably an abbreviation of quatuor tempora,[1] corrupted into Quatember and Ember. The particular days, according to the best authorities, were fixed by the Council of Placentia [A.D. 1095]. But in appointing these holy seasons the Church is most closely following apostolic custom [Acts xiii. 2, 3, and xiv. 23]—a custom which it cannot be doubted has been observed by the faithful in all ages since the day of Pentecost. [JEJUNIA QUATUOR TEMPORUM.]

[3.] *The Rogation Days.* These are so called from the Latin verb "rogare," to ask or beseech. They are the three days preceding Holy Thursday or Ascension Day; and in ancient times it was usual to make special supplication to Almighty God at this season to preserve for us the kindly fruits of the earth, and to defend us from war and pestilence. The custom of "beating the bounds" was thus plainly connected with religious worship and intercession. A homily is appointed to be used on the occasion, and Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions [A.D. 1559] directed the 103rd and 104th Psalms to be said.

St. Gregory of Tours, about the end of the sixth century, ascribes the origin of the observance of these days to Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne [A.D. 452]. The diocese of this prelate had been devastated by earthquakes, fire, and incursions of wild beasts, and he appointed a three days' fast, accompanied by processional litanies, to intreat God's mercy. His example was frequently followed in other places, and in the beginning of the sixth century the first Council of Orleans enjoined these days to be yearly observed. The first two are days of abstinence, the third, being the Vigil of the Ascension, is a strict fast. [ROGATIONS.]

[4.] *Fridays.* These are observed as days of abstinence in memory of Him who on this day was crucified for us. As from Easter all Sundays derive their joy, so does the shadow of Good Friday fall upon all Fridays of the year. The only exception to this rule is when the Feast of our Lord's Nativity falls on Friday, and then the day of abstinence is merged in the festival. The observance of this day is of the greatest antiquity —St. Epiphanius, says Cave, refers it to the Apostles. Tertullian mentions it as one of the stations (alluding to the customs of the army), and says that the fast usually lasted until three o'clock in the afternoon.

Good Friday was also called Holy Friday, παρασκευή—ἡμερα τοῦ σταυροῦ—dies dominicæ

[1] The committee for the revision of the Ordinal [A.D. 1661] resolved: "Quod nullæ ordinationes clericorum per aliquos episcopos fierent nisi intra *quatuor tempora* pro ordinatione assignata."

passionis, &c. This fast must be kept with greater strictness than all others. It has not been the custom of the Church to consecrate on this day the Blessed Sacrament. Before the Reformation there was what was called the Mass of the Presanctified, the Reserved Sacrament alone being used. This is the practice also of the Greek Church for the whole of Lent, except Saturdays and Sundays, and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin.

[5.] *The Evens or Vigils.* The name Vigil is derived directly from the Latin Vigiliæ or "watches." The custom of the primitive Church was to spend a great part, or even the whole, of the night preceding certain holy days in devotion in the house of God. But when in course of time the practice was found to give rise to scandal, it was abolished [A.D. 420].[1] All festivals, including Sundays, have eves, but only some have Vigils also. Those which occur in Christmas or Eastertide or Whitsuntide have none because of the joyful character of the season. There is none appointed for St. Michael or St. Luke; the first, because the angels passed through no state of trial, the second, either because the Feast of St. Etheldreda (the day before) superseded the fast, or because it is uncertain whether the holy Evangelist suffered martyrdom. The festivals, the Eves of which are to be kept as strict fasts, or Vigils, are as follows:—

The Nativity of our Lord.
The Purification of the B. V. M.
The Annunciation.
Easter Day.
Ascension Day.
Pentecost.
St. Matthias.
The Nativity of St. John Baptist.
St. Peter.
St. James.
St. Bartholomew.
St. Matthew.
St. Simon and St. Jude.
St. Andrew.
St. Thomas.
All Saints.

If any of these feast days fall on a Monday, then the Vigil is to kept on the Saturday, as Sunday is never, even when an Eve, to be a day of fasting. [Vigils.]

According to the ancient use of Sarum, the Te Deum was never sung on Vigils or Ember Days, or in Lent or Advent, a short Anthem being substituted.

FATALISM. Fatalism, a belief in the irresistible operation of necessity, is derived from "fatum," utterance that is irrevocable; the equivalent of which is *εἱμαρμένη*, "allotted," and *μοῖρα*, "the awarded lot;" raised to the rank of deities in the heathen mythology, and having an ascendency over Jupiter himself [Herod. i. 91], although in a certain sense Fate was subject to the Supreme [Hom. *Od.* iii. 236, *Il.* xii. 402], as being his offspring; "scripsit quidem fata sed sequitur, semper paret semel jussit" [Seneca, *de Prov.*] is the more prosaic statement. The Homeric *αἶσα* [Gladstone, *Hom. Ol.* iv.] derived by Aristotle from *ἀεὶ οὖσα*, as *αἰὼν* from *ἀεὶ ὤν*, implies the eternity of the decree; unless indeed the word represents *ἄνισα*, and refers to the unequal dispensations of fate in different individuals. The tragic fate was generally a Nemesis that tracked down ancestral sin in a devoted line. A blind fate was the philosophic creed at a very early date [Cudw. *Int. Syst.* I. i.], and was the notion of Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Aristotle [Cic. *de Fato*]. In the atomic theory of Democritus and Epicurus, a flux or movement in the atoms which are the ultimate elements of all things produces the phenomena of nature; it was essentially atheistic, and man's condition depended upon the haphazard movement of these particles. Lucretius, wishing to claim for man a certain degree of liberty of action, imagined a suitable movement of these atoms, which is no more intelligible than any other part of the atomic theory. He says:—

> Sed ne mens ipsa necessum
> Intestinum habeat, cunctis in rebus agendis,
> Et devicta quasi cogatur ferre patique,
> Id facit exiguum clinamen principiorum. [ii. 289.]

But freedom of will was no part of the atheistic theory; "optat, non disputat," says Cicero [*de Fato*]: the question was begged, not reasoned out.

Chrysippus the Stoic softened down the harsh fatalism of the sect, and drew a distinction between necessity and fate [Cic. *ib.*]; "necessity" implying an absolute primary causation, "causæ perfectæ et principales;" and "fate" working by secondary causes, "adjuvantes et proximæ," such as the law of nature; and to the operation of these secondary causes he referred the course of human affairs. The secondary causes, however, were with him as the "extended deity," the Divine soul of Nature; marking the introduction of the Pantheism of the East into the philosophy of the West. Seneca, in terms more nearly Christian, says of such secondary causes, that they are the "placita" of the Deity, to whom nothing can be pleasing but that which in its kind is excellent. Yet to work by such causes does not make the Deity less powerful or less free, though He be bound by His own law, "Ipse est necessitas sui" [Senec. *Præf. Qu. Nat.*]. The astrological fate of Chaldæa accredited by Plato, *Tim.* 40 D], and mentioned by Cicero [*de Fato*], and Juvenal [*S.* vi. 552], supplied another contingent to heresy [Hippolyt. *Philos.* iv.; Leo, *c. Priscill. Ep.* 15 (93), *ad Turrib.*; Origen, *Jer.* iii.; Eus. *Præp. Evang.* VI. xi.], and gave considerable trouble to the Church until a belief in judicial astrology was suppressed under severe penalties by Sixtus V. in the bull "Cœli et terræ" [A.D. 1586], as a law of the Emperor Honorius [A.D. 409] had made it penal in more primitive times [Beausobre, *H. Manich.* VII. i. 6, ff.]. The apparently thorough faith that Wallenstein placed in the influence of the stars would form a strange incident in man's intellectual history if it were not referable to warrior-craft; for Napoleon also fostered the belief of predestination

[1] See Durand, vi. 7.

in his men, and of the impossibility of avoiding the decrees of fate, "ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt." The course of nature was with the Stoic the very Deity, who thus revealed Himself; with the Christian it is the ordinance of Him who constituted it, and made all things subject to the prescribed law [Butler's *Anal.* I. ii.].

Man cannot claim an absolute freedom of action. His life has little in it that is original except its being. His character is formed by the operation of general laws that have been binding on the race from the beginning. In youth his character is moulded insensibly by association with others, whether for evil, or if swayed by better guides, to become in his turn a light to others; possibly also a master spirit in his generation. But neither good nor bad has been decreed by an "ineluctabile fatum," but has been determined by those general laws and final causes in which God's fatherly voice has or has not been obeyed. Thus each man is a centre of influence extending over others; principles of one kind or another, like vibrations of sound or rays of light, speed forth to affect others as he has himself been modified in his character by influences acting upon him from without; and "known unto God are all things from the beginning of the world." He foresees the ultimate result of man's trial, and of his action upon others; but this foreknowledge does not necessitate the data upon which it is based. To suppose otherwise were to make all human exertion useless, and to render vain the offering of prayer; for man would be no more than a dumb puppet in the hand of a higher power. A long series of historical events takes place, and we may trace them back to human passion and human ambition in so many instances, as to be certain that all may be referred to secondary causes, and that the originating wisdom of God, and man's freedom of action, whereby the purposes of that wisdom are worked out, are no incompatible ideas in the sequence of events. Imagine those occurrences to be dramatized as in Schiller's *Trilogy*, and we have the fatalist's theory; the parts are cast, the dialogue is framed to suit the various characters, the incidents are worked up to their final issue, and when all is predetermined and arranged, the human actors appear, and give a life and reality to the story; each takes up his cue and expresses faithfully the poet's foreordained conceptions.

It need scarcely be asked which is most worthy of the Divine Wisdom; to dispose the affairs of human life by the reason of man formed after the Divine image, or by the blind action of arbitrary decrees? by the foresight and kindliness of an intelligent humanity, or by the stiffened attitudes of lay figures?

Fatalism has no place in the doctrines of the Church, though it may seem to enter into the idea of predestination, which, however, does not apply to individuals, but to the Body of Christ. That alone is predestined to glory, while the future condition of every separate member of the Church, and individual human being, is foreseen in the Divine Wisdom. Predestination expresses the general law whereby on certain conditions salvation is offered to all those who are called to the foreordained means of grace. The Bible nowhere speaks of individual predestination. But different sects have run wild, and developed from it a fatalism that is more repugnant to our sense of Divine goodness than the most extreme notion of heathen philosophy of old. It is very uncertain whether a distinct heresy of predestinarians ever existed before the Reformation [Mosheim, cent. V. v. 25; Fleury, *H. E.* X. xlix. 50]; but the expressions of St. Paul, imperfectly understood by some, and certain peculiar doctrinal statements of Augustine, carried out to their full logical consequences by others, have caused a variation of doctrine upon this deep subject even within the Church. Lucidus, shortly after the time of Augustine [A.D. 475], was condemned for his notions on an absolute individual predestination; but the question did not attract much notice, as pertaining entirely to the hidden things of God, until the fatalism of the Moslem conqueror brought the subject prominently forward. "A peine le prophète étoit mort qu'une dispute s'éleva entre les théologiens sur le dogme de prédestination" [Dr. A. Schmölder's *Essai*]. In the ninth century, Gotteschalc, known also as Fulgentius, declared that "God from all eternity had predestined some of the human race to life, others to death;" and the statement was synodically condemned [A.D. 860] as heretical. Luther's teaching in his work *De Servo Arbitrio* is very much to the same effect, though he afterwards modified it; and the extent to which the doctrine of Augustine was logically carried out by Calvin is well known [Calv. *Inst.* III. xx. 21-24, and *Comment. in Rom.* ix. 18]. As the graces of Christian life were held by Zuingli to be by the determinate decree of God, so also were the sins of the reprobate. But Augustine, however he may have expressed himself with regard to individual predestination, was careful to assert the entire free agency of man. That free agency is a portion of the secondary causation whereby God directs the course of the world; and by following our own free-will, we give effect to the principles of his government [Aug. *Civ. D.* V. ix. 3]. But it is not in the same wide spirit that he carries on his reasoning on predestination. The foreknowledge of God with him meant an individual foreknowledge and election; whereas it applies like every other link in the chain of election [Rom. viii. 29, 30] to the Body of Christ the Church; and as of old God said to His people by His Prophet, "You only have I known of all the families of the earth" [Amos. iii. 2], and He "knoweth them that trust in Him" [Nah. i. 7], so in the New Testament the foreknowledge of God is asserted not of individuals, however surely they may be foreknown, but with a purely practical reference to the Body of Christ, the "firstborn among many brethren."

Fatalism, ignored by theology, has however found a refuge in the schools of modern philosophy. It is a necessary element of Spinozism. All personal freedom of action is absorbed here in

the Universal One. We only think and act as the extended Deity, the mundane soul, thinks and acts by us. In ourselves we are free to do nothing. [Spinozism.] Hegel's system is a logical development of Spinoza's Pantheism. With him the Absolute is very freedom, and the Finite is only free so far as it is determined in its objectivity by the Absolute. Leibnitz wrote his *Theodicee* in opposition to the notion of Spinoza; but his "pre-established harmony" is as fatalistic as pantheism. It supposes such an harmonious interadaptation of the soul and body to each other, the motions and affections of either having been eternally foreordained, as to result in perfect unity of action [Theod. i. 62]. It was his way of evading the difficulty of the action of matter upon mind, which he judged to be simply impossible. But body and soul only had to act the part assigned to them, and the predetermined thoughts and purposes of the one coinciding accurately with the actions and accidents of the other, produced unity of action, but to the entire destruction of all free agency.

Predestination is the creed of Islam. "Ye cannot will, except the Lord willeth" [Korân, Sur. lxxxi.]. The doctrine was developed by the Prophet after the disastrous field of Ohod, when Mahomet revealed the law that every man had his appointed time, whether in bed or on the field of battle. Everything is "kismet," fated. This notion intoxicated the victorious Moslem with a resistless fanaticism; but it has had an enervating effect ever since; and the listlessness with which the Mahometan will allow his house to be laid in ashes, because it is "kismet," is a type of the political and moral enervation of the whole race. Uneducated ignorance among ourselves easily falls into the same error; fortunately it does not reason, or such principles would subvert not only the entire work of the Gospel, but the plainest duties of morality. Education in its higher and better sense is manifestly the remedy. God framed the laws of the moral and of the material world; the freedom of man's will is a part of those laws, and in proportion as he obeys the Gospel law of right, his mind gains its heavenward direction, and more and more of freedom; the light thus daily gained is the earnest to him of final acceptance, and of the complete fulfilment hereafter of the assurance, "if the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed" [John viii. 36]. [Cic. *de Divin. de Fato. de Nat. D.;* Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, v.; Grotius, *Philosophor. Sent. de Fato.* Gladstone's *Homer, Olympus* iv.; Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* I. i.; Laurent. Alticot. *Præf.* in p. vi. *Summæ Augustinianæ;* Milman, *Lat. Chr.* VIII. v.]

FATHERS, APOSTOLIC. The name of Apostolic Fathers is used to distinguish those disciples and contemporaries of the Apostles whose writings have been handed down to us; namely, Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, Barnabas, Ignatius, the author of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, Hermas, and Papias.

Their works are of no great extent, but are most valuable for the clear insight they give into the habits of thought, and the high spiritual-mindedness of the early Christians, and for the practical teachings they convey concerning Christian life and conversation. Many passages in them, especially in the epistles of Clement and Polycarp, are not wanting in beauty or dignity, although, in common with the writings of the Apostles themselves, the simple statement of Divine truth is their chief aim, rather than the elegance which distinguishes contemporary heathen literature. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers extend over a wide field of subjects—God, Christ, the Trinity, the nature and office of angels, the government of the Church, unity, peace, heresy, schism, martyrdom, the resurrection, sin, and its punishment, the sacraments, marriage, almsgiving, fasting, Christian life and conversation.

Clemens Romanus is in all probability the Clement styled "fellow-labourer" by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians [Phil. iv. 3]. Two epistles are ascribed to him. The authority of Eusebius [*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 38] is often given for regarding the second epistle as spurious, although, as Cotelerius observes, Eusebius does not rank it among spurious writings, but only says that it was very little known, and not quoted by the ancients. The first Epistle which is addressed to the Corinthians, is styled by Eusebius ἐπιστόλη μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία, and it is quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and others. Its date is a subject of some uncertainty. In the opening salutation, Clement speaks of "sudden and calamitous events" which had happened to the Church at Rome, referring probably to the Domitian persecution [A.D. 97], and not to that under Nero [A.D. 68], which broke out twenty-five years before Clement became Bishop of Rome. The epistle bears much resemblance to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the translation of which into Greek was sometimes ascribed by the early Church to Clement. It was written to reprove the same schismatical spirit in the Corinthian Church which St. Paul had reproved before.

The sharp rebukes of the Apostle seem for a time to have produced much effect on the Church at Corinth, and of this change Clement speaks in terms of high praise. But the evil spirit of strife and division had crept in again, and Clement, mourning it, exhorts the Corinthians to humility and peace, and urges upon them the example of the worthies of old time, Abraham, David, and many others, great in their humility. He bids them look to Christ Himself, "for Christ is of those who are humble-minded, not of those who exalt themselves." In a passage of great beauty, he shews how all the works of God, the heavens, the day and the night, "the fruitful earth, the vast immeasurable sea, are all subject in peace." He exhorts the Corinthians to good works, in hope of that resurrection of which nature itself is a continual emblem. These works cannot justify us, for "we are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by that faith through which from the beginning Almighty God has justified all men."

And yet, Clement exclaims, "God forbid that we should be slothful in good works, for the Lord cometh, and His reward is with Him, to give unto every man according as his work shall be." The epistle is especially remarkable for its exaltation of Christ. By Him all blessings are given to us. He is our Leader, and we His soldiers. And as obedience is the virtue of armies, so should obedience be the virtue of Christians, who are the soldiers of Christ. The subject of church government seems to have been the cause of the sedition and dissension in the Corinthian Church, and Clement declares that obedience to appointed ministers is the duty of Christians. Succession from the Apostles is that which above all gives authority and claim to obedience, because the Apostles were commissioned by Christ. "Christ was sent forth by God, and the Apostles by Christ. Having therefore received their orders, the Apostles went forth, proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through cities and countries, they appointed the first-fruits of their labours to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe." Clement concludes with exhortations to reconciliation, brotherly love, and submission to lawful authority. "Ye therefore who laid the foundation of this sedition submit yourselves to the presbyters, and receive correction, bending the knees of your hearts" [lvii.].

The Second Epistle of Clement bears no title. Eusebius says of it, "There is a second epistle, ascribed to Clement, but we know not that this is as highly approved as the former, and know not that it has been in use with the ancients" [*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 38]. It opens with the sentence, "It is fitting that you should think of Christ as of God, as the judge of the living and the dead." As in the first epistle, the glory of Christ is kept in view throughout, and the Christians are urged to confess Him by doing what He says, and honouring Him not with the lips only, but with all the heart. The Epistle contains an addition, probably taken from the Gospel according to the Egyptians (no longer extant), to our Lord's charge to His Apostles. In answer to the words, "Behold I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves," St. Peter is related to have said, "What then if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?" Jesus said, "The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear the wolves, and in like manner fear ye not them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you." Repentance, good works, and the confession of Christ in times of persecution are the chief subjects with which this epistle is occupied.

The Epistle of *Polycarp* to the Philippians is quoted in several places by Eusebius, and is thus spoken of by St. Jerome in the fourth century, "Polycarpus, Johannis apostoli discipulus, et ab eo Smyrnæ episcopus ordinatus, totius Asiæ princeps fuit. Scripsit ad Philippenses valde utilem epistolam, *quæ usque hodie in Asiæ conventu legitur*." The Epistle of Polycarp was written about the middle of the second century, and is mentioned by Irenæus in the same century. No doubt can exist as to its authenticity. St. Irenæus, who speaks of it in terms of high praise [*Adv. Hær.* iii. 3], was acquainted with Polycarp, and it was publicly used in the churches of Asia at least until the latter part of the fourth century. The Epistle of Polycarp echoes the praise which St. Paul had before bestowed on the Philippians. It contains exhortations to hope in Christ, to virtue, to patience, and to purity, and in this respect its injunctions bear a strong resemblance to those of St. Paul to Timothy. The presbyters are charged to be compassionate and merciful to all, to bring back the wandering, to visit the sick, and not to neglect the widow, the orphan, or the poor. Valens, formerly a presbyter of the Church at Philippi, is singled out by name as one towards whom compassion and mercy were especially to be exercised, and St. Ignatius of Antioch is mentioned with a charge to the Philippians to copy the example of steadfast patience, both in his long journey to the scene of his sufferings at Rome, and in the hour of death. The Epistle of Polycarp is remarkable for simple dignity of expression, and for its tone of unassuming and sincere piety.

The Epistle of *Barnabas* bears no title. As to its authorship, external and internal evidence are strongly opposed to each other. Eusebius, indeed, ranks it among spurious writings [*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25], but almost all other ancient writers ascribe it to Barnabas of Cyprus, the companion of St. Paul. Clemens Alexandrinus says εἰκότως οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας φησίν [*Stromat.* lib. ii.]. Origen says, γέγραπται δὴ ἐν τῇ Βαρνάβα καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ [*contra Celsum*, lib. i.]. And yet the judgment of later times may be summed up in the words of Cotelerius, who says of this epistle, "Certe vix credi potest, quod adeo eximius Apostolus, vir plenus Spiritu Sancto et fide, segregatus una cum Paulo a Sancto Spiritu in opus evangelii, et collega ejusdem apostoli in gentium apostolatu, ea scripserit quæ in opusculo præsenti continentur; coactas dico allegorias, enarrationes Scripturarum minus verisimiles, fabulas de animalibus." Such an "enarratio Scripturarum" is that by which the three boys who sprinkle the ashes of the slain heifer are explained to signify Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or where, after the sacrifice of the goat, the eating by the priests of its inward parts washed with vinegar is said to represent the giving of gall and vinegar to our Saviour on the cross [ch. vii. 7]. The date of the epistle is uncertain. The only clue which is given by internal evidence is in ch. xvi., where we learn that it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. Hefele assigns the period A.D. 107-120 as the probable date of its composition. Most critics agree in thinking that it is the work of a converted Alexandrian Jew. The writer states that his object is to add perfect knowledge to the faith of those to whom he writes. He points out that while even in former times the Jewish sacrifices were of far less value than mercy and truth, they are now altogether abolished, and that the man himself must be dedicated to God instead of the outward sacrifices of the law. The

oldest copy known to exist is contained in the Alexandrine MS. of the Old and New Testament.

The greater part of the epistle is, indeed, directed against the Jews; their fasts are declared to be no fasts, the scape-goat and the ashes of the heifer sprinkling the unclean are shewn to be types of Christ, and a spiritual meaning is given to the sanctity of the temple, to the observance of the Sabbath, to circumcision, and to the precepts of Moses respecting the eating of things clean and unclean. The writer refers several passages from Isaiah and Ezekiel to Christian baptism, explaining for instance Ezekiel xlvii. 12, "We indeed descend into the water full of sins and defilement, but come up bearing fruit in our heart, having the fear of God, and trust in Jesus" [xi.]. The cross of Christ is also shewn to be prefigured by the outstretched arms of Moses, and by the brazen serpent; and since all these things are types and signs of Christianity, the writer concludes that the covenant belongs no longer to the Jews, but to the Christian Church. It will be seen that the aims of the epistle are very similar to those of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but in the treatment of the subject the difference is very great, and the inferiority of the Epistle of Barnabas strongly marked.

Fifteen epistles in all have been ascribed to *Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch [martyred A.D. 107 or A.D. 116], namely, two to the Apostle St. John, one to the Virgin Mary, to Mary of Cassobelæ, to the Tarsians, to the Antiochians, to Hero of Antioch, to the Philippians, to the Ephesians, to the Magnesians, to the Trallians, to the Romans, to the Philadelphians, to the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp. It is universally admitted that the first eight are spurious. Eusebius, who enumerates the other epistles, does not mention them; and their internal evidence, with respect to history and chronology, furnishes full proofs against their genuineness. The remaining seven epistles have in their favour the strongest testimony of antiquity. They are quoted by Irenæus [*Adv. Hæres.* v. 28], by Origen, by Eusebius, by St. Chrysostom, by St. Jerome, and many others. The genuineness of the Epistle to Polycarp has been called in question more than that of any of the rest; but the evidence which Cotelerius and many others have adduced in its favour is overwhelming. The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, which was read in the churches of Asia, expressly mentions the Epistle of Ignatius (ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος). Polycarp survived Ignatius for nearly sixty years, and it is most unlikely that during his life-time an epistle, the original of which was addressed to himself, could be suppressed and a forgery put in its place. Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp, and had doubtless the same version as his master. He also quotes the epistles of Ignatius, according to the version we possess, and the Epistle to Polycarp among the rest. He is followed by Origen, by Eusebius, by St. Athanasius, by St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and Theodoret, who form a continuous chain of witnesses, and whose evidence is generally held to be conclusive in favour of the genuineness of the seven epistles, But here another question arises. There are three versions of these epistles, a longer and a shorter Greek of all, and a very brief Syriac version of three, brought, about 1840, from a monastery in the desert of Nitria. The longer Greek recension was first published in 1557, by Pacæus. Its claims were supported in 1710 by Whiston, but it is now universally considered to be an interpolated version of later times. The shorter Greek version was first edited by Archbishop Usher in 1644. In 1662 was published the work of Daillé, who denied the genuineness of either of the two recensions then known, the longer and the shorter Greek. Daillé was answered in 1672 by the celebrated *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ* of Bishop Pearson, who wrote in favour of the shorter Greek version, then generally accepted by scholars as the genuine work of St. Ignatius. The question was then set at rest until the discovery of the short Syriac version, which was published by Cureton in 1849, and asserted to be the genuine version, of which the two others were more or less interpolated copies. The Syriac epistles are only three in number, to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. Against their claims must be set the evidence of Eusebius, who enumerates seven epistles, and also their want of connection, and the abrupt transitions which seem to mark their fragmentary character. In favour of the genuineness of the shorter Greek version may be advanced: [1] The evidence of the Fathers, and especially Eusebius; [2] their natural mode of expression; [3] their utterances of fervent beliefs rather than dogmas; [4] their few quotations from the New Testament, which would indicate an early period, the writings of the later Fathers abounding in such quotations.

The seven epistles present to us the thoughts and feelings of a Christian martyr, and express a heartfelt desire for the maintenance of the unity of the Church. This unity is to be gained by a firm adhesion to the episcopal system of church government, which is strongly advocated in every epistle. St. Ignatius sees in the Church the Body of Jesus Christ, and follows St. Paul in the desire that no schism should be in that Body. In the episcopal system he sees the best means of promoting unity, and avoiding schism, and he therefore urges obedience to the bishop as head of each church, and to the priests and deacons under him. The prominent characteristics of St. Ignatius, as shewn in his epistles, are his deep and fervent love for Christ, and for the Church as the representative of Christ on earth, and his eager desire for martyrdom and rest with Christ. In his Epistle to the Ephesians, Ignatius commends their good order in God, and gives as a rule of Christian conduct towards the heathen, "Be ye meek in response to their wrath, humble in opposition to their boasting, and for their cruelty make manifest your gentleness."

In the Epistle to the Magnesians, their bishop Damas, the presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and the deacon Sotio, are mentioned by name.

The duty of common prayer is inculcated and the observance of the Lord's Day in opposition to the Jewish Sabbath. In the Epistle to the Trallians Ignatius charges them to do nothing without the bishop, and to be subject to the presbyters as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ. As to the necessity of the three orders of the ministry, he says, "Apart from these there is no church." In the Epistle to the Romans he anticipates the efforts which his friends would probably make to save him, whether by their prayers, or by their intercession with the emperor, and he entreats them to desist, calling himself "the wheat of God, which must be ground by the teeth of wild beasts to become the pure bread of Christ." The Epistle to the Philadelphians contains warnings against schism: "Take ye heed to have but one eucharist, for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup, . . . one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbyters and deacons, my fellow-servants." The Epistle to the Smyrnæans contains some passages against the Docetæ, for whom the faithful are bidden to pray to God. Many of its sentiments resemble the epistles of St. Paul, especially those to the Corinthians, Romans, and Philippians. In the Epistle to Polycarp, written from Troas, St. Ignatius speaks of his friend in terms of admiration and deep affection, and describes the duties of a shepherd of the flock.

The seven epistles were written during the journey of St. Ignatius to Rome, whither he was brought from Antioch to receive the crown of martyrdom.

The *Epistle to Diognetus* was first published in Greek in 1552. It is an eloquent account of Christianity and its effects, written to a Gentile, who was, as the writer tells us, desirous of inquiring earnestly into the Christian faith. Its author is unknown. The preceptor of Marcus Aurelius, whose name was Diognetus, has been supposed to be the person to whom it was addressed, but this would make it of a later date than the evidence of its early origin seems to assign for it. Clemens Romanus, Justin Martyr, and Quadratus, have been named as its authors. The epistle itself furnishes no clue as to its exact date. But its style seems to make a connecting link between the simplicity of the earlier Apostolic Fathers and the culture of the Apologists; and as it yet speaks of Christianity as a new thing, the early part of the second century may be fixed with greater probability than any other period for its date.

The writer begins by ridiculing idol worship, in terms not unlike those of Isaiah. He then shews that the Jews are in error also, because, although they worship the one true God, yet they offer to Him, as if He needed them, the same things which the Gentiles offer to their idols. The writer beautifully describes the condition of Christians in the world, and their manner of life. They live upon the earth, but are citizens of heaven. They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and yet they are condemned. They are poor, and make many rich. In short, what the soul is in the body the Christians are in the world. The soul dwells in the body, but it is not of the body; so the Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. The flesh hates and wars against the soul, suffering no wrong from it, but because it resists fleshly pleasures, and the world hates the Christians with no reason but that they resist its pleasures. Immortal, the soul dwells in the mortal body; so the Christians dwell in the corruptible, but look for incorruption in heaven. The epistle concludes with the praise of true knowledge.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* was first published in 1513. Its authorship has been ascribed to the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul [Rom. xvi. 14], and to a Hermas in the second century, brother of Pope Pius I. It is without doubt of a very early date, for it is quoted as scripture by Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus. It is also quoted by Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius and others. The opinion of Tertullian is sometimes asserted to be strongly opposed to its morality and high claims. But, as Cotelerius shews, his sentiments respecting it underwent a great change after his fall into Montanism. Before that time his opinion seems to have agreed with the general view, which estimated it so highly that it was read publicly in some churches, and down to the time of St. Jerome was believed to be the work of the Apostolic Hermas.

The book derived its name from one of the visions contained in it, in which a man, clothed as a shepherd, appears to Hermas, bringing the message that he was sent by an angel to instruct him. The work is divided into three books—[1] Visions, [2] Commandments, [3] Parables. In the first book the vision of an aged matron appears to Hermas, and shews him a tower which many persons are engaged in building, and which represents the Church. The second book contains twelve commandments delivered to Hermas by the shepherd from whom the book derives its name. The third book contains parables drawn from trees and vines, and the Church is again represented as a tower.

Papias was the author of a work in five books bearing the title λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις, or Interpretations of the Lord's discourses. These were traditions respecting the sayings of our Lord, and also contained several particulars concerning the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Matthew. The judgment of Eusebius on the merits of Papias as a writer varies in different parts of his history. In one place he calls him "a man well-skilled in all manner of learning, and well-acquainted with the Scriptures" [Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 36], and in another he terms him very limited in comprehension. Papias was a contemporary of Polycarp and Ignatius. His work only exists in fragments, which are found in Irenæus and Eusebius.

The editions of the Apostolic Fathers which will be found most valuable for reference and full information, are those by Cotelerius, Par. 1672, 2 vols. fol.; by Dr. Jacobson, Oxon. 1838, ed. iii. 1847, 2 vols.; and by Hefele, Tubingen, 1839, ed. iv. 1855, 1 vol. The work of Bishop Pearson

entitled *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, should also be consulted upon the controversy to which the epistles of St. Ignatius have given rise.

FATHERS. It would be impossible, within the limits of the present work, to give a complete article on a subject so great and important as the Fathers of the Church, or to do more than enumerate briefly the names, writings, and characteristics of those who have been most famous in the history of the Church.

Justin Martyr [A.D. 103-164], a philosopher of Samaritan origin, was converted at about thirty years of age, and became a successful defender of Christianity. [APOLOGY.]

St. Irenæus [A.D. 140-202 or 203], Bishop of Lyons for twenty-four years, was a disciple of St. Polycarp, and also of Papias, according to St. Jerome, who speaks of him as "a man of apostolic times, and a disciple of Papias, the hearer of John the Evangelist." He composed in Greek five books against heresy bearing the title, ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδονόμου γνώσεως βίβλια πέντε. He was also the author of a work against the Gentiles entitled περὶ ἐπιστήμης, and of some smaller treatises. He was extremely well versed in the history and discipline of the Church, and is called for that reason by Tertullian, "Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator."

St. Clement of Alexandria [died about A.D. 216] is the author of eight books of Stromata, eight books of instructions, and three books, commonly called the Pædagogue. St. Jerome says that no one ever had more knowledge than this Father, whose works abound in stores of learning, both Christian and profane. The work called Stromata, is, as its name denotes (Στρωματεῖς, a patchwork), a miscellaneous collection of learning, and among other subjects contains much information on Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Tertullian, whose full name was Septimius Florens Tertullianus [flourished A.D. 194-216], is the author of treatises on penance, baptism, the public spectacles, the dress and ornaments of women, and of an apology for the Christian religion. In later life he became a Montanist, and then wrote several works, of which the chief is that called De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum. Lactantius criticizes Tertullian as "in eloquendo parum facilis, et minus comptus, et multum obscurus." Vincent of Lerins, on the other hand, praises his learning and his forcible reasoning. The works of Tertullian abound in figures and metaphors, and he writes with great warmth on almost every subject which he handles.

Origen [born at Alexandria about A.D. 185], was the son of a martyr named Leonidas. He composed the first Hexapla copy of the Scriptures, and was the author of Commentaries on the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the books of Genesis and the Lamentations, on the first twenty-five Psalms, and on the minor prophets. One of his most celebrated works is that against Celsus, in eight books. His works shew great richness of thought and facility of invention, qualities which he possessed to such an extent that he is said to have dictated to seven or eight persons at once. His writings abound in allegory, and shew a profound knowledge not only of the Holy Scriptures, but of the Platonic philosophy. Origen died A.D. 252, at the age of sixty-five.

St. Cyprian [A.D. 200-258] was the author of a letter to Donatus, a treatise De Lapsis, treatises on the unity of the Church, on the conduct and apparel of virgins, on the vanity of idols, on the Lord's Prayer, on mortality, on martyrdom, on patience, and on envy. Lactantius says "that St. Cyprian is the first Christian author who possessed true eloquence, and that his writings, distinguished as they are by fertility of invention and great perspicuity of thought, exhibit the three qualities required by an orator, the power to teach, to please, and to persuade." St. Cyprian called Tertullian his master, but his writings much excel those of that Father in clearness and elegance of expression. The chief subjects of which he treats are the power of the priesthood, penance, and original sin. Most of his works seem to have been in the form of letters. St. Augustine calls the treatises respecting Donatus and the books on unity and envy by that name. St. Cyprian was elected Bishop of Carthage A.D. 248.

St. Gregory Thaumaturgus [consecrated Bishop of Neocæsarea about A.D. 240, died A.D. 265] is the author of an address to Origen, celebrated for the rhetorical skill which it displays, and of a paraphrase upon Ecclesiastes.

St. Dionysius of Alexandria [Bishop of Alexandria A.D. 247] was the author of many epistles to contemporary bishops, of several works against heresy, and treatises on doctrine and discipline. His writings are enumerated in the catalogue of St. Jerome.

Lactantius, tutor of Crispus, son of the Emperor Constantine, wrote [A.D. 320], in defence of Christianity, seven books of institutions, which form his most celebrated work. He is also the author of treatises "on the Word of God," and on persecution, two books to Asclepiades, and eight books of epistles. His writings are celebrated for their classical elegance of language, and for their resemblance to the style of Cicero. St. Jerome, however, says of Lactantius that he was better able to confute heathen errors than to support Christian doctrines.

Eusebius, surnamed Pamphilus [died A.D. 338], was Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine. He is the author of six books of Apology for Origen, fifteen books of Evangelical Preparation, twenty books of Evangelical Demonstration, a Chronicle from the Creation down to the reign of Constantine, and an Ecclesiastical History in ten books, the last being his most important work, as it furnishes almost all the information we possess respecting the early history of the Church. The succeeding ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, take up the history at the point where that of Eusebius breaks off, and thereby recognise the important place which the work of Eusebius occupied in their time. His writings are the fruit of great labour and study, and are not only valuable in themselves, but also of great impor-

tance on account of the numerous fragments of other writers which they contain. St. Basil calls Eusebius διὰ πολυπειρίαν ἀξιοπίστος, and St. Jerome, even though in common with many others he seems to have suspected him of heresy, uses the words "Vir doctissimus Eusebius, doctissimum dico, non Catholicum." The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius was first translated by Ruffinus, with the omission of the tenth book, and with such free handling of the text that his work in many places resembles a paraphrase rather than a translation.

St. Athanasius [Bishop of Alexandria A.D. 326, died A.D. 373] was the author of many works, almost entirely on controversial subjects. The Eastern Church was at that time greatly harassed by heresy, and St. Athanasius both by word of mouth and by his writings was the foremost worker in contending with it. A letter written to him by St. Basil, at a time of especial danger to the truth, is preserved, in which the latter says, "No one is more able to accomplish this (the suppression of the Arian heresy) than yourself, from sagacity in council and energy in action, and sympathy with the troubles of the brethren, and the reverence felt by the West for your hoary head." The greater part of the works of St. Athanasius are apologies for his own doctrines or conduct, and attacks against the Arians. Of the former class his apology addressed to the Emperor Constantius is most celebrated. Like all his other works it is written in the form of a letter.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem [died A.D. 386] was Bishop of that place. He is the author of eighteen catechetical discourses which explain the doctrines of Christianity with great clearness, and shew signs of deep learning and of a most profound acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, which he brings to bear on every point of which he treats.

St. Hilary [A.D. 350–367] was Bishop of Poictiers in France. He wrote against the Arians a work on the Trinity in twelve books. At the instance of the Arian party he was banished by the Emperor Constantius to Phrygia, where he wrote a treatise on synods, dedicated to the Bishops of France. He was also the author of addresses to Constantius, and of a treatise against Ursacius and Valens, which contained the history of the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia.

St. Basil [born A.D. 328] was appointed to the Bishopric of Cæsarea after the death of Eusebius. He is the author of works against the heresies of Eunomius, on the Creation, on the Holy Spirit, on Baptism, on Virginity, and also of ascetical writings, and many homilies and epistles. The last are the most interesting of all his writings. They set before us the anxieties and troubles, the hopes and fears, the friendships and daily habits of one of the most prominent and remarkable men among the great Fathers of the fourth century. His friend St. Gregory Nazianzen says of him, "When I read his treatise on the Creation, methinks I am present with the Creator, when I read what he has written of the Holy Spirit I acknowledge the God whom I possess, when I hear his praises of the martyrs I despise my own body."

St. Gregory Nyssen [A.D. 332-396], so called from his Bishopric of Nyssa, was a brother of St. Basil, and wrote, like him, against the heresy of Eunomius. He is also the author of a valuable catechetical discourse, intended more particularly for the instruction of Jews and heathens. St. Gregory Nyssen has followed Origen in his extensive use of allegory. His works also shew great knowledge of the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle.

St. Gregory Nazianzen [born A.D. 329, died A.D. 389], so called from his birthplace near Nazianzus in Cappadocia, is the author of fifty-five extant sermons, a treatise on the book of Ecclesiastes, many letters and poems. The poems of St. Gregory are among the most beautiful productions of Christian antiquity. His thoughts for morning and evening, as translated by Dr. Newman, may speak for themselves.

Morning.

I rise and yield my claspèd hands to Thee,
Henceforth the darkness hath no part in me,
Thy sacrifice this day;
Abiding firm, and with a freeman's might,
Stemming the waves of passion in the fight.
Ah! should I from Thee stray,
My hoary head, Thy table where I bow,
Will be my shame, which are mine honour now.
Thus I set out;—Lord, lead me on my way!

Evening.

O Holiest Truth, how have I lied to Thee
I vowed this day Thy festival should be;
Yet I am dim ere night.
Surely I made my prayer and I did deem
That I could keep in me Thy morning beam
Immaculate and bright.
But my foot slipped, and, as I lay, he came,
My gloomy foe, and robbed me of Heaven's flame.
Help Thou my darkness, Lord, till I am light.

St. Gregory was for three years patriarch of Constantinople, and defended the truth effectively at one of the most perilous epochs in the Church's history. In spite of much opposition and personal danger, he preached and spoke against the Arian heresy with such success in the end that he has been called the Divine.

St. Ambrose [A.D. 340-396], consecrated Bishop of Milan in 374, wrote a treatise on Paradise, two books upon the life of Abraham, works on the Benefits and Advantages of Death, and on the Duties of the Clergy, Expositions of the Psalms, a Commentary on St. Luke, and treatises on Penance and Morality. The text of the works of St. Ambrose has been more corrupted than that of any other Father. His works on Morality are considered the best of his writings, and shew signs of having had most labour expended on them, but his letters, especially those addressed to the emperors, are very celebrated.

St. Chrysostom [born A.D. 347, died A.D. 407]. The number of St. Chrysostom's works is so great that it is hardly possible to give a complete catalogue of them. Suidas says that there is no part

of the Bible on which he did not write a commentary. He was the author, for instance, of more than seventy homilies on the book of Genesis alone. Among his other numerous works are a book against the Gentiles and Jews to prove the Divinity of Christ, treatises on the Monastic life, six books on the Priesthood, three books on Divine Providence, and Liturgies.

St. Jerome [born A.D. 345, died A.D. 420], is the author of many letters, of which that to Nepotian is perhaps the most remarkable. Its aim is, as St. Jerome himself says, to teach the person to whom it is addressed to be a perfect minister of the Gospel. Another epistle is addressed to Lucinius, and contains these words, "Ecclesiastical traditions, not contrary to the faith, ought to be observed after the same manner that we received them from our ancestors. And I am persuaded that the custom of one church is not to be abolished, because of a contrary one in use in another church." St. Jerome is also the writer of a Catalogue of Ecclesiastical authors, a Latin version of the Bible from the Hebrew text, Commentaries on the Prophets, upon Ecclesiastes, and upon the New Testament. It is a curious fact that St. Jerome's translation of the Holy Scriptures was at first viewed by the Church with considerable suspicion as an innovation, St. Augustine himself saying that it would have been better to have remained satisfied with the Septuagint. St. Jerome frequently calls his translation "the Hebrew truth," to assert its correctness and purity. [VULGATE.]

Ruffinus, a priest of Aquileia, was the author of many translations and original works. Among the former class are his translations of Josephus, the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, the De Principiis of Origen, and many of his homilies. These works are rather paraphrases than translations. The chief original works of Ruffinus are two books of Ecclesiastical History added to the translation of Eusebius, and continuing the history to the death of the Emperor Theodosius, two books called Invectives, written against St. Jerome, an Exposition of the Creed, Commentaries upon the Prophets Hosea, Joel, and Amos, and upon the Psalms, and an apology addressed to Pope Anastasius.

St. Augustine [born A.D. 354, consecrated Bishop of Hippo 395, died 430], was the author of Confessions in thirteen books, a work on Order in two books, works on the Immortality of the Soul, on Free Will, on Christian Doctrine, on the Grace of Jesus Christ, on Original Sin, on Predestination, on Perseverance; treatises against the Jews, controversial works against the Donatists, Manichees, and Pelagians, and of many letters and sermons. His great work *De Civitate Dei* is divided into twenty-two books. The first ten of these contain answers to the objections commonly made to Christianity, and the remaining part of the work is devoted to establishing its truth.

St. Cyril of Alexandria [consecrated Bishop of Alexandria A.D. 412, died 444] wrote on the adoration and worship of God in spirit and in truth, on Isaiah, on the Pentateuch, and on the Gospel of St. John, Paschal Homilies, treatises against the Nestorians, a work in ten books against the Emperor Julian, and many letters which are valuable for the information they furnish respecting the history of the Council of Ephesus.

Socrates [born about A.D. 380]. He undertook a continuation of the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius to the year 440. His work consists of seven books, which give an account of the great events that had happened between A.D. 309, where the history of Eusebius ends, and 440. It is especially valuable, on account of the care with which Socrates has referred to original records, and the account which he has given of the discipline of the Church.

Sozomen was a contemporary of Socrates, and undertook a similar work somewhat longer than that of Socrates, and dedicated to the younger Theodosius.

Theodoret [born A.D. 386, consecrated bishop of Cyrus in Syria in 420], was the author of a Commentary in questions and answers on the first eight books of the Bible, commentaries on the Psalms, the Prophets, and St. Paul's Epistles, and an ecclesiastical history, which begins where that of Eusebius ends, and carries the history to A.D. 428.

St. Leo [consecrated Bishop of Rome A.D. 440] wrote many treatises and letters on doctrine, discipline, history and morals. His sermons are very valuable.

The Fathers here mentioned are the most illustrious in that roll of great names which begins with the disciples of the Apostles, and ends with St. Bernard, whose learning and sanctity were famous in the earlier half of the twelfth century. Many other names will be found in Dupin's *Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, as well as a careful analysis of all their more important writings.

The works of the Fathers form one of the most precious parts of the inheritance of the Church. The words of saints who lived almost in Apostolic times, the words of saints who, from these, received the teachings which the Apostles had given by word of mouth, must be regarded with profound veneration and respect. And herein is indicated the light in which the writings of the Fathers should be viewed by us. So far as they are messengers for the Apostles, as the Apostles were messengers for Christ, their words and sentiments require implicit submission on the part of succeeding generations. But as they speak for themselves as individuals, either in commentaries on the Scriptures, or in expositions of doctrine, we must regard them as witnesses, and not attach to their words a higher honour than would have been given to them in their own day. Many passages in their own writings seem to point to this distinction. Thus Irenæus says of Polycarp: "He always taught what he had learned from the Apostles, what the Church had handed down, and what is the only true doctrine." The early Church appears to have received this sacred charge of apostolic tradition almost as Holy Scripture,

but to have considered the private teachings of the Fathers in much the same point of view as we should consider those of great and holy men who have lived during and since the Middle Ages. Tertullian fell into Montanism. The opinions of Origen made him so unpopular that his bishop Demetrius compelled him to leave Alexandria. St. Gregory blames St. Basil; St. Augustine sends word to St. Jerome that the translation of the Scriptures which the latter had undertaken would in his opinion do harm to the cause of the Church. Eusebius was charged, though in all probability unjustly, with heresy by St. Jerome. Ruffinus inveighs against St. Jerome. Each of the Fathers, in short, had to maintain himself against the attacks, not of heretics and schismatics only, but of good men and saints who differed from him. And if such was the view of the early Church, it would be an unjust burden on individual consciences in our own day, to attempt to force on them the acceptance of all the sentiments contained in the writings of the Fathers. They are witnesses, whose testimony is of the highest importance because, living, as they did, very near that Apostolic period, the doctrines and belief of which form our rule of faith, they are able to speak with greater authority and knowledge than men who lived in later times. The Fathers are also not only important witnesses to those councils of the Church which were held in their lifetime, but interpreters from whose writings we may gather the sense in which the decrees of those councils were interpreted in the age, when the men who had composed them were yet living and in the midst of their labours.

To the French Benedictines of St. Maur we owe the best editions of the separate texts of most of the Fathers. The *Maxima Bibliotheca veterum Patrum et antiquorum Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, published at Lyons in 1677 in twenty-seven folio volumes (one of which contains an index of subjects), is the best and latest edition of the Latin collection of the Fathers which was first published at Paris in 1575 by De La Bigne. A supplementary volume, containing an index to the texts of Holy Scripture, was published at Genoa in 1707. Andrea Gallandi, an Oratorian, was the editor of a very valuable *Bibliotheca* which appeared at Venice in fourteen folio volumes, 1765-81, in which is comprised a fuller collection of the *Opuscula* of minor writers, with the Christian *Apologiæ* and the *Acta Martyrum sincera;* and the original Greek texts are accompanied by Latin translations. A very convenient and cheap series of reprints of Fathers and Mediæval writers, extending over a wide range, is, and has been for some years, in course of publication at Paris, by the Abbé Migne, entitled *Patrologiæ Cursus;* the series has already reached a great number of large octavo volumes. An account of all the collections of Fathers and ecclesiastical writers published up to the year 1700 is given in *Ittigii Tractatus de Bibl. Patr.*, Lips. 1707; and from that date to the year 1838 in J. G. Dowling's *Notitia Scriptorum SS. Patrum* &c., Oxon. 1839.

FESTIVALS, or Holy Days. Days set apart by the Church, either for the remembrance of some special mercies of God, such as the Birth and Resurrection of Christ, the descent of the Holy Ghost, &c., or in memory of the great heroes of the Christian religion, the blessed Apostles, and other saints. The system originated under the Old Testament dispensation, it being by direct command of God that the Jewish Church kept festivals to His honour. "Why doth one day excel another, when as all the light of every day in the year is of the sun? By the knowledge of the Lord they were distinguished, and He altered seasons and feasts, some of them hath He made high days and hallowed them, and some of them hath He made ordinary days" [Ecclus. xxxiii. 7-9].

Thus also it has been in the Christian Church under the guidance of the Spirit. It was natural that she should ever keep in memory the actions of her Lord. As each Friday was a fast in remembrance of His Death, so was each Sunday a festival to commemorate His Rising. In time each great event of that most precious Life had its memorial day, and to these were added commemorations of those who followed in His train, the saints and martyrs of His Church.

The Christian year naturally divides itself into two parts, the first beginning with Advent and ending with Trinity Sunday, the second consisting of the Sundays after Trinity. In the first the great events of the Gospel are brought before us, in the second the duties resulting therefrom. Advent tells us of the coming of our Lord in glory, and prepares us for the celebration of His coming in humility at Christmas. Then follow in due order His Circumcision, Epiphany (including both His manifestation to the Magi and His Baptism), His fasting and temptation, His Agony, His Passion, His precious Death and Burial, His glorious Resurrection, His forty days' sojourn upon earth with His disciples, and lastly, His "wonderful" Ascension to the right hand of the Father. Then we have the feast of Pentecost, and last of all, fitly closing the series, the festival of the ever Blessed Trinity.

Thus every year the whole Gospel story is as it were enacted before our eyes, and then follow the exhortations to practice, to fulfil in daily life the duties of the Christian religion.

The celebrations of saints and martyrs are distributed throughout the whole year. They are of very great antiquity. At first it was usual for each Church to celebrate those martyrs who had been more immediately connected with it.[1] But in course of time the more eminent were commemorated by the whole Church. The anniversary of a martyr's death was called his "natalitia"[2] or birthday, and was usually observed by a meeting

[1] *e.g.* The Church of Antioch celebrated the memory of St. Ignatius year by year after A.D. 117 (the date of his martyrdom), and the Church of Smyrna [Euseb. iv. 15] that of St. Polycarp.

[2] Cf. the beautiful words of St. Ignatius [*Ep. ad Rom.*], *ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπίκειται . . . μὴ ἐμποδίσητέ μοι ζῆσαι, μὴ θελήσητέ μοι ἀποθανεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

of Christians at the place of burial, by reading the acts of his martyrdom, and by a celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Tertullian [*De Coron.* c. 3] mentions this practice of yearly celebrating the martyrs' *births* as being received from the tradition of the Church. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus is said to have enjoined some of these festivals in order to take the place of those heathen festivals which his converts had been wont to keep.[1]

The festivals of the English Calendar are in all one hundred and forty-nine (including Sundays). Of these, sixty-three are in honour of our Blessed Lord, three of God the Holy Ghost, one of the Holy Trinity, one of the Holy Angels, five of the Blessed Virgin, twenty-two of saints associated with our Lord, and fifty-four of other saints. Of festivals there are two main classes, viz., greater and lesser, or major and minor.[2] The former have proper Collects, Epistles and Gospels, and Lessons. Some have also a "Proper Preface" at Holy Communion, and Proper Psalms. The latter are only named in the Calendar. All should be marked by some change in the services and ritual of the Church; the minor festivals being suitably observed by an office hymn referring to the saints in whose memory they are instituted.

As the date of the observance of Easter varies year by year, it follows that those feasts which depend upon Easter are also "moveable feasts." These are Septuagesima, Rogation Sunday, Ascension Day, Whitsun Day, and Trinity Sunday. The number of Sundays after Epiphany and Trinity, and the date of the Fast of Ash-Wednesday, depend of course upon Easter also. Advent Sunday is the nearest Sunday to the Feast of St. Andrew, whether before or after. [See Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, part i. c. 7; Bishop Sparrow's *Rationale;* Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer.*]

FETICHISM. Fetich, a term introduced by De Brosses [*Culte des Dieux Fétiches*, 1760], is a corruption by French traders to the Senegal of the Portuguese word "fetisso," a wooden idol. The origin of the word is obscure. It may be derived from "fatum" [*Ersch. u. Gr.*], or from "facere" [Herzog.], and if this last be the etymon, it stands in some relation with "fetialis," a "faciendo" [Festus]; though this latter word is more probably a derivative from the pre-Roman language and associations of Latium. The idea conveyed by fetichism is the very lowest form of barbarous superstition and belief in the preternatural; a notion of weird influence attaching to natural objects as the means of propitiating witchcraft and demoniacal malice. The gods of the Mesopotamian contemporaries of Abraham, the teraphim of Laban's household, the Pelasgic ξόανα, the bulls and falcons of Nineveh, the animal worship of Egypt, the Dionysian phallus, all had a fetich cast; for whatever natural object excites interest or dread, as the symbol of any particular form of power, is liable to be regarded with superstition. A stone of unusual shape, a tree of morbid growth, or the more prominent features of a landscape, mountain, forest, and lake, are objects of fetich worship; and, much more, such elements of dread as the storms of the tropics, and its beasts of prey, the lion, tiger, and bear; a fang or claw of which is venerated as the representative of the entire animal. On the Benin coast a negro's own shadow is his fetich as an emblem of the inevitable. At Cape Coast, a rock that runs into the sea from the base of the cliff on which the castle stands, is the "genius loci:" annual sacrifices are made to it, and the fetich priest receives in answer a direction for successful fishery. There are also artificial imitations of natural objects, with which our museums abound, to which the same "uncanny" notions are attached as to the originals; but they are generally copies of inanimate nature, as idolatry forms for itself representations of animal life. It is believed that these objects have life and thought, that they can do good and harm, and that by an influence imparted to the fetich priest he too gains the power of reading the thoughts of men, and nothing is hidden from him. Each tribe on the Guinea Coast, each family and individual, has its own familiar spirit, to which daily offerings are made of meal or honey, brandy or tobacco. Even self-mortifying acts and deeds of painful penance are within the scope of fetichism; and a promise or a declaration made while touching the object of veneration is sacred. Supplications are made to these idols before engaging in a forage or hunting expedition, and on the return it is a matter of indifference whether game from the hunting-ground, or a human victim from the conquered tribe, be the offering that is made. An unsuccessful expedition has a different result, for the fetich object is then insulted, and beaten and burnt as unworthy of any further confidence. Fetichism is the rudest form of Pantheism; it is the Spinozism of the forest and the jungle. The North American Indian worships the spirit of life in the various Manitous of bird, beast, and fish, the enchanted amulets that are to him as safeguards against accident and disease.

In the Shamanism of Tartary and Mongolia fetichism is reduced into something like system. The Shaman professes, by means of his mastery over the powers of nature and by magical incantations, to declare the future and unravel the past, to cure diseases and avert the wrath of evil spirits. Shamanism is a polytheistic belief in gods create and uncreate, existing in the shape of the heavenly bodies, or as animals and idols. It has faith in a future state, in which either earthly objects of interest will be renewed, or man's present condition will be reversed; the strong will become weak, the rich poor, the hunter will be timid, the coward brave. But it is the faith of a metensomatist, that some will live again as brutes. When various states of being have been endured, the supreme bliss of annihilation in the substance of the universal will be attained; and

[1] St. Greg. Nyss. *Vita St. Greg. Thaumat.*, Op. ii. 1007.

[2] Called also "red-letter" and "black-letter" days, from the fact that the former are printed in red, the latter in black, in the Calendar.

in this, as in the worship of the god Fo, it occupies common ground with Brahminism. The systems of Confucius in China and of Zerdusht in Persia superseded these superstitions. Shamanism takes the form of Lamaism among the Mongols and Calmucs, Thibet having given birth to it. Here the highest god is worshipped as Shigemooni, and the Grand Lama as his vicegerent; not merely *qua* representative, but as the very deity, from whom nothing is concealed. Thus fetichism at times seems to raise itself to something like belief in the unity of the Deity, and the responsibility of man; but in every other respect its history is a dismal picture of the deep degradation into which unaided human nature is sure to fall. [Ritter's *Erdkunde*, Africa; Tennent's *Ceylon;* Meiner's *Allgem. Gesch. d. Rel.;* Sir G. Grey, *Polyn. Mythol.;* Shortland, *New Zealand.*]

FILIOQUE. This word represents the inveterate schism that has divided the Church Catholic into two sections, an Eastern and a Western Communion, since the ninth century. It was inserted by the Latin Church in the Nicene Creed, which had only stated the Procession of the Holy Spirit to be from the Father. The Western Church, judging by the analogy of Scripture and certain expressions of doctrine in Fathers of the Greek Church [Harvey *on the Creeds*, 449, 450], that the procession of the Holy Spirit was from the Father and the Son, inserted the term "Filioque." This insertion was made without any competent authority by the third Council of Toledo [A.D. 589], when it was also determined that the Nicene Creed with this addition should be chanted as a portion of the liturgy for the edification of the people. The first objection taken to this insertion is found in the epistle of the Confessor Maximus, a monk of Constantinople, who challenged the assertion of Martin, Bishop of Rome, for saying that the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son [Max. *Conf.* tom. iii. p. 62]. This was in the middle of the seventh century, Maximus having died A.D. 662. After the lapse of a century, at a council held at Gentilly in the reign of King Pepin [A.D. 767], the Emperor Constantine being represented by Greek ambassadors, the subject was agitated between the Eastern envoys and the Western divines as an innovation in the matter of doctrinal statement. In A.D. 790 a Council was held by Charlemagne at Frioul, under the presidency of Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, who took the opportunity of denouncing the insertion of the word "Filioque" in the Nicene Creed. The question was next discussed at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the council convoked by Charlemagne [A.D. 809], and referred for Papal decision; Bernard, Bishop of Worms, and Abelard, Abbot of Corby, being sent to Rome for that purpose. Pope Adrian I. found himself in the dilemma of having either to condemn a statement that was in strict accordance with the analogy of faith, or of authorizing the retention of a word in the Nicene symbol that had been inserted by no sufficient synodal authority, and in direct contravention to the prohibition of subsequent councils. The envoys approached in dialectical form; first they extorted the admission that the statements of the Nicene Creed were points of necessary faith; then that it must be taught and embodied in the public services of the Church; here the Pope made a stand, and allowing that the Creed might be chanted in the Liturgy, he denied that any addition could be made to its terms; the envoys allowed that "Filioque" had been so inserted, and declared that many thousands in the Christian Church had become used to the term; but the Pope remained inflexible; it had been well if the Fathers of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Councils had inserted the word, but they had failed to do this, and it was now inadmissible. If the Spanish Churches since the third Council of Toledo had incorporated the term, it was no guide for others. The envoys urged the danger of removing a term to which the people had become accustomed; it would seem like a virtual denial of the doctrine. The Pope replied, "If my advice had been asked at first, I should have counselled you not to insert the word; as matters now stand, I should wish you to discontinue chanting the Creed in the Palatine service, as it is not the practice to chant it here; and soon all other churches will follow the fashion of the court, when that which has been introduced without authority may be allowed to drop into desuetude." The Conference, however, had no practical result, for the Gallican Church continued to chant the Creed with the doubtful term; the Roman Church merely retained its catechetical use, without the Filioque. But the Creed was engraved in Greek and Latin on two plates of silver, and suspended on either side of the entrance to the sepulchre of St. Peter.

Photius, the schismatical intruder into the see of Constantinople, having been condemned by the Roman See, in retaliation wrote a circular letter to the Patriarch of Alexandria and others, in which he denounced the insertion of "Filioque" in the Nicene Creed by the churches of the West, and inveighed against it as a horrible heresy, introducing a principle of dualism into the Holy Trinity [A.D. 866]. A letter written to him by Pope Marinus I. [A.D. 880] shews that the Church of Rome still held out against the adoption of the term, which was confined to the churches of Spain and France. It was made a point of accusation however by the papal legates, who proceeded to Constantinople to pronounce the sentence of excommunication on Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1054; and whereas his opinions were identified with various heresies, he was accused of Macedonian error, in that he denied the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. Michael Cerularius complained that the term was a Western interpolation [*Ep. ad Petr. Antioch.*]; and the Patriarch of Antioch was of opinion that such an unauthorized tampering with a venerable document deserved to be anathematized. At a council held by the Pope at Bari, A.D. 1098, where Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, was present, the subject was brought up again in the presence

of Eastern bishops, and an anathema was pronounced against all who denied the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. Three years later, Anselm put forth his treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, which may still be read with great advantage. In it he carefully distinguishes the attributes of each Person in the Holy Trinity, and shews that the Person which proceeds not from another is its principle; so the Father is the principle of the Son and of the Holy Spirit because He proceeds from neither, and in the same way the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son because the Son proceeds not from the Spirit. The Spirit is God of God as is the Son, and proceeds from the Father, not *qua* Father, but from the Father as God; whence it follows that He proceeds also from the Son, who is God equally with the Father. He then discusses the scriptural authority for the Latin statement, and denies that the churches of the West had, by their addition, contravened at all the general meaning of this part of the Creed; they adopted the Greek Creed, but translated it for the use of the people; in fact it was a new creed; and in renouncing it, it was neither necessary nor possible to incite the co-operation of the Greek Churches. Their own independent course of action was open to them as of old. Another treatise on the subject was written at Constantinople by Hugh of Eteria, in consequence of a desire expressed by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus to know the authority on which the Latins had inserted their "Filioque" [A.D. 1177]; but it is written in a very different style, is full of Aristotelian subtleties, and wants the order and method of Anselm. On the other hand, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, Michael, Patriarch of Constantinople, expressed the general feeling of the Eastern Church towards the Latins in these terms: "It would be a righteous act to anathematize the Latins and term them heretics. But the orthodox Fathers have passed a lighter sentence; they have cut off and abjured the Latins, but have not actually declared them heretics; neither have they adjudged to them the punishment due to heresy" [*Allat. de Consens. Eccl.* p. 617]. In A.D. 1234, a conference was held in the Imperial Palace at Nice, whither the Pope sent four nuncios, for the purpose of adjusting, if possible, the differences between the Churches of the East and West. There a new turn in favour of the West was given by the Eastern divines; for when the Nicene Creed had been read, the Latins demanded that the Creed, as enlarged by the Constantinopolitan addition, should also be recited; then it was asked by the Latins "how came those Fathers to add anything to a creed that was guarded by so severe an anathema as the Nicene?" It was answered that the addition was only by way of explanation, that it was virtually no new matter; that the Creed remained integrally the same as before. Then said the Latins, "Neither have we introduced new matter; our 'Filioque' is only a single word of explanation in development of the doctrine already contained in the words of the Creed." The Emperor pronounced an emphatic καλῶς, but both sides remained of the same opinion as before. The Roman envoys, however, agreed to remain for a couple of months, that a council might be assembled before the close of Lent, and a decision taken upon another subject of difference, the use of leavened bread or of the unleavened wafer in the Eucharist. But upon this question also no nearer approach was made at the Council of Nymphæa. The envoys demanded that upon both points the Latin practice should be affirmed, and that all which had been written by the Greeks "per contra" should be anathematized and burnt; in the end, however, they parted, mutually retorting upon each other charges of heresy. Later in the same century, overtures for reconciliation were made by Pope Urban IV., when pressed by demands for internal reforms; Michael Palæologus also, the Greek Emperor, threatened on his side by a combination of the Latin Emperor Baldwin with Charles King of Sicily, and hemmed in by the Turks within the walls of Constantinople, readily listened to the proposal of sending representatives to a Western Council. This was held at Lyons [A.D. 1274] under Gregory X. The Greek bishops were compelled by the Emperor to sign a previous declaration of submission to his will, *i.e.* to vote as he bade them; those who had the courage to resist were transported to distant isles, and the rest were then despatched to the council. The Pope celebrated mass in the Church of St. John at Lyons, on the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul; the Epistle and Gospel were read in Latin and Greek, and the Nicene Creed chanted in Greek, the Filioque clause being thrice repeated; this was done also twice again after the Emperor's letter, acknowledging the papal primacy, had been read in council. Serious disturbances were caused in the East on this being known, which were repressed with the utmost cruelty. No real union having been effected, for the assent of the Greek bishops at Lyons had been extorted by fear, Pope Martin IV. excommunicated Michael Palæologus as a dissembler who had profanely trifled with the council. Seven years later [A.D. 1281], Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, put forth his tome upon the subject of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which has always been accepted as a model of sound doctrine in the Greek Church. The statement of John of Damascus that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father by the Son is declared to be inapplicable to the Being of the Holy Spirit, but referable only to His eternal manifestation. The document was read aloud in the church, and at the close of each article those who held any opposite error were anathematized by name. It was then subscribed by the Emperor Andronicus, the patriarch, and bishops. The clergy also were invited to sign the document, but they remembered the disastrous result of the subscription before the Council of Lyons [A.D. 1274], and many preferred deposition to signing what appeared to them a sophistical gloss upon the words of John Damascene. After the lapse of more than a century and a half, the question was reproduced at the Council of Ferrara [A.D. 1438], at which re-

presentatives of the Greek Church attended. In the fifteenth session ancient documents referring to the subject were read, viz. the Nicene Creed, the prohibition by the Council of Ephesus of any after additions, with similar decrees of the four next General Councils. It is no matter of surprise that, after so long a controversy, some ingenious hand should have tried to cut the knot by forging the link of evidence that was wanting to make good the position of the West. Such an attempt, in fact, was made at the Council of Ferrara; a document was produced purporting to be a Greek copy of the Acts of the Second Nicene General Council [A.D. 785], in which the Procession of the Spirit was affirmed to be from the Father and the Son. But the Greek envoys were not to be deceived by so flimsy a pretence; and as the Latin Church had never before produced the document, of so much importance to their cause, it was rightly adjudged to be a forgery. The same ground was then taken as before in the conference at Nice [A.D. 1234]; and seeing that the Council of Constantinople had added to the Nicene Creed clauses in explanation of the function of the Holy Spirit; seeing also that both before and after the Council of Ephesus the Greek Church had added words of explanation to certain terms of the Nicene Creed to define its meaning more accurately as against the heresies of the East; so it was argued that the Latin Church had full power to translate for herself the symbol, and to add the single word explanatory, that should express the true faith against heresy in the West: that if the Ephesine Council forbade any addition to the Nicene Creed, it was done to estop the Nestorian party, who had prepared for themselves a false symbol: one Charisius had indicated this creed to the Council, and accompanied it with his own few verbal additions to the Nicene Creed; the heretical form was condemned, but not that of the orthodox delator; which certainly must have been the case if the addition to the Nicene symbol of a few explanatory words, however true and orthodox, had been forbidden; hence, if that Council prohibited for the future all fresh expositions of the faith, this was understood to apply to false symbols only; for the Greek Church knew well that it was competent for any part of the Church Catholic to define the rule of faith in its own language, so that in spirit it agreed with the Nicene "norma credendi." Further, it was contended that not all the Greek MSS. contained the words "from heaven," nor "according to the Scriptures;" also that the Latin Church had added the clause "God of God," and had never been challenged on that score by the Greek Church, as they had been with respect to the "Filioque." In the same way, with respect to the Apostles' Creed, the "Descent into Hell" had been inserted from the Aquileian formula. It was then urged by the Latin party that it was useless to waste further time on the question of prescription, but that discussion should be taken on the scriptural merits of the case. If it was a scriptural truth that the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son, then it was a vital point of faith, and the insertion of "Filioque" was a matter of necessity; but if it should be proved to be an unscriptural statement, then that the "Filioque" must of necessity be cancelled. The Greek party, however, preferred to take their stand on technical authority; and as neither side seemed likely to give way, the council might well have been dissolved. In its eighteenth and last session, however, Pope Eugenius IV. proposed that the council should be transferred to Florence, ostensibly from fear of the plague that was approaching Ferrara, but really, as Fleury states [*H. E.* cvii. 130], because he found the expense of remaining at Ferrara inconvenient; and a sum of money had been offered to him by the Florentines to effect the transfer. The first session was held there February 26, A.D. 1439. Much of the same ground was gone over again, and time was uselessly taken up in the old topic of discussion on the use of ἐκ and διὰ, "from the Father through the Son;" though after a time the scriptural phase of the discussion received attention; and gradually the Greek party, tired out with a discussion of so many months' duration (for two years intervened between their journey from and return to Constantinople, Feb. 1st, 1440), influenced also by the self-interested defection of Bessarion, Metropolitan of Nicæa, who aspired to the cardinalate, gave way, and at length agreed to a joint profession of faith with the Latins, in which it was declared that "the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son, and that from all eternity He proceedeth from the one and from the other as from one sole principle, and by one sole production called spiration;" to which were added several other Latinizing clauses. It may be noted, moreover, that the form ran at first "proceedeth from the Father through the Son," but since the Latins refused to sign this formula, "through" was altered into "and," and the document rewritten. Other points of difference were arranged, as regarded the use of the wafer in the celebration of the Eucharist, Purgatory, and the Papal Supremacy. The synodal decree of union with the Greek Church as the crowning act bore date July 6, 1439, Mark, Bishop of Ephesus alone absenting himself and refusing to affix his signature. "Nil ergo egimus" was the Pope's involuntary exclamation when he was told that Mark held back. Afterwards, when reproached by Eugenius, he declared, "I express not my own opinions, I introduce nothing new into the Church, neither do I defend any errors. But I steadfastly preserve the doctrine which the Church, having received it from Christ the Saviour, has ever kept and keeps" [Syropulus, x. 15, 16].

The words of a learned Latin, Ambrosius Traversari, in the papal retinue may be recorded: "While in Florence I was obliged to hear and see things done which made much impression on me who was wholly unused to such doings. In truth, I had rather pass my time with the peasants about our monastery, than with the pillars of the earth, or even with the Pope of Rome." The Emperor, on his return through Venice, wishing to oblige the Doge, who had a desire to hear the

Greek Liturgy, could only prevail on the Metropolitan of Heraclea to officiate in the Church of St. Mark, and that with difficulty; but he performed the service on the Greek antimensia and with the Greek altar utensils. The Pope's name was omitted in the prayers, and the creed was read without the "Filioque." Mark alone was received with honour on his return to Constantinople; while his colleagues were branded with the name of Azymites, in allusion to their sanction of the unleavened wafer; as traitors and apostates from their religion. "With the Latins," said Mark in his encyclical letter, "they think the addition made to the creed lawful and just, and, unlike us, will not pronounce it wrong. With them they say that azymes are the Body of Christ, and, unlike us, they dare to communicate on them. Is not this enough to shew that they came to the Latin Council, not to investigate the truth which they once held and then betrayed, but simply to earn gold, and to effect a false and hollow union. False, because they read two creeds as they did before; they celebrate two different liturgies, one on leavened, the other on unleavened bread; two baptisms they have, one by trine immersion, the other by aspersion; one with the holy chrism, the other without it. What sort of union is this?" [*Synod. Flor.* ii. 369.]

The monks, who ruled the consciences of the people, were especially embittered against those whom they termed renegades. Many who subscribed the act of union subsequently recanted; and when Constantinople was taken by the Turks [May 29, A.D. 1453], the city was lost rather by the action of internal feud, than won by the tactics of the besiegers; while the calamity was declared throughout the East to be a judicial visitation upon the Greek Church for the weak concessions at Constance; the fact was also noted that Whit-Sunday was the precise day on which the city fell a prey to the enemy. [Fleury, *H. E.;* Basil Popoff, *H. Conc. Flor.;* Bishop Browne, art. v.; Bingham, art. X. iv. 16; Pearson; Harvey *on Creeds*, 449.]

FINAL PERSEVERANCE. The Calvinistic tenet that the elect, though they may for a time, yet cannot finally, fall from grace, but will be preserved by Divine power unto salvation. This opinion arises from an *exclusive* attention to certain passages of Scripture, other portions being ignored or kept out of sight. The passages referred to, if standing alone, might possibly bear a Calvinistic sense, but we elsewhere find from other declarations of Scripture that the supposed meaning must be erroneous. Thus, we might *plausibly* argue from God's attributes, as His love, faithfulness, and almighty power, and from certain passages in the Gospel of St. John, and in St. Paul's epistles, that the elect will be preserved unto salvation; but our reasonings on the subject are manifestly erroneous when placed side by side with other passages which clearly and expressly intimate, or imply, the possibility of a final fall from grace. A modern Calvinistic writer quotes Ezekiel iii. 20, xviii. 24; Hebrews iii. 6—the passages which an opponent had alleged as implying in their obvious meaning the possibility of a final fall from grace,—and gives the following totally unsatisfactory explanation, "These passages only shew what would be the consequence *if* the righteous should fall away, but cannot prove that it ever in fact happens!" He ought to have borne in mind that if the case supposed *cannot* happen the declarations of Scripture are unnecessary and unmeaning. [CALVINISM. ELECTION.]

FIVE POINTS. A name given to the doctrinal controversies between Calvinists and Arminians, which are usually arranged under five heads; a summary of them will be found under ARMINIANISM: and they are fully given in Latin and English in Heylin's *Quinquarticular History*, ch. v. See also Whitby's *Discourse* [A.D. 1710], which is usually called "on the five points."

FLENTES. The first or lowest order of penitents were called *mourners* or *weepers*, in the Primitive Church. In the strict discipline then exercised they were indeed those who sought to be admitted to the number of actual penitents rather than penitents themselves, the *audientes* being the first order admitted within the church. The *flentes* prostrated themselves in the porch, the outer portion of the NARTHEX, or altogether outside the building, before the gate. Here they besought the prayers of the faithful as they entered the church. After a year of such discipline [Greg. Thaumat. can. xi.; Basil, can. xxii.] they were admitted among the class of AUDIENTES.

FOUNDATIONS, ECCLESIASTICAL. The term implies the establishment of a church or monastery, a college, or special services, and also corporations holding lands and endowments whether aggregate, as a dean and chapter; or sole, as a bishop, a dean, each capitular member, a parson, or a vicar. The law of England now permits persons to make a grant of land in favour of any incumbent or benefice, through the medium of the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who will apply the benefaction; so an incumbent may annex manorial lands to the benefice as glebe; and in old parishes persons may, under certain restrictions, give a certain number of acres of glebe, and lords of manor give an equal quantity of the waste; or a person may give a house of residence, and by a similar procedure endowments or purchase of glebe or of lands for a house may be secured under fixed conditions, notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain.

The ancient lands and livings of the Church were all given into the hands of God by their just lords and owners; they transferred to His service their whole interest and right by a form of dotation for ever. In place of alms and offerings, which only were possible at first, churches and holy places were hallowed to the honour of His glorious Name, and then houses and lands were given for their perpetual support, the inheritance being the Lord's.

FREE WILL. This subject will be here considered, without referring to metaphysical discussions, solely in its Christian aspect—in refe-

rence to the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Church.

Man, created by God as a reasonable being, has free will, an inherent power to refuse the evil and to choose the good; this inherent power was strengthened by the gift of supernatural grace to our first parents, by which they were enlightened to know and to desire the best and highest gifts of divine grace and knowledge.[1] By the fall of Adam this gift of grace, which strengthened and exalted the will, was lost; the will became weak, imperfect, averse from, or little inclined to, good. Not that free will was altogether lost by the Fall, or that man became, as Calvinistic theologians assert, a helpless mass of sin—a theory contrary to fact and experience. Man, even in his natural state, has often sincere wishes and desires after good, and may do, *in a degree*, what is pleasing to God; but the will is in a state of imperfection and bondage, as described by St. Paul in the seventh chapter of the Romans, where he says, speaking as in an unregenerate state, "for what I would that do I not, but what I would not that I do." Some of the heathen did works which were pleasing to God, but we cannot doubt that they were done with the assistance of His grace. In more senses than one, God left not Himself without witness before the coming of Christ [Acts xiv. 17]. The Gentile Cornelius, and others in a heathen state, feared God and worked righteousness, and were accepted of Him [Acts x. 35]. Still, we cannot look at heathenism generally without perceiving, not merely the ignorance of mankind as regards the true knowledge of God, and the vain attempts of the wisest philosophers to attain to this knowledge, but also the powerlessness of man's will, his propensity to sin, and inability to escape from the foullest and most degrading wickedness.[2] But when Christ came, the grace of the Holy Ghost was abundantly given; by the gift of regeneration man's will was restored to its original state. The baptized Christian has not only that free will which ever belonged to man as a reasonable creature, but it is strengthened by the gift of the Holy Spirit, and he is thus enabled to avoid sin and to keep God's commandments. We are clearly taught, and it is always implied in the New Testament, that the Christian has free will through the gift of regeneration; our free will, indeed, is the only foundation on which its promises and threatenings can be supposed to rest. [Calvinism. Election.] In St. Augustine's words, "Without the grace of God, how does He save the world; without free will how does He judge the world."[3] The doctrine of man's free will has always been maintained by the Church; by the early Fathers writing with especial reference to the Gnostic and Manichæan heresies. An ample catena of authorities on the subject is given by Vossius in his history of Pelagianism.[4]

[1] See Bishop Bull's Sermon on the state of Man before the Fall [English Works, 1844].

[2] The awful state of heathenism before the Coming of Christ is fully described by Dr. Döllinger in the *Jew and Gentile in the Courts of the Temple of Christ*, translated by Darnell [1862].

[3] Si igitur non est Dei gratia, quomodo salvat mundum? et si non est liberum arbitrium quomodo judicat mundum? [Epistola ccxiv. al 46, Valentino Abbati.]

[4] *Historiæ Pelagianæ*, lib. vii. pars 11, *de Arbitrii libertate* [1655].

G

GALLICANISM. [Pragmatic Sanction.]

GEMARA. [Talmud.]

GENUFLECTENTES. The third order of penitents in the Primitive Church, who were also called *Prostrati* and *Substrati*. The Greek forms of the name were Γονυκλίνοντες and Ὑποπίπτοντες. They ranked above the *Audientes*, and below the *Consistentes*. As soon as the Catechumens, including the *Competentes*, had been dismissed, the deacon's duty was to bid prayers for these penitents, and the earliest form of the prayer used is preserved in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. They then received the benediction of the bishop, and were dismissed before the celebration of the Holy Eucharist began. These prayers are also mentioned in the nineteenth Canon of the Council of Laodicea, and the penitents themselves in the eleventh Canon of Nicæa. After a year of discipline and probation, the *Genuflectentes* became Consistentes.

GENUINENESS. [Authenticity.]

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS. This ancient Eucharistic hymn, often called "The Angelical Hymn" and "The Great Doxology," is of primitive antiquity. It exists in MS. in the Alexandrine Codex, one of the three earliest MSS. of the Holy Bible, where it forms part of a morning hymn [προσευχὴ ἑωθινή], of which the remainder is the germ of the Te Deum. But it is mentioned in the Apostolical Constitutions [vii. 47], which are probably of still earlier date, and it is also quoted by St. Athanasius in his Treatise on Virginity, with an injunction respecting its use. St. Chrysostom frequently refers to it, and speaks of it as being used by ascetics for their morning hymn. In an early English psalter, going by the name of Athelstan, it is also called a Sunday morning hymn. The last words of Polycarp are too like some in the hymn to be otherwise than a quotation from it adapted to individual use. They are Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ παντῶν σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ σὲ δοξάζω [Euseb. iv. 15], those of the Alexandrine MS. being Αἰνοῦμεν σὲ, ἐυλογοῦμέν σὲ, δοξολογοῦμεν σὲ.

The ancient liturgical commentators attribute the hymn in its present form to Telesphorus, Bishop of Rome [A.D. 128-138], but it does not appear that he did anything more than order its use in the Liturgy. It seems, however, to have been only definitely adopted as an Eucharistic hymn in the time of Symmachus, Bishop of Rome at the beginning of the sixth century. The first words of it are found in the Liturgy of St. James, and this probably represents the earliest usage of Telesphorus. A phrase of it also appears in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. But it has never been used at the Eucharist in the East except by the Nestorians, being always, as it still is, used by the Eastern Church as part of a morning canticle. Alcuin attributes the composition of the Gloria in Excelsis to St. Hilary of Poictiers [A.D. 350-367], whose name is also associated with the Te Deum. The two hymns are, as has been shewn, part of one in their original form, so that it is not unlikely St. Hilary's work was that of separating the primitive morning hymn of the Church into two portions, the earlier one of which came shortly afterwards to be generally adopted in the Eucharistic Office. In all Western Liturgies of ancient date, except one used at Luxovium, in Gaul, in the seventh century [Palmer, *Orig. Liturg.* iv. § 23], the Gloria in Excelsis occurs at the beginning of the office. In 1552 it was moved thence to its present position in the English Liturgy [Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnolog.*; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.*].

GLORIA PATRI. The angelic hymns of Isa. vi. 3, and Luke ii. 14, with the baptismal formula of Matt. xxviii. 19, were very likely to have moulded the thoughts of the early Christians into the form of adoration which we find in the *Gloria Patri* or "Little Doxology." Such a form is indicated as early as A.D. 167, in the last words of Polycarp, δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μελλοντας αἰῶνας, ἀμήν [Act. Polyc. xiv.; Euseb. iv. 15], and also in Justin Martyr about the same date. A few years later it is found in the prayer at the end of St. Clement's *Pædagogus*, Αἰνοῦντες τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι [Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* iii. *ad fin.*], and also in a hymn of about the same date, ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ [Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* iii. 299]. Aëtius is said to have altered the received formula into "*by* the Son, *in* the Holy Spirit," words which can be used in an orthodox sense, as they were by St. Leo [Serm. i. *de Nativit.*], but which were intended by the Arians as an evasion of the direct recognition of our Lord's divinity contained in the orthodox form.

The use of the Gloria Patri in the Divine Service can be traced back as far as the Council of Vaison [can. vi.], which was presided over by

Cæsarius of Arles [A.D. 529], and its present position, after the *Domine ad adjuvandum*, is recognised by the Rule of St. Benedict a few years later. It is found in the oldest offices of the Eastern and Western Churches (though the second clause is used in the East in a rather shorter form, "now and ever, world without end"). It has been used (it need hardly be added) in the Church of England from time immemorial.

The dogmatic form of the Gloria Patri gives it the character of a condensed creed, and a very ancient practice of the Church of England, that of turning towards the altar each time that it is sung, still maintains its hold on some churches, as in the Cathedral of Manchester. This custom is ordered in the *Sarum Consuetudinary*. An inclination of the head, as in the Creed, is also ordered by an early canon [Wilkins, *Conc.* iii. 20], and is mentioned in the *Mirror of our Lady*, printed in 1530.

GLORY. This term has a twofold meaning in Scripture; one sensible and material, the other intellectual and spiritual. [1.] It means that outward brightness cognizable by the sense of sight, whereby it pleased God of old to give a sign of His more immediate presence. [2.] It signifies also the will of God, the deep spring of which is love.

[1.] When Moses was sent as a deliverer to the people of Israel, his attention was first arrested by the bush that burned with fire and was not consumed. It was his preparation for the more dazzling glory that should be revealed to him. A correlative idea also may be noted; for as clouds are associated with the idea of sunlight, and take from it their gorgeous hue; and as the brightest fire throws up smoke, so both of these were accessories of the visible glory of the Lord. When the law was about to be delivered "Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly" [Exod. xix. 18], which smoke was typified by the incense of the temple worship; so in Isaiah's vision the "world was full of the glory of the Lord," but the temple also "was full of smoke" [Isa. vi. 3, 4; see 1 Kings viii. 10, 11]. Wherever the glory of the Lord appeared to the congregation it was accompanied by a darker nimbus [Exod. xvi. 10, xxiv. 15, 18; Numb. xvi. 42]. The glory of the Lord that followed in the rear of Israel's march, and gave light by night to them, was as a cloud of thick darkness to the Egyptians [Exod. xiv. 20], and a cloud of glory resting on the tabernacle marshalled the daily pilgrimage of Israel through the desert [Exod. xl. 34]. The cloud symbolized the judgment of God upon evil-doers; while the light of God's favour shining upon the righteous was their earnest of a future reward. Daniel beheld in his vision one "like the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven" [Dan. vii. 13], and our Lord declared that thus He should come "in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory" [Matt. xxiv. 30]; and St. John, "Behold He cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and they also which pierced Him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him" [Rev. i. 7]. It is in both meanings of the word, spiritual and material, that the firmament glowing with stars is said to declare the glory of God; for the heavens are an abiding evidence of the might and majesty of God, and of the omnipotence of His will who said "let there be light, and there was light." Lastly, as the Bath Col, or voice from heaven, ushered in the day of Christ, and angels sung their "Gloria in excelsis," so it was accompanied as of old by a sensible evidence of the present Deity, and "the glory of the Lord shone round about" the shepherds of Bethlehem [Luke ii. 9]. In such passages as these δόξα stands in the same relation to δοκεῖν as our word "sheen" does to its German root "scheinen," to appear. Plotinus, identifying the term with "impulse" as the correlative of φαντασία, derives it from δέχομαι [Enn. V. v. 1]; but δοκεῖν is the received etymon.

[2.] Next, the more spiritual import of the term is best traced out from the Hebrew "cabod," glory. Various organs and component elements of the human frame were supposed by Hebrew anatomists to be the local habitat of the animal soul and of moral qualities. Thus the blood was the life; the lungs were the seat of the breath of life, the soul; the conscience was localized in the reins; the nobler affections in the heart; pity and compassion in the mesentery; and in the same way the similarity of "cabod," glory, and "cabed," the liver [see Gesenius], indicates that as in Latin the choleric principle was associated with this organ, so in Hebrew the whole moral character of man derives its force from the hepatic region. Now the moral character of man is the aggregate result of moral qualities that move the will. Virtue, honour, truth, &c., are negative qualities until volition is exercised upon them. To will and act as a free agent under the direction of a higher law than impulse is the glory of man. To will and act as moved by the love that is His very Being is the glory of the Eternal; as the glory of man, made after the similitude of the All-Perfect, consists in volition quickened by the love of God and man. Hence the soul endowed with free will and independent action came to be designated as man's "glory" [Psa. xvi. 9, xxx. 12, lvii. 9, cviii. 1]; "Unto their assembly, my glory, be not thou united" [Gen. xlix. 6]. Hence also since we exercise volition upon that which seems good to our reflective powers, the term δόξα, as derived from δοκεῖν, is the LXX. translation of "cabod." In this primary sense the prophet said of Him who sought not His own will [John v. 30], "he shall not judge, κατὰ τὴν δόξαν, according to his own determination" ["non judicabit secundum gloriam," Iren. III. ix. 3, Massuet.]. Those whose will is law from their worldly position, are δόξαι, "dignities" [2 Pet. ii. 10; Jude 8], and the angels are the "spear-armed δόξαι that stand about the throne of God" [Philo, *de Monarch.* ii. 218, Oxf.]. The idea therefore of free and uncontrolled will seems to underlie the meaning of δόξα, and will help to clear the sense

in many passages of the Greek Testament. When our Lord said, "I have glorified Thee upon earth," He shews that He means the complete performance of the Father's will, by the words added, "I have finished the work that Thou gavest Me to do" [John xvii. 4]. "Glorify Me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was" [*ib.* 5], are words that mark the ὁμοούία of the Father and the Son. "The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them; that they may be one as We are One: I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be perfect in one" [*ib.* 22, 23]; the term again indicates unity of will and spiritual communion with the Father and the Son. The very nucleus of that glory is love: "That the love wherewith Thou hast loved Me may be in them, and I in them" [*ib.* 26]. Thus the last words of prayer that are recorded of our Lord lead us back to the conclusion that the determinate will of God, based in love, is that glory in which He has had subsistence from everlasting, and to which we hope to be admitted hereafter, when our wayward will shall be made one with the will of the Absolute.

We thus gain an idea of the term that is eminently practical. The King of Kings and Lord of Lords is neither made more glorious by our praise nor dishonoured by our rebellion. But in some degree the light of His glory may be reflected in the heart and conduct of His people, and so far they are said to "glorify" Him, to "live to His glory," and to be "to the praise of His glory." "Ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God;" do your Master's work. And in proportion as that work is done, and the will of man is assimilated to the will of God, it becomes free: "if the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed" [John viii. 36]. The converse also is true, and man's natural condition is to sin and "come short of the glory of God;" and in the same proportion he loses his freedom and becomes the slave of sin [*ib.* 34]. To act then according to the will of God, is to glorify Him: "Herein is My Father glorified, that ye bring forth much fruit" [John xv. 8]; and as the glory of God is reflected in the regenerate will and affections, the believer is said by the Apostle to be "changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord" [2 Cor. iii. 18. Elohim. Jehovah. Theism].

GNOSTICISM represents a fusion of the intellectual and religious systems of the East and West, in which, however, the Eastern element considerably predominated. The philosophy of Greece in its first principles had been derived from foreign, and principally Eastern sources. After a time it came in contact once more with Oriental theosophy at Alexandria. Here Neo-Platonism revived old philosophic veins of thought, and Gnosticism was constructed from Oriental theories that are not yet lost among the Parsees of India. Neo-Platonic teaching remained comparatively unaffected by external systems of thought, and did essential service to the cause of Christian truth by its antagonism to Gnostic teaching. Augustine says, "nulli nobis quam ipsi proplus accesserunt."[1] But Gnosticism, with an eclectic expansiveness, embodied Platonic as well as other notions with its Magian tenets, and touched, at various points, Egyptian, Phœnician, and Buddhist religious opinion, as well as Alexandrian, Platonic, and Cabbalistic lore. The clash of these two main systems renewed ancient feuds at Alexandria between East and West, that eventually became merged in the Catholic teaching of Christianity. This thriving centre of commerce received the subtle disputatations of the Greek schools with its Macedonian colonists from its foundation. Eastern adventurers, linking their fortunes with those of the rising city, introduced, as new modes of thought, theories that had long been current in the East, and had a religious rather than a philosophical character for their base. The Isiacal mysteries of Egypt, from whence Greece had borrowed her mythology, formed a third element; and by the joint action of these three main lines of thought, the philosophy of the Museum, as well as the social character of Alexandria, became thoroughly cosmopolitan.[2] The fusion ensued which is known as Eclecticism. Antiochus had already blended together the Academic and Stoic principles; Strabo the Geographer had united the latter with the Peripatetic method; Sotion the younger had combined the ancient theories of Pythagoras with Stoicism; and Ammonius, of the Academy, had brought together the rival teaching of Plato and Aristotle. Potamon, by a bolder generalization, built up his system on an eclectic adaptation of all. But a wider application of the same principle soon followed; the teaching of the East was incorporated with that of the West. The Magianism of Chaldæa and Persia, the arcana of Egyptian hierophants and the Cabbala,[3] derived originally from Babylon, but largely alloyed with peculiar misapplications of Pythagorean and Platonic notions, were all thrown into the crucible, and formed the mixed metal that afterwards ran out into Gnostic moulds. The Neo-Platonist and the Gnostic each laid claim to the prescription of antiquity, and applied unconsciously many fundamental principles which the other adopted. Both were partly of a common stock. For Zoroastrian theories reached Egypt, from whence Plato had them; while Platonic notions were admitted by the Gnostic, and materially assisted him in building up his system and winning acceptance for it. Thus Plotinus charges Gnosticism with having borrowed from The Master the ideas of a First Monad, of Substance, Nûs, the Demiurge, the Mundane Soul, its πάθος, the soul's withdrawal from earthly matters and absorption in heavenly contemplation.[4] This writer, in his second Ennead, and in his own obscure way, attacks the Gnostic, and throws valuable light on the statements of Irenæus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, and other anti-Gnostic Christian writers, while he brings the

[1] *Civ. Dei*, viii. 5, sec. 1.

[2] Philo Judæus is a well-known instance of the syncretic teaching that blossomed so vigorously at Alexandria.

[3] See *Ophites ap. Iren.* I. xxvii. Cambr. ed.

[4] Enn. ii. 9.

whole force of an unsparing invective to bear upon the object of his scorn. We recognise in this book the following points:—the lapse of the spiritual principle;[1] the origin of matter and its reduction into order by an overflow of Light from above;[2] the origin of evil, and will it be wholly cast out from the future habitation of the blessed?[3] But the creation of the world, he says, and its orderly government, is no work of an ideal emanation, it is the offspring of Supreme Wisdom and Benevolence.[4] Plotinus adds his view of evil, that it is only a lower round in a series of steps from the lowest to the highest good;[5] and with respect to the apparently uneven distribution of riches and poverty, good and bad fortune, they are words without meaning for the wise,[6] who receive either the one lot or the other with equanimity. He then attacks Gnosticism on the moral side, and accuses it of teaching indifference to the moral quality of actions, and of encouraging an Epicurean indulgence of sense.[7] It never speaks out, he says, about virtue and goodness, but boasts of its contemplation of the Deity, leaving unchecked such ill principles as love of the world, hatred, malice, &c.[8] Pretension to supernatural power and healing of the sick are a mere contemptible juggle.[9]

The term γνωστικὸς is a translation of the Oriental equivalent for φιλόσοφος, עָלִם *âlim*, and as such is a fit exponent of the fusion of the systems of the East and of the West. It may be compared with the Hebrew and Chaldaic יְדְעוֹנִי[10] The term seems to have subsisted long at Alexandria as a word *mediæ significationis;* Clement of Alexandria throughout his *Stromata* speaks of the thoroughly informed Christian as a true Gnostic.[11] But, in general, it designates the heretic who arrogated to himself peculiar means of knowing God from which the rest of the world were cut off. The union of the spiritual principle in man with Divine Substance was the γνῶσις which he claimed as his privilege, representing that contemplative abstraction and ecstatic union with the Divine Principle which has always been the aim of the Eastern devotee, and which formed a marked feature also in the peculiarities of the Neo-Platonic school. But beside this assumption of a higher spiritual development, it meant also a spiritual appreciation of allegory which could only be known to the initiated. Baur produces[12] several instances of this use of the word from the Epistle of Barnabas. The Ophites first adopted the name Gnostic, their notions involving every shade of allegory, and mysticism in its wildest mood. The Ophite hymn preserved by Hippolytus assigns to γνῶσις this mystical sense—

> καὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῆς ἁγίας ὁδοῦ
> γνῶσιν καλέσας παραδώσω.[14]

[1] Enn. ii. 4. [2] *Ibid.* 10. [3] *Ibid.* 5.
[4] *Ibid.* 11, 12, [5] *Ibid.* 13. [6] *Ibid.* 9.
[7] *Ibid.* 15. [8] *Ibid.* 15, 16. [9] *Ibid.* 14.
[10] The Persian ـگ, *μέγας*, corresponds with the Rabbinical רַב. [11] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v.
[12] *Christliche Gnosis*, p. 87 ff.
[13] Hippolyt. *Philos.* v. μετα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς γνωστικοὺς, φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γίνωσκειν. [14] *Ibid.*

The word γνῶσις used by St. Paul, and more frequently ἐπίγνωσις, denotes a spiritual perception of evangelic truth, in all the earlier epistles; afterwards, as Paul the aged, he had observed the first rising of the cloud "no bigger than a man's hand" that was soon to spread itself over the whole sky; and he warns Timothy against the babblings and oppositions—τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως.[15] Irenæus makes this expression the text of his work in refutation of Gnosticism in all its phases. Clement of Rome uses the word in its good sense, when he says, in terms of praise of the Corinthian Church, "Who hath not commended your perfect and sure knowledge;"[16] and Ignatius: "Why are ye not all wise who have received the knowledge of God, which is Christ Jesus."[17] In heresiology γνῶσις embodies a complex idea, as being derived from a threefold source, and the systems that it represents have been referred by writers either to Greek philosophy,[18] Oriental mysticism, or Judaism. Mosheim has treated Gnosticism as almost exclusively of Oriental growth. Neander divides it into two families that are respectively Jewish and anti-Jewish; Simon Magus, who first engrafted a Christology on the Gnostic system, being referred to the minor eclectic communities. But, since Neander wrote, the discovery of the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus has given invaluable aid towards the classification and arrangement of the Protean forms of Gnosticism. This writer gives long passages of Simon's rhapsodies,[19] and places him at the head and front of the movement. Matter traces out certain Gnostic schools, which he names according to their locality, Syrian, Egyptian, Asiatic. In the following observations the heresy will be treated as either Alexandrian or Syrian.

To make the reception of such gross perversions of truth possible it was given out that the system had been revealed to the Apostles, and reserved by them as esoteric doctrine only to be communicated to those who should be found worthy as being of the spiritual seed. Yet even so the Apostles only had a half knowledge of it, being unable to discriminate between what our Lord said and did as an Æon of the Pleroma, and what as man affected with the attributes of matter. The Parables of our Lord were treated with especial veneration; the free interpretation that they admitted rendering them easily susceptible of an heretical meaning. "Babblings," that to the Oriental mind may have been wisdom, trickery to deceive the ignorant, and riddles that never could have become knowledge, make up the substance of Gnosticism. That such a system should have applied any part of the Christian revelation

[15] 1 Tim. vi. 20.
[16] Clem. *ad Cor.*, i.c.: τὴν τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ γνῶσιν.
[17] Ign. *ad Eph.* 17: τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.
[18] Hæreses a philosophia subornantur ipsæ. Tertul. *Præscr.* 7. Philosophi Patriarchæ hæreticorum. c. Hermog. 8, *de An.* 3. Hippolytus takes very much the same view, tracing Gnostic notions back to the *Timæus* of Plato as the fountain-head.
[19] Hippolyt. *Philosophum.* vi. 18. See also the introduction to the Cambr. ed. of Irenæus, p. lxvi.

only shews the headway made by the Gospel, in that it was able to attract to itself the elements of humanity however discordant, and form circles of attraction however wide in extent. The problem that the Gnostic teacher professed to solve was this. How is the creation of matter, inherently evil, to be accounted for without compromising the Majesty of the Supreme? A separation of good and evil, the final cause of all that has been done for man, a matter also of Parsee belief, was a prominent feature in the Gnostic theory. The Gnostic notion of creation, evil, and redemption, may be thus briefly traced. One Supreme Being existed from all eternity in pro-cosmic silence, having within his own Intelligence the Pleroma of Æons,[1] afterwards to be evolved, as self-consciousness is inseparable from mind.[2] Love[3] was the impulsive principle whereby the "only begotten" Nûs was evolved,[4] and Gnosis was the substance of this first development. There was inseparable also from each successive emanation an *ἐνθύμησις*, or "intentio animi," whereby every Æon desired a knowledge of Bythus. This Enthymesis was intensified as Gnosis waned, the two moving in inverse ratio. Thus a point was at length gained when Gnosis was at its minimum, and Enthymesis at its maximum, of energy; this point was *ὅρος*, the boundary of the Pleroma, which the Æon Sophia transgressed in her desire to attain a knowledge of Bythus. This stray light from the Pleroma was causative, first of all inferior spiritual substance, and eventually of matter, into which it infused a principle of intelligence and plastic life. It was in this way that the Alexandrian Gnostic accounted for the creation of matter, which *per se* was an inert mass without life or energy, such as Plato has described it, but it was not eternal, as he held it to be; the Syrian Gnostic, following the Oriental theory, declared that it was eternally the residence of evil (Ahriman). In either point of view it was the dead limit of Divine development. *Labes*,[5] an abortive emanation evolved beyond the Pleroma, was the origin of Demiurge, whose mission was to bring into order the hylic mass, and form it, unconsciously to himself, according to the supreme ideas of Bythus. Evil spirits of every grade came to life by his energy from the unmixed principle of evil that he found ready to his hand. But good and evil were variously combined in human souls, which are classed as spiritual, psychic, and carnal. A world so formed was too corrupt for Bythus to govern. Therefore Demiurge was its ruler, and gave to it the Jewish law, whereby it was destined that the *ἀποκατάστασις*, or restoration of all things, should be worked out. The Syrian differed only so far from the Alexandrian scheme as it made Demiurge an enemy of Bythus, *Σοφία*; his aim being to detain the stray principle of light, by entangling it in the world of matter. The Law also was his creation, devised for the purpose of enslaving man, but it served in no way for the preparation of any final denouement. The Gnostic, whether of Alexandria or Syria, had his theory of redemption, the effect of which should be a final separation of good from bad, and a liberation of the stray Pleroma principle from its implication with matter. Redemption was from Bythus, who in due course sent an Æon from the Pleroma, variously termed Soter, or Jesus, or Christ. All sects did not allow him to be of the principal Æons, but all denied that he was truly man. His was a twofold nature. There was the being formed of matter that descended in human form into Jordan and was baptized; and there was the heavenly Æon that alighted upon Jesus, and enabled Him to work miracles, but eventually left Him to expire on the cross. The Syrian Gnosis differed in taking an entirely Docetic view of the human nature of Christ. The body of Christ was formed of ideal matter, wholly spectral and unreal. [Docetæ.] The Passion of Christ, whether real or apparent, was brought about by Demiurge hoping that the souls of men, without redemption, might be retained as his vassals. The Passion had no expiatory or restorative power. The whole work of redemption consisted in the purification of the *spiritual* seed, and in making *psychic* natures, *i.e.* Catholic Christians, capable of salvation through *γνῶσις*. Of the *hylic* there was no hope, they were foredoomed to destruction, reprobate beyond the possibility of recovery. The Resurrection was denied, or was declared "to be past already." The Æon Christ had done with the crucified body, and man in his bodily nature could not possibly become a denizen of the world of spirits. At the end of all things the seed of the Pleroma should be reabsorbed into realms of light, and matter should relapse into Chaos, or the Brahminical nullity, Nirvána. The doctrine of grace was ignored,[6] where each Gnostic was so true to the spiritual seed as to be free from all fear of lapse. Sacramental life also was an unknown principle, while the juggling deceits connected with the celebration made Gnosticism especially hateful to the Church.[7] With respect to the moral results of such teaching, a difference is observable between the Alexandrian and Syrian systems. In the first, Demiurge was the representative of Bythus; as such his law was treated with something like respect, and the bodily appetites kept under by a certain degree of moral discipline. Marriage being a highly honourable estate among the Jews, was not rejected; it was also the earthly counterpart of the *συζυγίαι* of the Pleroma. But the Syrian Gnostic flew to wilder extremes. Here the notion that matter was the matrix of evil drove the more spiritual-minded into asceticism, such as the sect of the Encratites,

[1] Æons as existing eternally in Bythus; for which the Syriac equivalent is ܥܠܡ, entity.

[2] In the more ancient Persian theosophy there was One Supreme Being antecedently to Ormuzd and Ahriman. *Introd. to Iren.* Cambr. ed. p. xiii.

[3] *τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀγαπῆς πνεῦμα κέκραται τῷ τῆς γνώσεως, ἀγαπὴ γὰρ ἦν ὅλος. κ.τ.λ.* Hippol. *Phil.* vi. 29; Iren. i. 2; Didasc. *Or.* 7.

[4] *ὁ μὲν μείνας μονογενὴς υἱὸς . . . τὴν ενθύμησιν διὰ τῆς γνώσεως ἐξηγεῖται τοῖς αἰῶσιν.* Diadasc. *Or.* sec. 7.

[5] *ἔκτρωμα*, 1 Cor. xv. 8.

[6] The term, however, had a part assigned to it in the Marcosian imposture. Iren. I. vii. 2, Cambr. ed.

[7] Iren. I. vii.

who forbad to marry, while others of grosser staple gave themselves up to an unbridled licentiousness, and, flinging aside all restraint of law, were known as Antinomians and Antitacti.[1] The Demiurge having only given law for the purpose of holding the spirit of man under bondage, any mode of shewing contempt for it, however gross, was declared to be free from sin. In times of persecution Gnostics held that it was not required of them to suffer martyrdom rather than sacrifice at the altars of Paganism; they were of the true seed, and should be gathered again into the Pleroma, and no act of impiety could disqualify them for their inheritance. And this had a fatal influence on the Church. The vicious Gnostic principle excited hatred in the philosophic heathen. In their contempt for both they cared not to distinguish between the true Christian and the counterfeit; hence the Church was often made to suffer for the ravings of heresy. Gnosticism, vigorously opposed by the Church, had a mortal enemy in the Neo-Platonic School of Alexandria.[2] It flourished throughout the second century; but combated in front by the Church, and taken in flank by the severe logic of the schools, it was already in a state of disintegration when Manichæan notions arose and finally superseded it. Absurd and irrational as the system of Gnosticism may have been, it was not without its use. In Greece and Rome polytheism was upheld as the religion of the body politic, but the Eastern mind recoiled with a hearty abhorrence from polytheism. Philosophy gained a religious element, so far as it was connected with theosophy. As in these wild strayings of the human intellect it is more pleasing to trace the faintest glimmering of reason than to treat them as one unmeaning blank; so there is some satisfaction in the thought that the sudden eradication of these weeds might have endangered the existence of the true seed, over which they had been scattered broadcast. They were sown by the malice of the enemy, but when once sown there was less danger in their toleration than in their precipitate removal. We have to thank this heresy for many valuable writings against them by the earlier Fathers, in which the faith and practice of primitive times have been described with a clearness that, so far as it reaches, leaves little to be desired. The evil has been ephemeral, its antidote is a κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί. [Irenæus, *Hær.* with the introduction to the Cambridge ed., also the prelim. dissert. in Massuet's ed.; Hippolyti *Philosophumena*, ed. Miller; Neander, *Genet. Entwick.*; Matter, *H. Critique*; Baur, *Christliche Gnosis*; Herzog's *Realencycl.* and *Kirchen Lexicon*, *v. Gnosis.*]

GOD. [ELOHIM. JEHOVAH. THEISM, &c.]

GOSPELS. Every reader must have noticed the striking relation which subsists among the first three Gospels,—not merely the similarity, but the exact repetition of certain passages. Forty-two sections are common to all three; in addition to which there are twelve sections common to St. Matthew and St. Mark; five to St. Mark and St. Luke; and fourteen to St. Luke and St. Matthew. This fact has been noticed from an early period;[3] and to account for it three principal hypotheses have been proposed in modern times. [1.] That there was an original document (or documents) of which the Evangelists in common made use. This common original was composed in Greek, according to Le Clerc; in Syriac or Chaldaic, according to Lessing; in "Aramaic" (of which there were three particular recensions), according to Eichhorn—an hypothesis adopted with still further complications by Bishop Marsh. [2.] That each Evangelist was acquainted with, and made use of, the Gospel or Gospels which had been written earlier than his own. So Townson and Hug. [3.] The third hypothesis has been suggested by the historian Gieseler; and this hypothesis has prepared the way for the development of the mythical theory by the hand of Strauss. Gieseler maintains that for several years after our Lord's death the Apostles lived together at Jerusalem. The acts and words of Jesus naturally formed the constant subject of their conversation; and thus, as they mutually aided each other's reminiscences, events and doctrines became fixed in their memory. Hence a permanent type of *oral teaching*, diversified by the private recollection of each Apostle; and from this traditional source, the Gospels, in process of time, were reduced to their present written form.[4] It is unnecessary, perhaps, to add that these speculations are entirely hypothetical.[5] The essential point of difference between the first three or synoptic Gospels and the fourth, consists in this, that St. John had in view the opponents of pure Christianity within the Church, while the synoptical writers addressed themselves either to Jews or to Gentiles. St. Matthew, as his entire Gospel shews, seeks to establish the identity of the New Testament revelation with that of the Old; St. Mark's object is to exhibit the facts of Christianity in opposition to the superstitions of the heathen; St. Luke, if we keep in view what is related in the Acts of the Apostles, plainly desires to trace how the Gospel advanced from Jerusalem to Rome; St. John, as his theme required, supplies the supplement and confirmation of what had been previously written by the other three. Eusebius, in his chapter "On the order of the Gospels" [*H. E.* iii. 24], ratifies the concurrent voice of earlier history,[6]

[1] "Oppositionists."

[2] The second of the Enneads of Plotinus, πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικούς, though very obscure, is highly interesting as exhibiting Gnosticism from the philosophic point of view.

[3] See art. on CANONS of Eusebius. St. Augustine writes:—"Marcus eum [*scil.* Matthæum] subsecutus tanquam pedissequus, et breviator ejus videtur. Cum solo quippe Joanne nihil dixit; solus ipse perpauca; cum solo Luca pauciora; cum Matthæo vero plurima; et multa pene totidem atque ipsis verbis." *De Cons. Ev.* i. 2.

[4] "Ueber die Entstehung der schriftl. Evangelien." Leipzig, 1818.

[5] For a further statement, see Lee on *Inspiration*. App. O.

[6] Muratori's *Fragment* [*ap.* Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. p. 394]; Victorinus [*ap.* Routh, *ib.* p. 408]; Clemens Alex. [*ap.* Euseb., *H. E.* vi. 14]. St. Jerome thus sums up the earlier authorities: "Joannes Apostolus novissimus omnium scripsit Evangelium . . . adversus Cerinthum aliosque

which is to the effect that St. John's narrative was the last in point of time, and that he gave his testimony to the truth of what had been previously written. The result of Tischendorf's investigation in his tract, "Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?" is that the beginning of what he calls "the Evangelical Canon" must be placed "about the end of the first century" [sec. 67]. That the books composing this "Canon" were neither more nor less than *four*, is one of the facts most clearly established by ancient testimony. Thus, two writers about the middle of the second century [*circ.* A.D. 160]—Theophilus of Antioch and Tatian—set themselves expressly to harmonize the writings of the *four* Evangelists. We are told of the nature of the treatise of Theophilus by St. Jerome;[1] and the title of Tatian's treatise, *Diatessaron—i.e.* "the Gospel formed out of four"—of itself explains his object. The fact that such works were written soon after the middle of the second century proves that the recognition and use of all *four* Gospels was established long before that date. The heretics objected that the Church claimed *four* gospels, while the Apostles taught but one;[2] hence the Fathers are at great pains to shew that their Gospel is always one; presented, nevertheless, under *four* forms, handed down by *four* witnesses, divided into *four* books. St. Irenæus illustrates by the *four* forms which made up the cherubim [Ezek. i. 10; Rev. iv. 7] this fact of the "quadriforme (τετράμορφον) Evangelium" [*Adv. Hær.* iii. 11]; St. Cyprian compares the *four* rivers which encircled Paradise [*Ep.* 73]; St. Jerome styles the four Evangelists "quadriga Domini, et verum Cherubim" [*Ep.* 53, *Ad Paulinum*]. As none but our *four* Gospels even claim to form part of the Canon of the New Testament, the proof adducible in support of the authenticity of any one is thus indirectly a proof of the authenticity of each of the other *three.* [CANON.]

GRACE. This term means, in strict propriety, a supernatural gift of God freely bestowed upon man for the merits of Christ. But it is also used in a much wider sense.

First, it includes that original goodness and favour by which God inclines to fallen man; with the consequent steps which in the counsels of God were necessary for man's salvation. God's first will is that all men shall be saved; His second will, that this salvation shall be through His Son. Here is, therefore, the Grace of the Father, His first love and the gift of His Son: the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor: and the Grace of the Holy Spirit, through whose overshadowing the Son was conceived and born into the world. This is the Grace of God's undeserved favour.

Secondly, the term Grace includes the revelation of this mystery, the declaring to man the Word of life. Christ, Himself the Word, was the first preacher of the Word. The Holy Spirit speaks by the prophets. And to the Church is committed by the Son, with the agency of the Holy Spirit, the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. This is the Grace of outward instruction.

Thirdly, the term Grace includes that supernatural gift to man whereby he is enabled to embrace the salvation provided and offered, whereby the sufferings and merits of Christ, which are sufficient for the salvation of the whole world, are made available and effectual to the salvation of the faithful. And this is nothing else than the working of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of men. This is the Grace of inward sanctification.

The first is the well-spring of all good: the second, the appointed instrument of good: the third, that which gives effect to the instrument.

Under the *first* arises the question, If God would have all men to be saved, and if Christ died for all men, why is it that all are not saved? God's principal desire and will touching man's happiness is not always satisfied. The whole history of mankind, the whole narrative of the Bible, is but a long example of God's designs of mercy thwarted by man's negligence, perverseness, and sin. Our Lord's words when He wept over Jerusalem suggest the only answer which can be given. "It is on all sides confessed that His will in this kind oftentimes succeedeth not, the cause whereof is a personal impediment making particular men incapable of that good which the will of His general providence did ordain for all mankind." [Hooker, *Append.* b. v., Keble's ed. ii. p. 726.]

A second question arises, What has God's grace effected for mankind irrespective of the revelation of the mystery? The answer is that Christ is the Saviour of all men, though especially of them that believe [1 Tim. iv. 10]. He has rendered all men *salvabiles*, capable of salvation; and *salvandos*, designed to salvation. He has redeemed all mankind. [See Barrow, *Sermons on Universal Redemption.*] With regard to those who have not the Gospel, the law of nature written in men's hearts, the dictates of reason, the secret whisper of grace and checks of conscience, the ordinary works of creation, the continual expression of Divine beneficence—by these men may seek God, if haply they may feel after Him and find Him. [Acts xvii. 27.] And these are by the grace of God, by the working of the Spirit, in virtue of the Incarnation, no less than the grace of the Gospel. The Spirit strives with all men, and from the first there has been no influence of the Spirit, except in virtue of Christ's mediation.

A third question occurs, Is the revelation of the Gospel an external instruction merely, or is it accompanied by a supernatural work on the heart of the hearer? To this the answer is found in our Lord's words, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." "As often as ye eat this Bread . . ye do shew forth the Lord's death." The Spirit "when He is come will

hæreticos . . . sed et aliam causam hujus scripturæ ferunt. Quod cum legisset Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ volumina, probaverit quidem textum historiæ, et vera eos dixisse firmaverit," &c. *De Vir. Ill.* ix.

[1] "Theophilus . . qui quatuor Evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens," &c. *Epist.* 151, *ad* Algas.

[2] See the words of the Marcionite in the "Dialogus de recta fide," *ap.* Origen., *Opp.* i. p. 807.

convince the world of sin," &c. Hence, with an adequate proposal of the Gospel by the Word and Sacraments, there is always exerted upon the hearts of men the great power of the Gospel, the death of Christ, through the influence of the Spirit. Consequently, from this and from the answer to the preceding question, it follows, that, practically, there never has occurred and never can occur the case contemplated in Question 4. Has man power by his own natural strength to turn to God? The case cannot occur, for the influence of the Spirit spoken of in Questions 2 and 3 must be held sufficient for its purpose, that of enabling those to turn to God who are not bent on resisting the supernatural work. The answer is based upon such Scriptures as John vi. 44, 65; Phil. ii. 13; and upon the doctrine of Scripture regarding our original corruption [John viii. 34; Rom. viii. 21; Eph. ii. 1; Col. ii. 13]: all such language shewing the helplessness of the unregenerate man. [1 Cor. ii. 14; comp. Rom. viii. 5-7.]

Regarding this question, Hooker distinguishes between the aptness and ableness of the will: the aptness, freely to take or refuse things set before it, which is so essential to the will, that being deprived of this, it loses the nature and cannot possibly retain the definition of will—and the ableness, which actuates the possibility of the will in that which is good. This ableness has been lost. If we had kept our first ableness, we should not need grace; had aptness been also lost, grace could work in us no more than it does in brute creatures. Freedom of operation we have by nature, but the ability of virtuous operation by grace. [Hooker's Works, Keble, ii. p. 683. Free-will.]

All those, then, to whom the Gospel is adequately proposed are called by God's grace. Many are called: but the grace is not irresistible, and few are chosen.

Hence, again, it may be asked, Is there in those who do obey a more energetic action of God's grace than in those who do not obey? Is there a discriminative calling of some above others, an effectual calling of some not addressed to others? To which it may be answered, That a variety in the measures of outward grace is evident; but there is no proof in Holy Scripture that any difference is made by the Holy Spirit between any two men who are alike subjected to the same measure of outward grace. They who assert that there is such a difference are led to the assertion as an inference from the doctrine of election and predestination. We are not to draw inferences from that doctrine, as if it were within our comprehension, and could possibly be made one of the premisses of a syllogism. The Scriptures, which speak of the calling of the elect, do not deny the calling of others. Rom. viii. 29, 30 asserts that the elect, whosoever and wheresoever they are, in due time are called. It does not assert the superiority of the call which is obeyed over that call [Matt. xx. 16] which is not obeyed. It implies the further grace given to those who obey the first call. That further grace would have been given to all had all alike been obedient.

And thus we arrive at head III. of our original division, the grace of inward sanctification, working in those who are foreknown, predestinated, and called.

Does this Grace of God work *in* the elect, or *with* them? Does it require a concurrent action of man's will? The tenth Article of Religion is express upon the point; "preventing us that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will." The Article originally said "working in us," and so the words stand in the Parker MS. Our present wording is based on those Scriptures which, while they speak of God's working in us, require at the same time the work of man. So in Phil. ii. 12, 13, the precept for man's working is given first, and then as a stimulus to and the corrective of the precept, the working of God. Work, for God works with you, and both the will and the work are God's [2 Pet. i. 10; Heb. xii. 15; 1 John iii. 24]. And all the varied precepts of Scripture given to those who have received the grace of God, shew the same; that we are to work, because God worketh in us. "For let the Spirit be never so prompt, if labour and exercise slacken, we fail. The fruits of the Spirit do not follow men, as the shadow doth the body, of their own accord. If the grace of sanctification did so work, what should the grace of exhortation need? It were even as superfluous and vain to stir men up unto good, as to request them when they walk abroad not to lose their shadows. Grace is not given us to abandon labour, but labour required lest our sluggishness should make the grace of God unprofitable" [Hooker, ii. p. 697]. These considerations give also the answer to—

Neither is God's grace in the elect irresistible? So long as the concurrence of man's will and man's work is required, so long will a failure in man defeat God's mercy, so long may he quench the Spirit, so long may he depart from grace given, and draw back unto perdition [Heb. x. 39]. God's grace is sufficient, but grace, excluding possibility to sin, was neither given to angels in their first creation, nor to man before his fall, but reserved for both, till God be seen face to face in the state of glory. Grace is not therefore given here in that measure which taketh away possibility of sinning, and so effectually moveth the will as that it cannot [Hooker, ii. p. 688].

To sum up. The grace of the Father is the gift of His Son, who of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. Accordingly, salvation in the whole [Eph. ii. 8], and in all its parts, election [Rom. xi. 5], calling [2 Tim. i. 9], justification [Rom. iii. 24], adoption [Eph. i. 5, 6], sanctification [2 Cor. ix. 8] are said to be by grace. The work is carried on in the Church, and operates in the heart of each man by the power of the Holy Spirit's agency. His are the words of life and the sacraments of life, and the manner of God's operation through grace is to make heavenly

mysteries plain to the dark understanding of man; to add motive efficacy to that which there presents itself as the object of man's will.

A general definition, then, of grace, as comprehending all the kinds above enumerated, can only be, that Grace is the free favour of God by which He has in Christ provided a way of salvation, and enables man in Christ to embrace that way. But as the third kind is often spoken of as grace distinctively, in that sense grace may be defined as: A supernatural gift of God to man, given for supernatural purposes, and bestowed freely for the sake of Christ's merits, including all supernatural powers and abilities by which the work of Christ is carried on in the Church, and in the heart of man, and comprehending within the sphere of its operation all the powers and affections of man.

A further question is often asked, or implied, namely, Who are in a state of grace? Referring again to our threefold division of the term, in the first degree the whole world is in a state of grace. God so loved the world that He sent His only Son. The benefits accruing to mankind in general through the Incarnation cannot be overrated. Secondly, in a higher degree all are in a state of grace, to whom is come the word which preaches peace by Jesus Christ. But the words "state of grace" are commonly used, as is natural among Christian men, with reference to the third degree, the grace of inward sanctification.

Now, it is by baptism that men are put into a state of grace [Tit. iii. 5]. The Holy Spirit then imparts a new principle, by which the mind and will of man, before weighed down, become τὸ πνεῦμα, and by which the ψυχή or animal soul is purified and elevated. Further grace is added to sustain the new life, that the whole body, soul, and spirit, may be preserved blameless unto the coming of Jesus Christ. They, then, are in a state of grace who live and walk in the Spirit, and the measure and test of their state are the fruits of the Spirit that they bear. And the Spirit of God witnesses with our spirits that we are the children of God, not by oracle, or voice, or whisper within us, but, first, by those gracious fruits and effects which it has wrought in us; and, secondly, by enlightening our understandings and assisting the faculties of our souls, as need requires, to discern those gracious fruits and effects [Bull, *Discourse on the Testimony of the Spirit in the Faithful, Works*, vol. ii.]. The testimony of a renewed conscience is the witness of the Spirit that we are in a state of grace. [Spirit. Assurance. Indefectible Grace.]

GRADUAL. A psalm or portion of a psalm sung between the Epistle and Gospel, represented in the Anglican rite by "Glory be to Thee, O Lord." The name is associated with the steps of the Ambon, now represented by the steps of the *sacrarium*, and it is found in old English in the form *grail*. The book containing these anthems was called *Gradale*, but the term was loosely employed, as the Gradale was generally an Antiphonar, or *Antiphonarium*, as well; containing in fact everything that was sung antiphonally at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist [Zacchar. *de Latin. libr. liturg. disquisitio, in Bibl. Rit.*]

GUARDIAN ANGEL. There has been a pious belief among many in all ages of the Church that besides the general ministrations of angels, as the servants of God in carrying out His Providence towards men, there are also particular ministrations of individual angels, appointed to guard, guide, and comfort the individual persons to whom they are assigned. Such an opinion was common among the Jews, and was not unknown [Bull, Serm. xii.] even among the Greeks. This general belief of the pre-Christian world receives some countenance from the New Testament. Our Lord declares respecting little ones that believe on Him, "For I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven" [Matt. xviii. 10], where the pronoun αὐτῶν is thought to shew that each such little one has its own proper guardian angel. "His angel" is also spoken of in the case of St. Peter, though only as a supposition of the Apostles and disciples, or some of them [Acts xii. 15]. Bishop Bull concludes "it highly probable that every faithful person, at least, hath his particular good genius or angel, appointed by God over him, as the guardian and guide of his life" [Bull, Serm. xii.], and such is the opinion of many good theologians, as well as of many saintly Christians. [Angels.]

H

HADES. [Intermediate State. Hell.]

HAGGADAH. The lighter illustrations, gnomes and folk-lore of the Talmud are known as "Haggadoth" narratives. If the Halacoth [Halacah] are the judicial ballast that give steadiness to the Midrash or exposition [Midrash], the Haggadah is the "popularis aura" that bears the Rabbinical craft along; but it is of no real authority, and serves merely the purpose of illustration. These Haggadic narratives are found principally at the close of the Mishnic portions of the Gemara, as well as interspersed in its substance, indicating so far a later origin. Frankel, in rather hyperbolical terms of praise, says of them, "They are as vivid flashes; or as those spirits of light in Jewish myth, that flow forth in daily myriads from God's throne, and then vanish again to make way for others" [*Vorstud. z. LXX.*]. The Samson riddle and the fable of the trees [Jud. ix. 8, xiv. 14] are instances of Scriptural Haggadah; as are the proverbs of the Son of Sirach and the fables of the Old Testament Apocrypha. Professor Hurwitz has collected a few of these Haggadoth in his volume of Hebrew tales, the introduction of which contains valuable observations on Talmudic lore in general. There is often a deeper philosophic meaning underlying the allegory and myth, the parable and fable, that form the texture of the Haggadah. But "beware," says Maimonides, "that you take not these words of the wise in their literal acceptation; for this would debase and contradict at times the sacred teaching. Seek rather the esoteric meaning; if you cannot discover the kernel let alone the husk, and confess, I do not understand this." [*Perush hammishn.*; Jost, *Gesch. d. Jud.*; Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr.*; Hurwitz, *Hebr. Tales*; Etheridge, *Jerus.* and *Tiberias.*]

HALACAH. Halacoth, or decisions of the highest rabbinical authority, adjusted the bearings of the law in the minds and consciences of the Jewish people after the Captivity. They accumulated gradually, and may be compared with the constitutions of our Canon Law. The rapid progress which Greek civilization made after the period of the Captivity, the last year of which coincided with the first dramatic representation of Thespis, the cosmopolitan character that the Jews had acquired at Babylon, and their commercial dispersion throughout the world, rendered it necessary that they should be hedged in, wherever they might be, from surrounding heathen practices and ways of thought. They had suffered so severely as a nation for their acquiescence in idolatry, that no precaution against a relapse could be excessive. The precepts of the law therefore were carefully weighed, and decisions framed "pro re nata," that were in agreement with the law, and also harmonized with the altered requirements of the people. These decisions were termed Halacoth from "halac" to go, being the guide to be followed for the future in practice. There was nothing cramped or narrow-minded in their general spirit. Moses himself is said to have enounced some of these Halacoth to define the action of certain precepts of the law by a contemporaneous exposition. And there is no antecedent improbability in the idea. The "lex talionis" of an "eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was converted into a money fine at so early a period as to be very likely an instance in point. The injunction that a palm branch should mark the house in which a dead body lay, is very possibly as old as the contraction of uncleanness by touching a corpse, and the Talmud makes it Mosaic. The deductions of the Gospel law, contained in the Creeds of the Church, are of older date to us than Mosaic Halacoth would have been to Judah the Holy, the compiler of the Mishna. Hillel, who became head of the Sanhedrin in the fifth year of Herod the Great, is the reputed author of the great bulk of the Halacoth [Hillel]. He probably collected the scattered fragments of traditionary dicta and decisions, and added others of his own. Maimonides classes them under five heads:—[1] Mosaic and scriptural; [2] Mosaic and traditional; [3] generally received though questionable; [4] decisions of the wise as "hedges of the law," *e.g.* to pledge a heathen in a cup of wine was forbidden as leading possibly to idolatrous libation; [5] counsels of prudence; well to follow but not having the force of law. By means of these Halacoth the precepts of the law have been made closely binding on the Jews in their wanderings by a literal interpretation where possible, otherwise on the "cy-près" principle; and more rarely by following the spirit rather than the letter of the law, to which a new direction is given, as in some of Hillel's decisions. A similarly liberal interpretation may yet remove the principal stumbling-blocks in the way of Israel's return from the Babel of unbelief. An authoritative Halacah is generally the end of controversy in the scholastic disputations on the Mishnic

text with which the Gemara abounds. The Halacoth stood altogether on different grounds from the lighter Haggadoth [HAGGADAH], in that they were received with reverence as authoritative conclusions. The latter, as being merely amusing illustrations, had no kind of authority. [Jost, *Gesch. d. Jud.*; Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr. d. Jud.*; Frankel, *Vorstud. z. LXX.*; Fürst, *d. Jud. in Asien*; Geiger, *d. Judenth.*; art. on Talmud in *Chr. Remembr.* Oct. 1868; *Quart. Rev.* Oct. 1867.]

HALLEL. The Hallel Psalms, or "Lauds," comprise the six Psalms from cxiii. to cxviii. inclusive, and have their name from the initial word of the first of the series. They were used on the three principal feasts of the Jewish Church —Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles; as also at every new moon, and on the Maccabæan Feast of the Dedication. The Hallel Hymn was divided into two portions at the close of Psa. cxiv. It had a liturgical, a sacrificial, a festal, and a processional use. On the three great feasts it formed part of the Temple service. It was chanted by the Levites while the Paschal lambs were being slain in the court of the Temple. The sacrificants being admitted in three detachments, the Hallel was repeated again and again; though in the case of the third or "laggard" detachment, the numbers being now few, the Hallel never reached the commencement of Psa. cxvi. [*Tr. Pesach.* and *Tosaphta*]. The festal use of the Hallel consisted in its being chanted at the Paschal Feast of each household; as far as the break at the close of Psalm cxiv. before the feast, and the remainder while the guests were partaking the fourth or final cup. It appears from the Tosaphta, or appendix, of the Tr. Pesachim, that the Hallel was chanted: "The Egyptian passover was with music, then must the Passover of the (after) generations be with music." There can be little doubt that our Lord and His disciples, ὑμνήσαντες, sung the latter part of this hymn, or Psa. cxviii., in concluding the Last Supper. The Syriac expresses this by saying "having sung lauds," using the Chaldee equivalent for Hallel, Psa. cxiii. The processional use of the Hallel Hymn is implied in the account of the Dedication of the Temple after its profanation by Antiochus Epiphanes; the ritual followed being that of the Feast of Tabernacles [2 Macc. x. 7], and "they bare branches and fair boughs, and palms also, and sung psalms unto Him that had given them good success in cleansing His place." "Gave good success" here represents τῷ εὐοδωσάντι in the original, a not very usual verb, whereby the LXX. express "send us now prosperity" in the Hallel Psalm, εὐοδώσον δή.

The Hallel was a principal feature of the services in the Feast of Tabernacles; and this word in the Book of Maccabees indicates a processional use. That it had this use is shewn under HOSANNA. It may be noted here that Psalm cxviii. has had an antiphonal character ascribed to it from very early days. The Chaldaic paraphrase distinctly expresses this, and apportions it among different "dramatis personæ." The exposition of the Psalms, "Midrash Teh" Hillim follows in the same track, though it gives a different cast of character. Aben Ezra, in his commentary, observes the same method, and says, "Let it not displease the reader that they who sustain the parts are not defined; for such is the way in sacred hymns." Rashi makes the amœbean portion to commence from verse 21. Hence Psa. cxviii. seems to have long had an antiphonal character; and it was chanted in procession; the Hosanna verse being a popular refrain. This Psalm, then, must have been much on the lips of the people during the Paschal season; and for this reason our Lord made pointed allusion to it in the last few days that preceded the Sacrifice of the Cross. "Did ye never read in the Scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes" [Psa. cxviii. 22, 23; Matt. xxi. 42]. "I say unto you, Ye shall not see Me henceforth until ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord" [Matt. xxiii. 39; Ps. cxviii. 26. See HOSANNA]. The proper Psalms for Easter Evensong are the two opening and the last Psalms of the Hallel collection. They formed, as it seems, the closing service of praise from Scripture used by our Lord before He suffered. [See Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb. Hallel*, Talmud, *Tr. Pesach*, with Tosaphta to *Tr. Succoth*.]

The Hallel Haggadol, or great Hallel, comprised Psalms ending with Psa. cxxxvi., but commencing according to varying Talmudic authorities, with Psa. cxviii., cxx., and cxxxv. 4. Wherever the Talmud speaks of Hallel it means the six.

HARMONY. [DIATESSARON. ANALOGY OF FAITH.]

HEAD [κεφαλή, πρόσωπον, LXX.] = in Holy Scripture the whole man as an external object or phenomenon; and is thus the correlative of "HEART," as the manifestation of that which takes place in the internal nature of man considered as a whole [Isa. i. 5].

In the Book of Daniel Head and Heart are synonymous; thus in ii. 28, iv. 5, 10, vii. 1, 15, dreams are called the "visions of thy head;" in ii. 30 "the thoughts of thy heart." But this identity occurs in no other part of Holy Scripture; it may serve, however, to explain the use of head, as = the whole man, body and soul, whence the common expression "per head." So of the distribution of the spoil [Judg. v. 30], where the LXX. has οἰκτίρμων οἰκτειρήσει εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρός; and Exod. xvi. 16, κατὰ κεφαλὴν κατ' ἀριθμὸν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν. [Cf. use of πρόσωπον in 2 Sam. xvii. 11.]

The general sense of head, as = the whole man, may be seen in two special aspects of its meaning: [*a*] the whole man as an *external* object, and [*b*] the culmination of the organism.

[*a*] *External acts affecting the whole man done on the head, e.g.:* Blessing [Gen. xlviii. 14, xlix. 26], consecration [Lev. viii. 12]. So, although not expressly stated, the Pentecostal tongues clearly descended upon the head [Acts ii. 3]. In the same sense, covering the head is a sign of subjection, in the case of Rebekah before Isaac [Gen. xxiv. 65], and in women generally as a

sign of ἐξουσία of their husbands [1 Cor. xi. 10]. Compare the case of Moses, who takes the veil off when he goes into the presence of God, but keeps it on before the people [Exod. xxxiv. 35]. So a person is honoured by being anointed on the head [Mark xiv. 3].

[*b*] *As the culmination of the spiritual organism.* The worshippers of angels are said "not to hold the head, from which all the body," &c., 'increaseth" [Col. ii. 19]. As the culminating point of a spiritual relation, the "head" of the woman is said to be the man; of the man, Christ; of Christ, God [1 Cor. xi. 3; *cf.* Eph. v. 23].

Throughout Holy Scripture there is not a trace of the attribution of intellectual operations to the head, and therefore none of the modern opposition of head as the seat of thought, and heart as the seat of emotion. [Delitzsch's *Biblical Psychology*, in Clark's *For. Theol. Lib.*]

HEART. A word of very various applications in Holy Scripture, which may be classified as follows:—

[1] *The bodily organ proper* [2 Sam. xviii. 14], which on the occasion of strong emotion is said to melt [Josh. v. 1], to be "poured out like water" [Lam. ii. 19], to make a noise [Jer. iv. 19], to pant [Ps. xxxviii. 10], to "tremble and move out of its place" [Job xxxvii. 1], to faint [Deut. xx. 8], to ferment (gähren, Delitzsch); "be grieved," A.V.; [ηὐφράνθη, LXX. Ps. lxxiii. 21], to glow [Ps. xxxix. 3, *cf.* Luke xxiv. 32], to be heavy [Prov. xii. 25], to be "smitten and withered like grass" [Ps. cii. 4], to be broken, either with indignation at others [Jer. xxiii. 9], or with contrition [Ps. li. 17], to be "as a burning fire shut up in the bones," *i.e.* with impatience and vexation [Jer. xx. 9].

[2] *The body generally*, which is comforted by food [Gen. xviii. 5], "filled with food and gladness" [Acts xiv. 17, Ps. civ. 15], or "overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness" [Luke xxi. 34, *cf.* Judg. xix. 5]. More vaguely, for the life of sensuality [James v. 5]; of the sense of smell [Prov. xxvii. 9].

[3] *The ideal seat of the affections*, without localization in any bodily organ; of joy and sorrow [Isa. lxv. 14]; of longing [Ps. lxxxiv. 2], and satisfaction [Acts ii. 46]; of envy [Prov. xxiii. 17]. and strife [James iii. 14]; of exasperation [Acts vii. 54], and vengeance [Deut. xix. 6]; of charity [1 Tim. i. 5], and hatred [Lev. xix. 17]; of despair [Eccles. ii. 20], desolation [Ps. cxliii. 4], and "astonishment," *i.e.* extreme terror [Deut. xxviii. 28], &c.

[4] *The seat of the intellectual operations;* of memory [Isa. lxv. 17, A.V. "mind," *cf.* Deut. xi. 18], and imagination [2 Chron. vii. 11, 1 Cor. ii. 9]; of attention [Deut. xxxii. 46]; and consideration [Luke ii. 19]; of dissimulation [Neh. vi. 8]; of common sense [Isa. xliv. 19, Prov. x. 21, A.V. "wisdom"], and analogical reasoning [Deut. viii. 5]; of experience [Josh. xxiii. 14], and perception [Deut. xxix. 4]; of understanding [Prov. viii. 5], and discussion [Luke v. 22]; of errors [Jer. xiv. 14], and hallucinations [Jer. xxiii. 16]; of meditation [Ps. xix. 14]. When the king's dream is interpreted to him, he is said "to know the thoughts of his heart" [Dan. ii. 30], where the "heart" represents that hidden source out of which dreams arise before they take shape and form in the imagination. In Exod. xxviii. 3, xxxi. 6, xxxv. 25, &c., "wise-hearted" appears to mean possessed of artistic taste and skill, as it is applied to those who are to make Aaron's priestly vestments, the coverings of the Tabernacle, &c. [*cf.* the Greek use of σοφός]. Similarly "heart" means the instructed, as opposed to the uninstructed intellect [Job xii. 3, Prov. xv. 32, A.V. in both places transl. "understanding;" *cf.* Hos. iv. 11, where sensual excess is said "to take away the heart"].

As the origin of the feelings and thoughts, the "heart" is also the source of language [Job viii. 10, Matt. xii. 34, &c.]. Conversely, "heart" is never attributed in any spiritual sense to the lower animals, and in Dan. iv. 16, where Nebuchadnezzar has his heart "changed from man's," and "a beast's heart" given to him, the beast's heart clearly means the privation of all those characteristics which make man a rational being. [*Cf.* "Ephraim is like a silly dove, without heart," Hos. vii. 11].

[5] *The source of desire and volition*, of the natural inclinations as opposed to the commandments [Num. xv. 39], of the sensual lusts [Rom. i. 24], of evil imaginations leading to sin [Matt. xv. 19, *cf.* Mark vii. 21-23]; of any impulse, good or bad [Acts vii. 23], of any intention, *e.g.* to make David king [1 Chron. xii. 38]; of voluntary action in general [Rom. vi. 17, *cf.* Lam. iii. 33, where A.V. has "willingly"], of indecision [Judg. v. 15], rashness [Isa. xxxii. 4], and deliberation [1 Kings xii. 33, *cf.* Neh. v. 7, where A.V. has "I consulted with myself"]; of adaptation of means to ends [Prov. xvi. 9], and of deliberate purpose [2 Cor. ix. 7, Isa. x. 7, &c.], of steadfast resolve in the government of the passions [1 Cor. vii. 37]; of permanent habits, *e.g.* pride [Ezek. xxviii. 2], folly [Rom. i. 21], obstinacy ["make the heart of this people fat," Isa. vi. 10], insincerity, "a double heart" [Ps. xii. 2]. Less commonly, of good habits, *e.g.* of purity [Prov. xxii. 11], of honesty and goodness [Luke viii. 15], of singleness [Col. iii. 22], and uprightness [2 Chron. xxix. 34]. Generally, the formation of habit is expressed by such words as "prepared" [2 Chron. xii. 14], "fixed," or "established" [Ps. cxii. 7, 8], "set" or "set aright" [Ps. lxxviii. 8], applied to the "heart;" conversely, where habit is imperfectly formed, the heart is said to be "weak" [Ezek. xvi. 30]. The heart is also the seat of the law of nature [Rom. ii. 15], and of a good or evil conscience [Heb. x. 22], and of self-reproach [1 John iii. 19-21].

[6] *The internal state of man, in general, as opposed to his overt acts.* "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he: eat and drink saith he to thee; but his heart is not with thee" [Prov. xxiii. 7, *cf.* 1 Cor. iv. 5]. As the inward correlative of the eye or ear [Deut. xxix. 4], of the mouth as the organ of speech [Rom. x. 9, 10], or

of the outward life generally [Ps. xxxiii. 15]. [See HEAD.]

[7] "Heart" stands sometimes merely *in the sense of "self" along with a possessive pronoun;* or in place of the corresponding personal pronoun [1 Kings xii. 33, *cf.* Exod. ix. 14, "I will send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people," where the sequel shews "upon thine heart" = "upon thee"].

[8] More definitely for *the self-consciousness whether* [*a*] *natural, or* [*b*] *moral.* [*a*] As the principle of self-assertion. "That sayest in thine heart I am, and none else beside me" [Isa. xlvii. 8]. So false prophets are said to prophesy "out of their own hearts," which is explained in the next verse as "following their own spirits" [Ezek. xiii. 2]. In this sense the "pride," "naughtiness," "idols," "covetousness" of the heart are spoken of. More vaguely, merely of consciousness, *e.g.* Nabal's heart is said to die when he loses consciousness [1 Sam. xxv. 37]. [*b*] Of the moral or expanded self-consciousness. "I will give them one heart and one way [Jer. xxxii. 39, *cf.* Acts iv. 32]; similarly, of the collective political self-consciousness [2 Chron. xxx. 12, *cf.* Col. ii. 2].

The above comparison of passages seems to lead to the following results:—*First*, That "heart" in Holy Scripture is the scene and subject of every class of operation, emotional, intellectual, active, incident to the spiritual nature of man. *Secondly*, That it is at once identical with the sum of them, and yet distinct from any of them; that it is the whole man, both extensively and intensively. *Thirdly*, That it represents the internal self as opposed to the overt act, and as opposed to the body, but yet as correlative to, and finding its expression in these. *Fourthly*, That it is a source both of good and evil.

[9] These conclusions throw light on the significance of the heart, *as the subject of the Divine operations in man*, as the soil in which the Divine seed is sown [Matt. xiii. 19], or, with a change of metaphor, as the scene upon which the Divine Day-star arises [2 Pet. i. 19], or, under another image, as the vessel into which the Divine love is poured out, ἐκκέχυται [Rom. v. 5]. Again, God is said to be the strength and eternal portion of the heart [Ps. lxxiii. 26], to search or try it, δοκιμάζειν [1 Thess. ii. 4], &c. to give to it the earnest of the Spirit [2 Cor. i. 22]. Conversely, the heart is described as the capacity in man for recognising the Divine presence [Jer. xxiv. 7], of self-surrender to God [Prov. xxiii. 26]; as the organ of faith "unto righteousness" [Rom. x. 10], and of immediate approach to God [Lam. ii. 18, Hos. vii. 14, Eph. v. 19]; as a hidden depth which God alone penetrates [Ps. xliv. 21, Rom. viii. 27], and in which Christ dwells by faith [Eph. iii. 17]; as the centre of peace [Col. iii. 15], and of love to God [Matt. xxii. 37]. By a more external image, God is said to hold the heart (*i.e.* the springs of action) in His hand, like a water-pipe, and to turn it different ways at will [Prov. xxi. 1].

For the distinction "omnium longe difficillimum," as Olshausen calls it, between heart and soul, see Oehler's article on "Herz" in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopedie;* and for the modern limitation of "heart" to the emotions, see AFFECTIONS: for the application of the term to God, see THEISM, PERSONALITY.

[10] The centre of anything; of the burning bush [Exod. iii. 2], or of the sky [Deut. iv. 11], in both of which A.V. has "midst," or, lastly, of the sea [Exod. xv. 8].

The writer is mainly indebted to Oehler's article above mentioned, and Delitzsch's *Biblical Psychology.*

HEAVEN. In popular language this word is used, in general, for all the infinite space which lies beyond the accessible world; and in particular, for the visible portion of it, the "firmament" or "sky" in which the fixed stars and planets are situated. It is often used in a similar way in the Holy Scriptures, more especially in the Old Testament, where the region of clouds and the region of the stars are each so designated,[1] as well as the abode of God and His glorified servants. [*e.g.* Dan. iv. 12, vii. 2, 13, the "fowls," "winds," and "clouds;" Gen. xxii. 17, the "stars;" Isa. lxvi. 1, the "throne" of heaven.] There seems to have been indeed a habit among Jewish writers of distinguishing these several regions as the first, second, and third heavens; and the language of St. Paul when he speaks of "one caught up to the third heaven" [2 Cor. xii. 2], is probably an illustration of this habit. Latin theologians have adopted the same classification, distinguishing the three, as "Cœlum Aqueum," "Cœlum Sidereum," and "Cœlum Empyreum." Another classification is also observable in Holy Scripture, that of two regions, "the heaven and the heaven of heavens" [Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii. 27; Ps. cxv. 16]. A third was adopted by Rabbinical writers, that of seven, in which the abode of God is the "seventh heaven," while four intermediate ones, the abode of different orders of spiritual beings, are interposed between the Cœlum Empyreum and the Cœlum Sidereum. This classification is recognised by several of the Fathers and by many imaginative writers of later date, and it has also been adopted by the Mohammedans, but it has no ground in Holy Scripture, nor is it known that it is built on any more ancient tradition than that of later Judaism in the Cabbala.

The "heaven" of Christian theology may be separated from all such classifications, and defined as the place of Beatific Vision, where the Divine Glory of Illimitable Deity is sensibly manifested. We may therefore view heaven first, as the abode of God, and secondly, as the abode of angels and saints.

[I.] *Heaven as the abode of God.* In what manner an Omnipresent Person can be truly spoken of as in any sense localized is beyond comprehension; yet the words of Holy Scripture so speak of God in relation to heaven, and the expressions used cannot be wholly explained by

[1] St. Thomas Aquinas calls these two the firmament. [*Summ. Theol.* qq. 68, 71.]

supposing them to be used in a metaphorical sense, or by way of accommodation. Thus heaven is called God's throne. St. Stephen, while declaring that "the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands," yet quotes the Prophet Isaiah as saying "Thus saith the Lord, heaven is My throne" [Acts vii. 49; Isa. lxvi. 1], plainly implying that it is the place of His dwelling. So also David says, "The Lord's throne is in heaven" [Psa. xi. 4]; and our Lord Jesus, "Swear not . . . by heaven, it is God's throne" [Matt. v. 34], "and he that shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by Him that sitteth thereon" [Matt. xxiii. 22]. Although there is undoubtedly an element of metaphor in these expressions, there is also an element of reality in them, quite apart from anything like anthropomorphism, and also from the idea of God Incarnate.

Of a similar kind is the evidence given by the visions sometimes vouchsafed to prophets and saints. Isaiah saw "the Lord, sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up," and said "Woe is me, for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts" [Isa. vi. 1, 5]. Ezekiel describes the glory which surrounded the Person of God, and afterwards speaks of "the likeness of a throne as the appearance of a sapphire stone; and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a Man above upon it;" and after describing the effulgence of His personal glory, adds: "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord" [Ezek. i. 26-28]. Almost identical was the glory made visible to St. John when "a door was opened in heaven . . . and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and One sat on the throne, and He that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone," to Whom the four living creatures gave the continual praise of a never-ceasing Ter Sanctus, Whom the four and twenty elders adored as the Creator of all things, and before Whom stood the "Lamb, as It had been slain" [Rev. iv. v.]. Such also was the vision that gladdened the eyes of the protomartyr who "looked steadfastly up into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God" [Acts vii. 55]; and such seems to have been that of which St. Paul spoke when he mentioned "visions and revelations of the Lord," in association with his being "caught up to the third heaven" [2 Cor. xii. 2-4].

All these appearances might be explained, partly on the same principle as the Theophanies by which God manifested Himself to our first parents, to Abraham, and to others [THEOPHANY], and partly by the words of St. John, "These things said Esaias, when he saw His glory, and spake of Him" [John xii. 41], that is, of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Person of the Blessed Trinity. But these explanations are only partial; and to whatever extent they go they intensify the idea of a local abode of Deity, by shewing that there is in heaven a visible Presence of the Second Person of the Godhead.

But the habitual language of Holy Scripture is of a still more direct character. "Is not God in the height of heaven?" asks Job, a place above "the height of the stars" or of "the thick clouds" [Job. xxiii. 12-14]. "Hear Thou from heaven Thy dwelling-place" [2 Chron. vi. 21]; "Art not Thou God in heaven" [*ibid.* xx. 6]; "Whom have I in heaven but Thee" [Psa. lxxiii. 25]. "God is in heaven and thou upon earth" [Eccles. v. 2], has been the continual instinctive utterance of the saints of old, witnessing to a mystery deeply graven in the human mind, that although the Deity is everywhere, yet there is a place where His abode is especially fixed, or especially manifested. But, most of all, such language proceeded from the lips of our Lord, who spoke over and over again of "My Father which is in heaven;" and left to His people those words which have stamped the idea for ever on the Christian mind, "Our Father, Which art in heaven."

It must, therefore, be concluded, that however mysterious and inexplicable the fact may be, yet it is a fact made certain by Divine revelation, that there exists a region which may be properly called the "abode" even of the Omnipresent; the dwelling-place of Him Whom yet the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain.

II. *Heaven as the abode of angels and saints.* The souls of the righteous are, ordinarily, dwelling in Paradise until the time of the general Judgment, and myriads of the holy angels are doing their work on earth as "ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation." But the home of angels is heaven, and there also in the end will those saints dwell, to whom will be vouchsafed the Beatific Vision. Whenever holy seers have beheld the heavenly glory of God, they have seen it associated with what we should call, in speaking of earthly sovereigns, a "court" of celestial beings. Isaiah saw the seraphim about the throne, and heard them singing in antiphonal strains the praises of the Blessed Trinity [Isa. vi. 3]: Ezekiel beheld there "the likeness of four living creatures" who went "whithersoever the Spirit was to go" [Ezek. i. 5, 20]. Daniel looked upon "The Ancient of Days," and saw that "thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him" [Dan. vii. 9, 10]. St. John "heard the voice of many angels round about the throne" [Rev. v. 11], worshipping God, and singing praises to His glory [Rev. vii. 11]. So also the Lord Jesus speaks of angels which "do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven" [Matt. xviii. 10]: declares that "in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven" [Matt. xxii. 30]; and promises to him that overcometh, "I will confess his name before My Father and His angels" [Rev. iii. 5]. The numerous passages in Holy Scripture which speak of the saints in heaven it is not necessary to quote, as it is abundantly clear that Christ and His Apostles set it before Christians as their chief hope that they should be received into the Presence of God, and "see His face" [Rev. xxii. 7], and "ever be with the Lord" [1 Thess. iv. 17].

But more will be found on this subject elsewhere. [New Creation. Resurrection. Beatific Vision.]

III. As regards the local situation of heaven, one uniform language is maintained throughout Holy Scripture, which invariably represents it as a region above us. Jacob saw "a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And behold the Lord stood above it" [Gen. xxviii. 13]. When Elijah was translated, he "went up by a whirlwind into heaven" [2 Kings ii. 1, 11]. When the Beatific Vision was permitted to St. Paul, he was "caught up to the third heaven" [2 Cor. xii. 2]. When St. John was to see the things which are to be hereafter, and "a door was opened in heaven," a voice said, "Come up hither" [Rev. iv. 1]; and when the same St. John saw the vision of the "holy city," the "new Jerusalem," it was "coming down from God, out of heaven" [Rev. xxi. 2].

Such language can scarcely be considered as destitute of literal significance. But its significance is much strengthened by the fact that the advent of angels upon earth is frequently represented as a descent from above; that our Lord thus speaks of Satan falling from heaven [Luke x. 18, *cf.* Isa. xiv. 12]; and that He also speaks of Himself as "He that came down from heaven" [John iii. 13, vi. 33]. St. John Baptist, again, declares "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven" [John i. 33]; and St. Peter writes of "the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven" [1 Pet. i. 12]. But, above all other evidence is that of our Lord's actual Ascension in the body, when "He was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God" [Mark xvi. 19]; "was parted from them, and carried up into heaven" [Luke xxiv. 51]; "was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight" [Acts i. 9]; and was witnessed to by angels and apostles that He should so come again as He had gone into heaven [*Ibid.* 11]; "descending from" thence [1 Thess. iv. 16] to complete His work in a Second Advent.

Such revelations shew us that the abode of God, of the holy angels, and of the beatified saints stands to our present abode in some such local relation as the stars of which we speak as being "above our heads," although they are all around us in infinite space. Whether or not there is a limited region, or a particular celestial sphere, which God has separated from the rest, as the garden of Eden was separated, to be the place of His visible manifestations and of eternal happiness, it is certain that there is such a place, altogether apart from the world in which we now live; that any who approach us thence descend from heaven to earth, that any who go hence thither ascend from earth to heaven; and that, wherever it be, there God dwells as He does not dwell on earth, so that angels and beatified saints may adore His visible Presence and Glory.

HELL. In the English version of the Old Testament, this word is used as the equivalent of the Hebrew word Sheol (שְׁאוֹל), which sometimes means, indefinitely, the grave, or place or state of the dead, and at others, definitely, a place or state of the dead into which the element of misery and punishment enters: but never a place or state of happiness, or good, after death.

In the English New Testament "hell" represents three Greek words, and it will be useful to set out in detail the places in which it is used, with the corresponding equivalents of the original.

[1.] Ἅιδης. "Thou Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to Hades" [Matt. xi. 23, Luke x. 15]. "Upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it" [Matt. xvi. 18]. "And in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments" [Luke xvi. 23]. "Thou wilt not leave My Soul in Hades" [Acts ii. 27]. David "spake of the resurrection of Christ, that His Soul was not left in Hades" [Acts ii. 31]. "O death, where is thy sting? O Hades, where is thy victory?" [1 Cor. xv. 55.] "I am He that liveth and was dead, . . . and have the keys of Hades and of death" [Rev. i. 18]. "And his name . . . was Death, and Hades followed with him" [Rev. vi. 8]. "And death and Hades delivered up the dead which were in them" [Rev. xx. 13]. "And death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire (εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός). This is the second death" [Rev. xx. 14].

[2.] Τάρταρος. "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to Tartarus, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment" [2 Pet. ii. 4].

[3.] Γέεννα. "Whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of the Gehenna of fire" [Matt. v. 22]. "And not that thy whole body should be cast into Gehenna" [Matt. v. 29, 30]; "into Gehenna, into the fire that never shall be quenched" [Mark ix. 43, 45]; "into the Gehenna of fire" [Matt. xviii. 9; Mark ix. 47]. "Fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in Gehenna" [Matt. x. 28; Luke xii. 5]. "Ye make him twofold more the child of Gehenna than yourselves" [Matt. xxiii. 15]. "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of the Gehenna?" [Matt. xxiii. 33]. "The tongue . . . is set on fire of Gehenna" [James iii. 6].

So classified, these passages speak for themselves. It is quite evident that although the English word "hell" is used promiscuously, a distinction of great importance is observable in the original Greek. In every place where *Hades* is used, it is consistent with a meaning that may be expressed at length as *the state and place of the dead*, that meaning being associated with the idea of privation and punishment, but not of finality. *Gehenna*, on the other hand, is used respecting unmixed evil, and a punishment distinctly associated with the idea of finality, from which there is no recovery. As, moreover, the name "Gehenna" was taken from the Hebrew word by which the Valley of Hinnom was known, a valley near Jerusalem, in which perpetual fires consumed the bodies of criminals, of unclean

beasts, and the refuse of the city, it seems to follow that the "lake of fire" [Rev. xx. 9-15, xxi. 8] is only another way of expressing the idea intended to be conveyed by "Gehenna," especially after the manner in which the latter term is several times used by our Lord.

"Hell," therefore, in the sense of Gehenna, is the place provided for the final punishment of evil angels and unpardoned men after the day of judgment, the intermediate "Hades" of the wicked and the "Tartarus" of the fallen angels already anticipating the horrors of Gehenna as Paradise anticipates the joys of Heaven. [INTERMEDIATE STATE. EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT.]

HELLENISTS. These are mentioned three times in the New Testament, viz.: in Acts vi. 1, ix. 29, and xi. 20. In the last named passage the Alexandrine MS. and some others read Ἕλληνας, but the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. read Ἑλληνιστὰς. The English version uses the word "Grecians" in these places as distinguished from "Greeks;" but this distinctive use of the word "Grecian" is only found in the New Testament. The Hellenists were Grecianized Jews, living habitually out of Judæa, using the Greek language as their vernacular, and adopting such Greek customs as were not inconsistent with the Jewish religion. These Grecianized Jews formed an important element in the Christian Church from the beginning; and there were, no doubt, a large portion of them among the converts made upon the Day of Pentecost. Several of the seven deacons were Hellenists, including St. Stephen: so also were the earliest Christians of Antioch, who had been converted by "men of Cyprus and Cyrene," themselves Hellenists, "scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen" [Acts xi. 19, 20]; and before the Church had as yet been initiated among the Gentiles by the conversion of Cornelius (who was a heathen "proselyte of the gate") and his household.

The Hellenist Christians were the principal persons concerned in the plantation of Christianity among the Gentiles at large; the prejudices of the Jewish race being less firmly rooted in them than in the Jews of Judæa; and the sympathies of language and habits giving them special advantages for the purpose of winning over Gentiles to the faith of Christ. It was the Hellenist Church of Antioch, and not the Hebrew Church of Jerusalem, that became the first centre of Gentile Christendom: and it was the Hellenistic dialect (or Hebraized Greek), not Hebrew, which was the language chosen as that of the New Testament.

HERESY. The word heresy in its origin is a word "mediæ significationis," αἵρεσις meaning simply "choice" [Tert. *de Præscr.* 6]; ἡ ἁπλῶς βούλησις [Hesych.] as the choice of a profession; "hæresis navalis" is the "shipping business" [*Cod. Theod.* XIII. vi. 9, 10]; the various schools of philosophy are expressed by it, "Cato perfectus Stoicus . . . in ea est hæresi" [Cic. *Paradox.*], Pythagoræ hæresin sequi [Vitruv.], οἱ τῆς στωϊκῆς αἱρέσεως ἡγέμονες [Diog. Laert.]. The word came into general use through the Macedonian Greek of Alexandria, and designated the rival shades of opinion among the Jews. Thus Josephus says that he began life in the Pharisæan heresy, answering to the Stoic philosophy of the Greeks [vi. 2]; he names the three Jewish heresies, as Pharisæan, Sadducæan, and Essene [*Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; *B. J.* ii. 8, 2]. Elsewhere he terms these sects φιλοσοφίαι, answering to the Syriac equivalent in the New Testament [ܗܠܟܬܐ] "doctrine." Hence the fusion of philosophy with Magian and Jewish notions, that caused so much trouble to the infant Church, was termed "heresy;" and from thenceforth the word was used to denote any kind of erroneous notion concerning the faith, as being "the opinion of a body of men agreeing among themselves, but differing from all others" [Phavorinus]. It is not a very easy matter to define heresy; the shades of error darken so imperceptibly. Augustine confesses the difficulty [*de Hær., præf.*]. At the close of his catalogue of heresies he says that they are to be classed as heretics who err in some one or two points of faith, as Macedonius; but that dealers in fiction (fabulones) who string together monstrous and intricate fables are not worthy even of the name of heresy. He distinguishes also between those who for some private end strike out new lines of error, and the simple whom they lead astray [*de Util. Cred.* i.]. Heresy is clearly a very different matter from infidelity; it upholds the Scripture that it misinterprets [Aug. *Ep.* cxx. sec. 13; Ambrosiaster, *in Tit.* iii. 10]. It professes to be of that household of faith which it troubles with its strife. It claims to pay reverence to Apostolical tradition as seeing the immense power that the Church derives from it for the maintenance of truth; but it substitutes traditions of its own for those that have been from the beginning. Jerome, and after him the Canon Law [Can. 24, q. 3, c. 26], has drawn this line of distinction between heresy and schism. "Heresy," he says [*in Tit.* iii. 10], "involves perverse doctrine; schism separation by reason of episcopal variance" [see Basil, *Ep. Canon. ad Amphiloch*, can. 1]. Rival bishops may be schismatical, and yet hold sound doctrine; but a bishop who teaches false doctrine is heretical. No false teachers of old could be condemned for heresy without due warning first given. Therefore there must also be an obstinate persistency in error to constitute heresy. The rule given from the beginning was invariably applied, failing which the condemnation even of a general council would be null and void: "A man that is an heretic (Syr. "heresiota") after a first and second admonition reject" [Tit. iii. 10]; "If he neglect to hear the Church let him be as an heathen man and a publican" [Matt. x. 17].

Heresy is the spirit of Antichrist of which St. John speaks [1 John ii. 18, 19, 22; iv. 3; 2 John 7]. The form of the beast in the vision of Daniel [vii. 8], having "eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things," "whose look was more stout than his fellows" [20], "thinking to change times and laws" [25], is a foreshadowing of the spirit of heresy. The Apostle speaks of

this false principle at one while as ὁ ἀντίχριστος, at another collectively, as many Antichrists, coming forth as they did from the various intellectual systems, the schools of Greece, the theosophy of the Magian, and the Cabbalistic mysticism of the Jew. The heresies that arose from these sources were either never of the Church, as the Ebionite and Cerinthian, or they were devised by those who went forth from the Christian community, as Simon the Mage, Hymenæus, and Philetus [2 Tim. ii. 18]; belonging indeed externally to the Church, but having nothing of its inward spirit. The Church from the first has been as the net cast into the sea, that draws within its meshes shells and weeds and worthless refuse, as well as that which is serviceable and good. It rejects none where there is any hope that the defective may be presented perfect through faith in Christ at the last day. These heresies, in general, were so entirely alien from the Spirit of Christ as to have no power to pervert the "children of the kingdom;" but at times error has shewed itself as the two-horned lamb [Rev. xiii. 11], with voice of serpentine guile, deceiving "the very elect."

Faith in the Holy Trinity, and in the two perfect Natures of Christ, is the foundation upon which the whole superstructure of Christian doctrine is built. Error upon either of these two points is heresy. [1 John ii. 22; iv. 3; 2 John 7.] The old canon law made everything to be heretical that militated against Roman doctrine, and was persistently maintained [Can. xxiv. q. 3, c. 31]. The law of England, in restoring to the crown its ancient supremacy over the "estate ecclesiastical" [1 Eliz. c. 1], has declared that to be heresy which has been so determined *heretofore* "by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or the four first General Councils, or any of them, or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures; or such as shall *hereafter* be determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament of this realm, with the assent of the clergy in their Convocation." This purview of the matter limits the idea of heresy to unsound teaching upon the Holy Trinity; the twofold nature of Christ; and Pelagianism, which was condemned in Celestius at Ephesus. The inherent authority of the Church to determine what is true and what is false in matters of religion dates from the first moment of her corporate existence, when Christ breathed on the Apostles, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained" [John xx. 23]. It formed the first germ of the Church that had the promise of being led into all truth, in whose decision upon matters of faith every member was bound to acquiesce, or to be held "as an heathen man and a publican." The Church has ever since possessed the same authority in matters of faith that she received at first. The power of binding and loosing has never been revoked; of condemning false doctrine; of visiting it with censures and penal infliction; and of conferring upon the penitent absolution for the past. In spiritual matters the Church is the minister and vicegerent of the Most High upon earth, as the State is in temporal matters; but the State from its first connection with the Church has enforced spiritual censure. By the common law of the Church any bishop was empowered to take single-handed cognizance of heresy, and punish it canonically [*Constit. Arundel*, A.D. 1408; Gibson's *Codex*, *tit.* xvi. c. 2.] By the Statute Law [5 Rich. II. c. 5, A.D. 1381], bishops were ordered to certify to the Lord High Chancellor the preachers of heretical doctrines, who should commission the sheriffs to arrest and imprison. This statute was repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 12; revived by 1 Mar. c. 6; and finally annulled by 1 Eliz. 1. W. Sawtrey, clerk, was burnt for heresy [A.D. 1400], on the king's writ, issued with the advice of the Lords temporal in Parliament to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London. In the same year, though apparently at a later period, the terrible statute "de Hæretico Comburendo" was passed [2 Hen. IV. c. 15], which empowered the bishop to arrest all preachers of heretical doctrine, to canonically judge, "and them do to be kept in his prison, and pay a fine to the King's exchequer." On contumacy or relapse, the bishop was directed to deliver the offenders to the secular arm, and the sheriff "them before the people in an high place, do to be burned." This Act was repealed by 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14, though obstinate heretics were still to be "committed by the King's writ to the lay power, to be burned in open places." In the Proclamations Act [31 Hen. VIII. c. 8], offences against the tenor of any royal proclamation in matters of heresy, are made penal "in estate and life;" and the Act for abolishing diversity of opinion in matters of religion [31 Hen. VIII. c. 14], adjudges that all who impugn the doctrine of Transubstantiation shall be deemed heretics, and as such "suffer judgment and execution by way of burning." These Acts were also repealed by 1 Edw. VI. 12. In 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5, there is some relaxation of severity, inasmuch as any indictment for heresy must be by oath of twelve men. The *Breve* or writ "de Hæretico Comburendo" was finally annulled by the Act 29 Car. II. c. 9. The last writs issued were in 9th of James I., when Bartholomew Legate was burned in Smithfield for Arianism; and in the next month Richard Neile was burned at Coventry for the heresies of "Ebion, Cerinthus, Valentinus, and Arius, and several others, all of which he obstinately held and maintained." [Gibson's *Cod.* f. 353.] A.D. 1414, the Act [2 Hen. V. c. 7] against "Lollardy" was passed, whereby the lands and chattels of any convicted Lollard were escheated; the University of Oxford being especially tainted with the error [*Constit. Arund.*, A.D. 1408]. This Act was also repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, revived by 1 Mar. c. 6, and finally annulled by 1 Eliz. c. 1.

The Act 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 13, having made it a part of the vow of bishops and priests that they will "banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's

Word," it remains to be seen what power they have for so doing. By the first Act passed in Queen Elizabeth's reign, the cognizance of heresy was formally "united and annexed to the Crown;" and in the same Act the statutable definition of heresy occurs, to which reference has already been made, viz. as so adjudged heretofore by the Canonical Scriptures; by the four first General Councils, or any one of them; by the scriptural judgment of any other General Council; or that shall be so adjudged hereafter by Parliament with consent of Convocation; *i.e.* by the Church of England as fully represented by the clergy and laity. If such a court of delegates could be constituted at the present day from the *élite* of the clergy, and a lay element of Churchmen elected by *bona fide* members of the Church of England, the question of heresy might perhaps be left to its judgment. But the day has gone by for such a combination, so far as the constitution of Parliament is concerned. Desuetude has swept away the ancient prerogative of Convocation to punish heresy as a synodal act. The old penal acts of Parliament also having happily been abrogated, the cognizance of heresy in theory has returned into its ancient channel, and bishops doubtless still have the power of inflicting ecclesiastical censure. But the resumption of full penal powers by bishops appointed by "*pro tem.*" ministers of the Crown who may or may not be members of the Church of Christ, is scarcely to be desired, for an hierarchy so constituted would not always be agreed in its definition of heresy. The only courts that can take cognizance of heresy practically are the Courts of Westminster and the Courts of Assize, under 9 & 10 Will. III. c. 32, "for the more effectual suppression of blasphemy and prophaneness." Heresy has so completely evaporated as an *ecclesiastical* offence, that it is not even mentioned in modern books of ecclesiastical law. Yet it should be noted that the Act 13 Eliz. c. 12 makes it an offence to maintain or affirm any doctrine contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles, which Act, according to Lord Stowell's decision in R. *v.* Stone, is still *in viridi observantiâ*, though as temporal judge he had no power to inflict sentence of deprivation; which therefore the Bishop of London, coming into court for that purpose, did [Hagg. *Cons.* 424; Cripps, *Eccles. Law*, p. 585, ed. 1845]. Such, then, is the position in which the question of heresy has been left by modern changes.

Taking the standard of Catholic doctrine as τὸ ὀρθὸν, heresy as often oscillated in opposite direction by neutral repulsion as it arose in the way of mutual sequence from heretical antecedents. The Gnosticism of the two first centuries lies at the root of nearly every aftergrowth. The Arian heresy and its offshoots may be traced back to the Gnostic Soter. Manichæism and Pelagianism had their origin—the one by attraction, the other by repulsion, as from opposite poles. The anatomist is not led back to the brain by following the course of the nerves more certainly than the heresiology of after centuries may be traced back to the Gnosticism of the first.

It was essentially an eclectic system. In theory professing to abhor the polytheism of Greece and Rome, it devised an entire Theogonia of Æons. It was an attempt to amalgamate the theosophy of the East with that faith in the Divine Unity which the sages of the West held in common with the Jew. Matter, the matrix of all evil, was, in one form or other, supposed by the Gnostic to be co-eternal with the Deity. From the one Supreme Being, existing eternally in procosmic silence, a succession of personified attributes went forth as a creative energy, whereby the arrangement of the world of matter was effected without bringing the Supreme Bythus into contact with the source of all evil. So far as names venerable among Christians were introduced into the Gnostic system, they reflect light upon the teaching of the Church in the very infancy of our religion; and it is worthy of note that, with the exception of the Ebionite offshoot, which was virtually Jewish, these sects, one and all, believed in the personal Divinity of Christ. It was the true human nature of our Lord that was denied by them [Theodoret, *Dial.* ii.]. Credit might be given to them for linking their fortunes in any way with the "sect" of Christians, so continually the object of persecution, if it were not known that to sacrifice at the idol altar was a painless ordeal. [Gnosticism. Hippolyt. *Philosoph.;* Irenæus, *Cambr. ed. Introd.;* Tertull. *c. Valentin*, *c. Marcion*, *c. Gnosticos;* Neander, *Genet. Entw.;* Matter, *Gnost.;* Beausobre, *Hist. Manich.* pt. II. iii. 9, 10.]

Gnosticism, as originated by Simon Magus, had nearly died down by A.D. 200, [Origen, tom. i. p. 45]. But the Oriental principle of heresy was not dead, it lived in Manes, the originator of the Manichæan heresy [A.D. 270], who derived it from Basilides [*Acta Archelai*, 55]. This system was based on the Diarchic assumption of two eternal principles, light and darkness, one good, the other evil. So far it had common ground with Cerdon and Marcion among the Gnostics. The doctrine of the Trinity was explained by him on Zoroastrian principles; the Father dwelt in unapproachable light [Beausobre, *Hist. Manich.* i. 164; Aug. *c. Faust.*; Kleuker's *Zend Avesta*, iii. 343]. The Word, as the Persian Mithras, had his dwelling in the sun, the Holy Spirit in mid air. It was another form of Pantheism. The souls of the elect were purged from baser particles, and after death dwelt for ever in the presence of God. Like the Gnostics, the Manichæans looked for a final restoration of all things to their primitive condition, when the kingdoms of light and darkness should be once more eternally separated. They forbad marriage, and denied the resurrection of the body. The souls of the reprobate, after lustration by fire, passed into other bodies, and were tried in a new state of existence, and in default of purification were finally abandoned to the fire of torment. The Manichæans made a great profession of squaring everything to the reason of their followers, and of demanding nothing upon faith [Aug. *de Util. Cred.* i.].

The vitality of this sect is remarkable. That

it continued to flourish in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, is evident from the severe laws that were passed against it by the Roman emperors [*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 5, *de Hær.*; *Cod. Justin.* i. 5, *de Hær.*]. Writers of the Roman communion have always traced the principles of the Vaudois and Albigenses back to Manichæism. [Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.*; Bayle, *Manich.*; Cave, *Hist. Lit. s. v. Manich.*; Walch, *Hist. Hær.* i. 685; Basnage, *Præf. gen. ad Cai. L. Ant.* i. p. 1.; Tillemont, *Mem.* iv. 367; Fabric, *B. Gr.* vii. 310; Maii *Coll. Nov.* vii. 17; Cacciari, *Exercit. in Leon. M. op.*; Neander, *Kirch. G.* i. 2, 817; Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* vi.; Epiphan. *Hær.* 66; Theodoret, *H. Fab.* i. 26, v. 9; Augustine, *c. Faust.* xx., *Hær.* 36, *c. Felic. Manich., Op. Imperf., c. Jul. De U. Cred.* 1, *de Fide inter Opp. Aug., &c.; Acta Archelai.*]

The next phase of heresy was that of Montanus, who, like Mahomet, had his ecstatic trances, and affirmed that he possessed the spirit of prophecy; but there is not sufficient reason for believing that the worst blasphemy with which he has been charged was ever brought home to him [Mosheim, *de R. Chr. ante Const.* p. 413]. Montanus himself was never heretical on points of faith. Matters of ascetic practice, and his pretension to a new revelation, were sufficient to separate him from the body catholic. [Kaye's *Tertullian*; Wernsdorf, *de Mont.*; Mosheim, *de Reb. Chr. ante Const.* 410-425; Walch, *Hist. Hær.* i. 611-666; Kirchner; Münter; Schwegler, *de Montanistis.*] But there came a division, and one half of his followers, under Proclus, continued orthodox in faith [Tertull. *Præscr. Hær.* 52], while the rest, under Æschines, adopted a notion which was Gnostic, inasmuch as it held the emanative principle, though unity should be restored again when the purpose of a complex manifestation had been served. Brahminism had already become known to Europe as an intellectual system [Hippolyt. *Philos.*] that held the doctrine of Divine emanation put forth for a time, and retracted as the tortoise draws back his limbs within the testudo; or as the spider was believed to recover into itself its line of web [Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* pt. II. iii. 6].

Praxeas first, and then Sabellius shortly after the middle of the third century, obtained the appellation of Patripassians, as teaching the Unity of the Godhead in such a way as to assert that the Father in the Person of the Son suffered upon Calvary. The inevitable reaction set in. Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, and protegé of the Jewess Zenobia, "that God the Father might be one" [Athanas. *de Sal. Adv. Jes. Chr.* 3], affirmed that the Son was not pre-existent from all eternity, but had His beginning both in His intelligent and in His sentient nature from the Virgin; that the Word was as the Mind existing in certain states, memory, hope, fear, &c. [Athanas. *de Inc. c. Apoll.* 20; Ruffin. *de Symb.* 39]. He was condemned by the Council of Antioch [A.D. 272], and a misunderstanding unfortunate in its after consequences arose from the discredit thrown by the Council on the theological term ὁμοούσιον in consequence of its application by Paul [see Homoousion]. The name of Paul long lingered in the *Hæresiologia*, though without any considerable following; yet the "Publicans" of the Middle Ages were said to be a corruption from "Paulicians," and it is known that the latter sect sprung up near Samosata.

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, in combating the Patripassian tenets, had laid himself open to a charge of resolving the μοναρχία of the Deity. That Dionysius, in his dislike of Sabellianism, may have used faulty expressions which were popularly afloat, is very possible; but he easily rebutted the charge of lax doctrine, and the term *homoousios*, though not new, first assumed a prominent position in his vindication. The anti-Sabellian reaction continued; and at length Arius appeared and enounced the distinctive formula of his heresy, that there was a time when the Son was not [ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν], and that He was created of that which before was not [ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων]; higher than the angels, but a mere κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα [*Ep. Conc. Nic. ad Æg.*]. "Non Deus verus, sed quem fecit Deus verus" [Aug. *Tr. in Joh.* vi. 44]. By His agency the worlds were made, and in due course the Word took the place of a human soul in Christ [Ath. *de Sal. Adv. Chr.* 3]. The Gnostic Soter was reproduced. The well-established theological term *homoousios* [Harvey on the *Creeds*, p. 234] was made the test of truth and error by the Council of Nice, and Arius refusing to subscribe, was ejected from the Church by usual process [Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.*; Waterland's *Vindic.*; Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* pt. II. iii. 7; Newman's *Arians*; Kaye's *Athanasius*]. Court influence kept Arianism alive throughout the fourth century, until the semi-Arian distinction divided the party into the ὁμοιούσιον, and the Anomœan or pure Arian sections of Arianism. The semi-Arians construed οὐσία to mean, not *substance* in the Catholic sense, but substantial individuality, and incommunicable to any other being; it was the "idiosyncrasy" of modern philosophy. Therefore, they argued, to say that the Son is ὁμοούσιος with the Father is Sabellianism; it is a confusion of Son and Father in one Individuality; and thus τὸ ὁμοιούσιον became the watchword of the semi-Arian, and distinguished him from the Anomœan. The first trace of this notion is to be detected in the epistle of Eusebius from the Council of Nice to his flock at Cæsarea; but the semi-Arian party dates its existence from the Council of Ancyra [A.D. 358], which condemned the Anomœan Arianism of Aëtius, and declared its complete faith in the perfect equality of the Son with the Father. A better definition of the term οὐσία would have shewn that they held a common ground of belief with the Catholic Church; but as things stood, they concluded their anathemas of the Anomœan party by a formal rejection of the Homoousion as tantamount to a confession of Sabellianism [Epiphan. *Hær.* lxxiii. 11], though they still held as complete faith in the Divinity of the Son as Athanasius himself [Athan. *de Synod.* 41]. Another shade of Arianism was next developed. The ambiguous term

οὐσία was cancelled by Acacius in the next year [A.D. 359], at Seleucia, who declared that the Son was ὅμοιος simply, in relation with the Father. He was like, but there was no substantial unity. The semi-Arians were deluded into the idea that the new formula was virtually their own, and they symbolized with it. But seven years later they condemned it at Lampsacus, and the Catholic meaning of οὐσία having at length been accepted, the Nicene Symbol was subscribed by fifty-nine semi-Arian bishops. Macedonius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had passed from the Anomœans to the semi-Arian party, extended the Arian perversion of doctrine to the Holy Spirit, affirming that He was neither of the same nor of similar substance with the Father and the Son. The heresy was an extension of the Anomœan or pure Arian, rather than of the Homœan or semi-Arian notions. From this time the semi-Arian party ceased to exist; its members either returned to the orthodox faith, or were absorbed in the new heresy of the Macedonians, more generally known as the Pneumatomachi. This heresy was condemned by the Council of Constantinople [A.D. 381], when the final clauses were added to the Nicene Creed which express faith in the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; the clauses, however, being before in existence, for Epiphanius appends them to the form that had been learned by heart by catechumens for fifty years, from the very time of the Nicene Council [Epiph. *Ancorat.*]. The Macedonian heresy had a bare existence in the beginning of the fifth century; the Arians also survived only among the fierce hordes of Northern Europe, and in Spain, from whence they passed over into Africa. The destruction of the Vandal rule in Africa brought the Arian party back to the Church Catholic, and about the middle of the seventh century it became finally extinct. The reappearance of Arianism in Poland in the fifteenth century scarcely amounted to a revival.

Arianism gave place to two heresies of an equally obstinate character—Pelagianism and Nestorianism. Pelagius in the East, Marigena at Rome, and Morgan in Britain, were the same individual British monk, who at Rome imbibed his errors from a Syrian, Ruffinus (not to be confounded with Ruffinus of Aquileia). From the time of Origen the seeds of evil had been slowly germinating in the East, where Theodore of Mopsuestia preserved their vitality. Origen, in opposing the Diarchic principle of Valentinus and Marcion, and the old Gnostic notion that evil is inherent in matter, maintained the existence of one eternal good Principle, and affirmed that evil was the result of man's imperfect moral nature acting under an uncontrolled freedom of will. He denied that the souls of men were naturally divided into a good and a bad seed, but declared that all might be good if they would, by free will acting in a right direction. The Manichæans having succeeded to many of the Gnostic notions, Pelagius also followed in the steps of Origen, and declared that man by his own innate power might be virtuous without the grace of God, that there was no original sin, neither was death brought in by Adam's fall. These opinions were condemned in his companion Cœlestius at Carthage [A.D. 412, 418, and Eph. A.D. 431]. The antagonism to Manichæism is evident in the fact that Pelagius charged the Catholic teaching with that error [Aug. *ad Bonif.* ii. 5]. Augustine points out that the Church kept, as usual, the *via media* between the two extremes [*ad Bonif.* ii. 2, 3; iii. 3, 4; see Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* vii. 1, 2].

Pelagius having passed into Palestine, Cassian imported his error from thence into Gaul, in the modified form of semi-Pelagianism, or the Massilian error [A.D. 428]. He allowed the fall of man, also that man can neither work out his own deliverance, nor begin any good work, nor complete it without Divine grace, yet that his own goodwill must anticipate the working of grace, as the Schoolmen afterwards declared that man's own effort brought in the merit *de congruo*. He further asserted that the question of Divine predestination was thus resolved, each individual's happiness or misery having its first germ in human free-will. This heresy was condemned [A.D. 529] by the second Arausican Council. [See Augustine, tom. x. ed. Bened. Epp. 145-225; tom. v. Serm. 170, 174, 176, 293, 294; tom. viii. *Hær.* 88, *ad Quod vult deum.* Vossius, *Hist. Controv. Pelag.;* Noris, *H. Pelag.;* Garner, *Diss. de Pelag. H.;* Mar. Merc.; Neander, *Kirch. G.* ii.]

The mystery of an hypostatic union of two Natures in one Christ was impugned by Nestorius, while Cassian was importing semi-Pelagianism into Gaul. Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, professing to uphold the faith against Arius and Pelagius, taught the Homoousion, and maintained the doctrine of original sin with its consequences; but he affirmed at the same time that the Son of Mary was simply man, though raised to the dignity of the Son of God through union with the Word after birth; thus that the Person of Christ was twofold, the human and Divine Personalities existing separately until they were united in the Saviour. The distinctive test of Nestorianism was whether the Blessed Virgin might be correctly named Θεοτόκος, a term used by Alexander, Patriarch of Alexandria, in his first Epistle against Arius [A.D. 324], and by Athanasius [*de Inc.* 13]. Nestorius commenced the propagation of his error on the Feast of the Nativity [A.D. 428], in the first year of his episcopate, and was condemned in the third General Council, at Ephesus [A.D. 431]. Being a man of noble bearing and popular manners, a violent schism ensued, which gradually spread and still exists in the northern provinces of Syria. [NESTORIANISM. Field, *On Church*, iii. 1; Assemann, *Bibl. Orient.* iv. 69, 76; Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.;* Palmer's *Treatise*, I. xiv.]

Again the heretical pendulum oscillated in an exactly opposite direction. Eutyches, in his opposition to Nestorius, maintained the Personal unity of Christ as the Word Incarnate, but he erred in saying that one mixed nature was the result, as electrum is the alloy of silver with gold

[A.D. 448]. The author having been excommunicated by a Council at Constantinople, the sentence was reversed by a false Council (Latronum) at Ephesus in the following year, but confirmed by the fourth General Council at Chalcedon [A.D. 451]. The Eutychians, like their rivals, formed a strong schism, spreading into Palestine, Egypt, and Ethiopia, where they were known as Jacobites and Copts (= Αἰγύπτιοι). Thus the Eastern Church was harassed by the two rival factions of, Nestorius in the north, and Jacobites or Eutychians in the south. [Le Quien, *Diss.* ii. *in* Damasc.; Salig. *de Eutmo. ante Eut.*; Assemann. *B. Or.* i. 219.]

One more heresy remains to be described, the Monothelite, of which Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, was the author [A.D. 630]. Confessing the two natures in Christ, he declared that the Divine and human will in Him were one, as implied by unity of Person (ἓν θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν). He was condemned in the Lateran Council [A.D. 649]; but the error still existing, the condemnation was confirmed in the sixth General Council at Constantinople [A.D. 680, 681]. The Maronites of Mount Lebanon, so called from a Syrian monk, Maro, were of this party till the twelfth century, when they were admitted into communion with the Church of Rome [A.D. 1182], in the time of the Crusades. It was an important acquisition, as they were a warlike population of 40,000 souls, and formed a most useful barrier against the Saracens. They are wholly attached to the Roman discipline, using Syro-Chaldaic as their liturgical, and Arabic as their vernacular language. They number now about 150,000. Assemann, the deeply learned compiler of the *Bibl. Orient.* was of this race. [Assemann. *Bibl. Or.* ii. *Diss. de Monoth.*]

HERMENEUTÆ. Special interpreters were appointed in some of the early Churches, whose duty it was to translate the Holy Scriptures and the sermons of the clergy *vivâ voce* to those who did not understand the language in which they were read and spoken. These Ἑρμενευταὶ are mentioned by Epiphanius [*Expos. Fidei*, n. 21], and in the Acts of Procopius the Martyr [Valesius, *Notes to Eusebius' Martyrs of Palestine*]. They do not appear to have been a separate order in any sense, but as Procopius is said to have held three offices in the Church of Scythopolis, being reader, exorcist, and interpreter of Syriac, so it is probable that those were appointed interpreters who were already (if such could be found) ordained to one of the minor orders.

HERMENEUTICS. A scientific term by which the *principles* of Biblical interpretation are distinguished from Exegesis, or the practice of interpretation. [Interpretation.]

HERMIT. ἐρημίτης, ὁ ἐν ἐρήμῳ διάγων [Suidas], though ἐρημία does not necessarily imply withdrawal into an actual desert ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκίσκος κραυγῆς ἀπηλλαγμένος, "any chamber remote from clamour" [Chrysostom]. Although commonly used in opposition not only to citizen but also to cenobite, the word hermit in strictness (both etymologically and historically) includes the latter; for the dwellers in the desert lived both in companies and in individual seclusion [Anchorites]. Hermit thus = monk, but indicates also the earlier and Eastern as contrasted with the later and Western stage of Monasticism, when religious houses began to be founded in inhabited localities, in villages, or in cities.

The first great migration to the desert of the Egyptian Thebaïd took place under the leadership of Paul of Thebes beneath the stress of the Decian persecution. "Primo genuit necessitas fugæ (says Suicer, *Thes. Eccl.*) propter persecutiones gentilium; postmodum auxit superstitio et opinio sanctitatis." In the Decian persecution, which was unusually severe, many Christians apostatized, many more rushed upon martyrdom unsought: but between these classes those who, whilst ready to die for their faith, as many of them were, simply evaded persecution by retiring beyond the area covered by the imperial religion, must bear the palm at once for consistency and sobriety. They were following the example of the holy family [Matt. ii. 13], as well as the precept of Christ [Matt. x. 23] and His apostle [1 Cor. x. 14].

An asylum once established in Egypt, many sought refuge there who fled rather from the widespread misery of ordinary provincial life in the decline of the Empire, than from religious persecution. The desert thus became to the Roman very much what the English colonies are to the European world, the receptacle of those who (mainly in the middle, lower middle, agricultural and industrial classes) found living difficult. This circumstance may account for some at least of the extravagance of idea which infected the religion of the hermits, as it does for that of the Mormon and the Shaker in America.

Alexandria, moreover, through which the population flowed into the desert, was itself fast becoming a "colluvies gentium," in which the illimitable ideas of the East came into contact with the decaying culture, the luxury, and the misery of the West. Popular Neo-Platonism was the result, and it was this rather than Christianity which seems to have been the parent of the Egyptian eremitic life. The Therapeutæ, *e.g.*, were not Christians at all [*v.* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. p. 210, n.].

Into the midst of such influences did the Christian emigrants and refugees enter when they retired from imperial society; by such circumstances was the Christian ascetic ideal modified, debased; against such deterioration was the rule of St. Antony (solitary) and of Pachomius (cenobitic) directed. But notwithstanding these attempts at reform and sobriety, extravagance and fanaticism, idleness and a constant tendency to insanity, have always been the charges brought against the hermits or desert-monks. In Syria, and throughout the whole tract of country between Egypt and the Black Sea, bands of hermits were found by Cassianus during his tour of inquiry (fourth and fifth centuries), roaming about, or dancing, or given over to perpetual inward prayer, or, in fine, in some cases, to the grossest licentious

ness. Attempts were made to encourage the hermits to grow corn, and to make clothes for the poor in the great cities. But their bad character still continued. And the 42nd Canon of the Trullan Council (at the end of the seventh century) was compelled to forbid the entrance or sojourn of hermits in the cities.

From the eremitic stage of Monasticism taken by itself, it is obvious that nothing can be inferred as to the value or propriety of Christian asceticism; [1] because that form of the movement was not in its origin a product of the Christian spirit, but of the circumstances of the times; [2] because the Pagan element in it always tended to predominate; and, lastly, because the extravagances of it were condemned by men like Jerome and Augustine, who approved of Monasticism.

The Christian hermits of Egypt espoused the cause of Athanasius against the Arians, and as the adherents of the orthodox faith some of them were brought by him to Rome, and the ascetic life propagated in a new region under new conditions. Athanasius' *Life of St. Antony* [*Opp., Bened. Ed.* vol. ii.] is one of the best authorities for the eremitic life in Egypt, and was one of the principal instruments of its propagation in the West. [Asceticism. Monasticism.]

HIERARCHY. A Greek term signifying a sacred principality instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ in His Church, and consisting of an order of persons consecrated to God, who all, in divers degrees of order and power, contribute to the observance of the law of God and the greater glory of His Name. Our Lord, the chief Bishop, chose out twelve apostles and seventy disciples, corresponding to the twelve princes of tribes and the seventy elders, who with Moses governed God's ancient people, in order to shew that His Church is the true spiritual Israel of God. St. Paul gave authority to Timothy and Titus to constitute bishops and deacons; St. Paul exercised visitation over the priests summoned to Ephesus; with St. Barnabas he ordained priests [Acts xiv. 23]; St. Peter gave charge to priests and deacons [1 Pet. v. 1-5]; and St. John received Divine commission to exercise authority over the seven angels or bishops of the churches of Asia. In order to preserve the unity of the Church, Christendom was divided into dioceses, each with a number of priests and deacons under one head, the bishop, to regulate the faith and manners of the people, and to minister to them in God's Name. The hierarchy embraces the power of jurisdiction and of order, considered as a *principality;* and in respect of being an *order*, it represents the spiritual Church set in an array as an army with banners, and composed of different ranks [1 Cor. xii. 28; Ephes. iv. 11], for even the extraordinary members of the Church, as prophets, were under the Apostolical authority [Acts xv. 22, 32]. The subordination of ministers amongst themselves, and the variety of their functions, produce a concord and unity which constitute the distinctive character of the Church of God. The hierarchy of *order* was established to sanctify the Body of Christ, and is composed of all persons in orders. The hierarchy of *jurisdiction* was established for the government of the faithful and to promote their eternal holiness, and is composed of prelates. The hierarchy of order by ministration of the Sacraments and preaching the Gospel aims at elevating and hallowing the spiritual life; the hierarchy of jurisdiction is for the promotion of exterior discipline. The hierarchy of order confers no jurisdiction, but simply power to perform ecclesiastical functions and administer sacraments, whereas the other hierarchy bestows jurisdiction, and consequently the right of making ordinances concerning the faith and ecclesiastical discipline, and to correct offenders. The principal duty of ministers of the Church is to lead men to the knowledge and worship of God, and the Church therefore requires laws and rules for the guidance of her ministers. The hierarchy of order, that of the ministration of the Word and Sacraments, appertains to all clergy according to the measure of their power; the hierarchy of jurisdiction, which is in fact *the* hierarchy, being the chief power of the Church, pertains to prelates alone, but cannot exist without the other hierarchy, although the latter can be without jurisdiction, which it presupposes, and is its foundation. In the one the clerical character or *order*, *i.e.* the ecclesiastical office, only is regarded, in the other the *degree*, the rank in jurisdiction of a prelate, is alone considered. Both have one origin and one object, and both flow from the clerical character; but order is of divine right, jurisdiction an ecclesiastical necessity, with its differences of chief bishops, prelacies, and ranks of ministers. [Jurisdiction.]

HILLEL, of ennobled Babylonian family, came as a very poor youth to Jerusalem, in the time of Shemaia and Abtalion, the Sameas and Pollio of Josephus. He died at the advanced age of an hundred and twenty years [A.D. 8], and was father of Simeon, who received the infant Saviour in his arms on the Presentation. The Talmud [*Joma*, 35 b] quotes the case of Hillel to shew that poverty does not exempt a man from a deep study of the law; for when Hillel arrived at Jerusalem he was glad to earn the lowest daily wages for his living, the half of which he paid at the door of the Beth-Midrash for daily instruction. One day he had earned nothing, and was repulsed by the doorkeeper; he climbed to the roof therefore, and lying down by the skylight opening, listened to the words of wisdom beneath. A snow-storm came on, but still he listened, until he became drowsy, and at length sunk into a state of coma, and so remained all night. The next morning two rabbin on entering observed that the opening above was darkened unaccountably, and on examination found Hillel senseless. By unguents and other rabbinical remedies they at length restored life. It is the Talmudical instance of the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. Hillel became known to fame when in a particular year the Paschal day coincided with the ordinary Sabbath. No lunar cycle had been laid down, and the fact came suddenly upon the authorities on the "birth" of the new moon. It was an old difficulty; which

was to take precedence, the feast or the Sabbath? Hillel by this time had become known as a favourite scholar of Abtalion, lately dead; and the Temple conclave, hoping that the young Rab could declare the opinion of the late Nasî, sent for him, and he at once pronounced in favour of the festival as a tradition received from his master. After a lengthy discussion, it was decided that the feast should take precedence, and Hillel was appointed Nasî, just one hundred years before the destruction of the second temple. It was a common saying[1] that three times the observance of the Law had received its adjustment from Babylon; under Ezra, from Hillel, and from Chija. The Nasîship was hereditary in the family of Hillel for four hundred and fifty years, down to as late as A.D. 415. Hillel's scholars, during his long tenure of office, were numbered by thousands, of whom eighty are noticed in the Talmud; the last of them was Jonathan ben Zachai, who is said to have predicted the accession of Titus to the imperial purple, and the destruction of the Temple forty years before the occurrence; for which, however, a tolerably acute political vision would suffice [*Gittim.* 56]. Hillel first framed hermeneutical rules for the scientific exegesis of the Law, which are to be found in the introduction to the Talmud, imitated evidently from the Greek grammarians. They were, in the first instance, seven, but increased afterwards to thirteen, and eventually to thirty-two canons. The Rulers of the Tanaite series, from Simon the Just [B.C. 320], run in pairs, and Hillel, as president, had Shammai associated with him as his vice-president, or Ab Beth Dîn. The two men were completely antagonistic in their character; Hillel courteous, and genial, and charitable in his opinions; Shammai, the harsh, dogmatic, unbending Pharisee. The rival dicta of the two schools are for ever placed in apposition by the Talmud, and the liberality of Hillel's views stand in favourable contrast with the moroseness of Shammai. The decisions of the two, however, were accepted as equally orthodox; Hillel was right, yet Shammai was no heretic; the two made one many-sided man; and the difference of opinion only caused cases, as they offered themselves, to be considered in every possible point of view. The pupils, however, of the two teachers took more vehement action, and the Talmud says that even blood was spilled by them in honour of the rival masters.

These opposite characters are contrasted in frequent Talmudic examples, and more especially in their bearing towards proselytes. Shammai often repulsed them with a rough answer, while Hillel always gave a fair hearing; and if they approached in a wrong spirit, he took a Socratic method of convincing them of their error. "I wish to become a Jew," said one man to Shammai, "because I should like to be high priest." On meeting with a rude repulse, he tried the colleague. Hillel took him in hand, and, after a little preliminary instruction, led him on to the constitution of the priesthood in the Law, and shewed him that any but a descendant of Aaron who attempted to exercise priestly functions was punishable with death. The proselyte at once said, "If this is the case with a son of Israel, how would it fare with me?" Another wished to make short work of preliminary instruction, and insisted on its being communicated in the briefest terms [*Shabbath*, 16]. "Good," said Hillel, "the whole substance of Judaism is to do nothing to others that you dislike yourself [Tobit iv. 15], all else is comment on this text." He soon became a promising candidate. A third would hear nothing of tradition, which he entirely repudiated. Hillel taught him the Hebrew alphabet; the next day he went through the letters in a broken order. "But how is this?" said the Gentile, "you taught it me yesterday as it was written." "You had faith in my teaching yesterday," said his master; "place the same confidence in me now when I teach the same truths in an unwritten but no less necessary order for the development of knowledge." It was thus that Hillel practised his own maxim, "Be a scholar of Aaron, a peace-maker, a friend of all men, and draw them on to the Law." As another example of difference of disposition, it is said that discussion having arisen with respect to the future condition of the good, the bad, and those of mixed moral character, Shammai pronounced that the first would be blessed, the next infallibly punished, and the third punished also, but purified by suffering, and that there was hope for them in the end. Hillel agreed with respect to the two first, but of the latter he said, "the Divine balance will incline to mercy, for God is gracious." The school of Shammai adopted the Hindû notion that life is a penal condition, and that it were better never to have been born. That of Hillel took the sounder view, and said "it is good for us to have lived, the world is our scene of trial, and activity is our happiness." Hillel had renounced all hope of a coming Messiah [*Sanhedrin*]; but stood forth as the leader of learned opinion in the way of reform, and advocated a liberal construction of precepts that were no longer suited to the altered condition of the people. That he should meet with opposition was only certain, and he seems to allude to his difficulties in the dark saying: "If I am not for mine own self (*i.e.* care not for my soul's health by obeying the dictates of conscience), who will be for me? If for myself alone (if I keep my plans of improvement pent up in my own bosom), what am I? And if not now (if I listen to those that say that time is not ripe for action), when? Time is ever on the move, the present is the seed-time of futurity, and we are posterity's debtors." His decisions were all of a practical cast. Lev. xxv. 29, 30 ordains that if a man sell his house in a walled town, he might redeem it before the expiration of the year. It had become the practice for the purchaser to make this impossible by absenting himself from the town and locking up the house towards the expiration of the year. Hillel decided that a forcible entry might be effected by the vendor, and the purchase-money lodged in the chancery of Israel, the Temple, in trust for the purchaser. "He hath a constructive

[1] *Seder Eliyahoroth*, 91 c: *Juchasin*, 56 a.

right, said the judge, and he must not be debarred of his right because the other useth cunning." So again, which was a more hazardous reform, as involving a change in the very law itself; all debts, by Lev. xxv. 35-37, were to be free of usury, and to be remitted in the seventh year, "the year of release" [Deut. xv. 9]. Such a provision could only be operative in a very inartificial state of society. But money, like everything else, became a marketable commodity; to borrow no longer implied the pressure of poverty, commerce requiring its loans; to lend no longer shewed a large-hearted liberality, it became a matter of business. If now it were to be within the power of the debtor in every seventh year to repudiate loans, business would be brought to a standstill, and social progress effectually checked. Therefore Hillel ruled that the Mosaic precept was only for a time; that a new state of things had been called into existence, and the precept must be modified. The law must be made no cloak for roguery, and all money transactions must thenceforth be completed in open court, under covenant that the "year of release" was to be no acquittance for the debt. All after ages have declared that Hillel was right. What should prevent a like modification of both law and Talmud now to suit the altered condition of society? The more characteristic features of the law, repeated also in the Talmud, have become inoperative from desuetude and impossibility of practice; the sacrifices, the Temple worship, and the priesthood. Is time to be the only innovator, and nothing left to the reason with which God has endowed His children? "Elias shall yet come," say the Jews: they rather need Hillel.

Hillel first led the way for a complete digest of the traditional Halacoth, or decisions, that had accumulated from the days of Ezra. He arranged them under eighteen heads, reduced to six by Judah the Holy, compiler of the Mishna at the end of the second century [*Juchasin*, 56 A; *Seder Haddoroth*, 91 c.]. Of the lost works of Hillel mentioned in the Talmud, those most to be regretted are a Mishnic treatise on the Feasts of the Jewish Church; to which the Taanith Rabbinical treatises have been probably indebted; and a history of the Maccabees, which survived for so considerable a time that its reappearance is not absolutely "præter spem." Among the sayings attributed to Hillel may be quoted from the *Aboth*: "Separate not thyself from the congregation, and have no confidence in thyself till the day of thy death." "Judge not thy neighbour till thou hast been in like position." "Where a man is wanted, be thou the man." "More meat, more maggot; more wealth, more care; more maids, more sauciness; more helps, more pilfering. But more Torah, more life; more schools, more wisdom; more reflection, more reason; more kind acts, more union."

Such was the first truly large-hearted man that we meet with in the Talmud. As an earnest reformer of all that needed reform, he indicated principles that may yet bear fruit; the hope of Israel is bound up in them. [TALMUD.]

HOMILY [Ὁμιλία]. This word was originally analogous to our English word "discourse," and, like it, meant a converse between two or more persons. But in ecclesiastical language it seems never to have had any other meaning than that of a religious address, founded on some longer or shorter passage of Holy Scripture. Collections of such homilies are very numerous. Those of primitive times are our great treasuries of patristic doctrine, and appear sometimes to have been preached from written notes, while at others they were given extempore, and taken down by some of the hearers. The earliest known are those of Origen; the Clementine Homilies, named after St. Clement of Rome, being of later date. The Homilies of St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Athanasius, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Gregory the Great, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and others of the Fathers, are expositions of Holy Scripture of the very highest value, and some, as those of St. Chrysostom, have never been surpassed as examples of pulpit eloquence.

In mediæval times *Homiliaria*, or books of homilies, were widely circulated among the clergy. The *Festivale*, or *Liber Festivalis*, was such a collection, and was printed by Caxton as early as A.D. 1482. Those issued in the reign of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth are too well known to need more than a passing mention. [POSTIL. Griffith's *ed. of Homilies.*]

HOMOIOUSION. Of "a like, or similar, substance" with the Father. A term devised after the rise of the Arian controversy as a sort of middle theory between the Catholic doctrine of Homoousion and the extreme opinion of Arius, who believed that Christ was wholly unlike the Father, or a mere created Being. [ARIANISM.]

HOMOOUSION, *i.e.* "of the same substance." The word adopted by the Council of Nice to express the reality of our Lord's Sonship, or that He is of the same Divine Nature with the Father, in opposition to the heretical teaching of Arius. [ARIANISM.]

HOSANNA. Hosanna, the well-known refrain of the Jewish Processional, taken from the close of the Hallel Collection [HALLEL. Psa. cxviii. 25]. Its more especial use appears to have been connected with the Feast of Tabernacles. The Talmud [*Tr. Succoth*, iii. 9], says, "There is a place beneath Jerusalem named Motza; thither the people went, and gathered boughs of willows, which they brought back and set them up on the side of the altar, so that their heads were bent over the altar. . . . They went round about the altar and said, 'Hosanna Lord; we beseech thee, O Lord, send us now prosperity.'" Maimonides also [*Halac. Lulab.* vii. 23] says, with respect to the Feast of Tabernacles, "On each day they went about the altar, holding in their hands bunches of palm twigs [*Lulab*], saying 'Hosanna,' &c. On the last day they made seven circuits." It was therefore called the "Great Hosanna" day. The branches of willow and palm were also known by the name Hosanna, and children were expected to take

their part in waving them [*Succoth*, iii. 15]. Hence the "children crying in the Temple, and saying, Hosanna to the Son of David," and our Lord's allusion to them, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise" [Matt. xxi. 15, 16. See Lightfoot, *Temp. S.* xvi. 2; Buxtorf, *Lexic. Talm.* 992, 1143; Maimonides, *Halac. Succah*, vii.; Talmud, *Tr. Succoth*].

HOURS. By this term is signified the daily round of prayer and praise. The ancient order of the Canonical Hours is as follows:—

[1] *Nocturns or Mattins.*—Before daybreak (properly a night service).

[2] *Lauds.*—At daybreak, closely following mattins, if not actually joined on to it.

[3] *Prime.*—About six o'clock, "the first hour."

[4] *Tierce* or *Terce.*—At 9 A.M., "the third hour."

[5] *Sexts.*—At noon, "the sixth hour."

[6] *Nones.*—At 3 P.M., "the ninth hour."

[7] *Vespers.*—In the early evening.

[8] *Compline.*—The last evening service; at bedtime.

But as the office of lauds was very rarely separated from that of mattins, these eight "hours" of prayer were practically seven. At what time in the history of the Church they were settled in the form above mentioned is very uncertain. There is no doubt whatever that some of the "hours" are of most venerable antiquity. Tertullian [*De Jejuniis*, cap. 10, *Opp.* p. 708, ed. Paris, 1641], mentions the third, sixth, and ninth hours as "horas insigniores, Apostolicas." The Apostolical Constitutions [viii. 34] mention the hours as follows: "Ye shall make prayer in the *morning*, giving thanks because the Lord hath enlightened you, removing the night, and bringing the day; at the *third hour*, because the Lord then received sentence from Pilate; at the *sixth*, because He was crucified; at the *ninth*, because all things were shaken when the Lord was crucified, trembling at the audacity of the impious Jews, not enduring that their Lord should be insulted; at *evening*, giving thanks, because He hath given the night for rest from labour; at *cockcrowing*, because that hour gives glad tidings that the day is dawning in which to work the works of light."

To this early mention of various hours of prayer it must be added [1], that the Eastern offices for daily worship were introduced into the West in the fifth century, and the Western offices bear testimony to their influence[1]; and [2], that in the time of St. Benedict [A.D. 530], a complete system of such offices was in existence, and adopted by the national Churches of the West, though differing in particulars of structure and arrangement.

This unanimity of practice can only be satisfactorily accounted for by the supposition that the custom of observing the hours of prayer was very ancient, if not apostolic. Perhaps the best explanation is that of Archdeacon Freeman,[2] viz., that these offices, "though neither of apostolic nor early post-apostolic date as Church services, had nevertheless probably existed in a rudimentary form, as private or household devotions, from a very early period, and had been received into the number of recognised public formularies previous to the reorganization of the Western Ritual after the Eastern model."

The example of the Psalmist [Ps. cxix. 164], "seven times a day do I praise Thee," would naturally have great influence upon the mind of the Church. But most of all did the Church of old time commemorate mystically, in the seven canonical hours, the sufferings of her Lord—

> "At *mattins* bound, at *prime* reviled,
> Condemned to death at *tierce*,
> Nailed to the Cross at *sext*, at *nones*
> His blessed side they pierce.
>
> They take Him down at *vesper*-tide,
> In grave at *compline* lay:
> Who thenceforth bids His Church observe
> Her sevenfold hours alway."[3]

The derivation of the names of the hours is in most cases obvious; viz. from the *time* of day at which they were said. Mattins (from "matutinæ"), the early morning office; prime, terce, sext, nones, at the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours respectively, and vespers at eventide. Compline, or completorium, is said by Archdeacon Freeman to signify the *completion* of the day's services. The same author quotes from St. Basil[4] [A.D. 370] the expression πληρῶσαι τὴν ἡμέραν as referring to this service. St. Benedict, also, we are told [*Rule*, ch. 42], "places compline expressly after supper-time, thus recognising the Eastern nomenclature of ἀπόδειπνον."

In practice these services were very often accumulated, much as mattins, Litany, and the Holy Communion or the Ante-Communion office are accumulated now. At the time of the English Reformation they were used as distinct offices only by the stricter religious and the clergy. Hence it was thought better to have two solemn services of public worship in the day; viz. *Mattins*, compiled from mattins, lauds, and prime; and *Evensong*, from vespers and compline. And this is in fact a very general practice in the Church throughout the world. Neale says that "there are in the Greek Church eight canonical hours; prayers are actually, for the most part, said three times daily—mattins, lauds, and prime, by aggregation, early in the morning; tierce, sexts, and the Liturgy (Communion) later; nones, vespers, and compline, by aggregation, in the evening."

And so, also, is it in the West. "Except in monastic bodies," says the same writer,[5] "the breviary as a Church office is scarcely ever used as a whole. You may go, we do not say from church to church, but from cathedral to cathedral

[1] Freeman's *Principles of Div. Serv.* i. 223.

[2] *Principles of Div. Ser.* p. 219.

[3] Neale, *Essays on Liturgiology*, &c., p. 6.

[4] St. Basil, *Regul.* ix. 37, *ap. Bon.*

[5] *Essays on Liturg.* &c. p. 46.

of Central Europe, and never hear mattins, save at high festivals. In Spain and Portugal it is somewhat more frequent, but there, as everywhere, it is a clerical devotion exclusively. . . . Then the lesser hours are not often publicly said except in cathedrals, and then principally by aggregation, and in connection with mass. . . . In no national Church under the sun are so many mattin services daily said as in our own."

It is right to add that the seven hours formed the basis of what are called the "Primers." English editions of these set forth by authority in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and of Queen Elizabeth, shew that the English Reformers did not wish to discourage the observance of the ancient hours of prayer. And so late as 1627, by command of Charles I., Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Cosin published a "Collection of Private Devotions, in the practice of the Ancient Church called the Hours of Prayer; as they were after this manner published by authority of Queen Elizabeth, 1560," &c. [Freeman, *Princ. of Div. Serv.*, vol. i.; Neale, *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History*, Essay I.; Procter on *Prayer Book*, chap. i.]

HUGUENOTS. The Protestants of France have been generally known by the name of Huguenots, which denotes confederates, although the term has been applied to those of other countries as well. The doctrines of the Reformation were first preached in France by Calvin in 1536, and gained ground so rapidly in spite of the persecutions of Francis I., that a synod was held in 1559, and in 1561 the Venetian ambassador, Micheli, reported to his government that no province in France was free from them. In the sixteenth century the French nobility more especially embraced the Calvinist doctrines, while the peasantry for the most part adhered to the Roman Catholic faith. The Protestant party was, in fact, in that age mostly identified with the factious struggles of the nobles of France, and its cause mostly meant the cause of one or other of the great families against its rivals, or especially against the ascendancy of the powerful house of Guise.

The first edict which recognised the legal existence of the Huguenots was issued in 1562, by Catherine de Medicis, regent during the minority of her son Charles IX. This edict, which granted the Calvinists liberty of worship outside the towns, was, however, followed by war. In 1570 the peace of St. Germain produced a temporary calm, terribly disturbed in 1572, by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, planned by Catherine de Medicis, and sanctioned by Charles IX. It was intended by that butchery to effect the extermination of the Huguenots, but the war was nevertheless continued during the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III. It assumed a new character at the accession of the Huguenot king of Navarre, known as Henry IV., to the throne of France in 1589. The Catholic League refused to acknowledge the authority of a Protestant king, and thus found themselves in arms against the throne. Henry IV. gained over the League the battle of Arques in 1589, and Ivry in 1590; but in 1593 renounced his religion in the hope of ending the conflicts by which France was desolated. The celebrated Edict of Nantes was granted to the Huguenots by him in 1598. By this edict they were not only allowed to enjoy liberty of worship, but to retain possession of all the churches then in their hands, to share in the benefits of all institutions for public instruction, and to stand on a footing of equality with their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects as regarded the chambers of parliament. In the reign of Louis XIII., son of Henry IV., an edict (issued in 1617) restored the property of the Roman Catholic Church in Bearn, which had become almost a Huguenot province. When the power of Richelieu was firmly established, he determined to crush the Huguenots, not so much on account of their religion as because he looked on them in the light of a political party, opposed to the royal power, which he desired to render absolute. With this view, in 1628, he reduced La Rochelle, their stronghold, after a most determined resistance; and carrying out his policy of treating the Huguenots as a political party, he granted the Rochelois liberty of worship while he utterly destroyed their political privileges. The loss of La Rochelle was the deathblow of the Huguenot party as a power in the state. In 1629, the Duc de Rohan, the last of their leaders, made his submission, and by the peace of Alais, signed on the 28th of June in that year, an amnesty and the free exercise of their religion was granted to the Huguenots on condition that they should destroy their fortifications, lay down their arms, and take the oath of allegiance to the king. This peace formally terminated the wars of religion in France, and from that time the history of the Huguenots is that of a party suffering for religion alone. The reign of Louis XIII. ended in 1643. From the peace of Alais in 1629, to the death of Mazarin in 1661, the Huguenots enjoyed comparative freedom from persecution, but a gradual defection of noble families went on unceasingly from their ranks.

The death of Mazarin forms an epoch in their history. In the following year, A.D. 1662, an edict was published, which forbad them to inter their dead except at daybreak or at nightfall. In 1663 another decree excused new converts from payment of debts previously contracted with their fellow-religionists. In 1665 it was decreed that the children of Huguenots should be allowed to declare themselves Roman Catholics, if boys, at fourteen, and if girls, at twelve years of age; and also have in their power to demand an income from their parents proportioned to their position in life. In 1679 a decree ordered that converts who had relapsed into Protestantism should be banished, and their property confiscated. In 1680 all Huguenot clerks and notaries were deprived of their employments, marriages between Roman Catholics and Huguenots were forbidden, and the issue of such marriages declared illegitimate and incapable of succession. In 1681 a royal declaration granted permission to Huguenot children to de-

clare themselves converts at the age of seven years. One of these children describes her conversion as follows:—"Je pleurai d'abord beaucoup; mais je trouvai le lendemain la messe du roi si belle, que je consentis à me faire catholique, à condition que je l'entendrois tous les jours, et qu'on me garantiroit du fouet. C'est là toute la controverse qu'on employa, et la seule abjuration que je fis." [*Souvenirs de Mad. de Caylus.*] Other edicts forbade Huguenot physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries to exercise their profession. In 1681 and 1684 regiments of soldiers were sent into Poitou and Bearn to be quartered on the inhabitants, and this was made a means of harassing the Huguenots by the unjust method in which the distribution of the soldiers into their quarters was made, and by the insolent violence of the soldiers themselves. The instructions given to the provincial authorities were—"Si, suivant une répartition juste, les religionnaires en devoient porter dix, vous pouvez leur en faire donner vingt" [Rhulière, *Eclaircissements Hist.*]. The greatest possible brutalities on the part of the soldiers towards the Huguenots were practised and encouraged, and these military missions became known by the name of "dragonnades," from the dragoons who bore the chief part in them.

Finally, at the instance of the Chancellor Le Tellier, then at the point of death, the Edict of Nantes was revoked on the 2nd of October 1685. This revocation enacted that all edicts of tolerance should be null and void, that all Huguenot churches should be destroyed, and their pastors, if found in France after fifteen days, sent to the galleys; that all Huguenot schools should be abolished; and lastly, that a term of four months should be allowed to refugees, during which time they might return to France and abjure their religion, but that after that time all their goods should be confiscated. In consequence of this revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many thousands of merchants, manufacturers, and artizans left their homes and carried their industry and skill into Holland, England, Denmark, and other countries. Not less than three hundred thousand persons are said to have left France in 1685-6, and from the confiscation of their property not less than seventeen millions of livres passed into the hands of the crown. At the death of Louis XIV. in 1715, the Huguenots entertained hopes of relief from persecution, but the edicts still continued in force, although, in 1717, a proposition was made in the Council of State to grant Douai to them as a free town for the exercise of their religion. The proposition was never carried into effect, and additions were made to the persecuting edicts. Sismondi remarks: "On vit avec étonnement dans siècle incrédule, lorsque ce pouvoir était aux mains d'un prince sans foi et sans probité, et d'une courtisane sans pudeur, renouveler une persécution que la foi rigide de Louis XIV. pouvait à peine faire comprendre." Even in 1746, when decency was banished from the Court of France, the galleys were filled with Huguenot pastors, and Huguenot women were imprisoned for no crime but their religion. It was not until the teachings of Voltaire had almost destroyed, for a time, the faith of the country, already rendered utterly corrupt in morals by the scandalous example of the court, and until the growing principles of the Revolution had made themselves felt, that the sect enjoyed tranquillity and freedom from persecution.

It must not be forgotten, however, in recording the sufferings of the Huguenots, that the spirit of the age was one of persecution, and that the martyr for his own faith, if he had possessed the power, would have inflicted the same punishment he himself suffered on those who differed from him. While the sons of Catherine de Medicis were pursuing their cruel measures in France, all priests of the Roman sect were ordered by the English Parliament to quit the country within forty days, under pain of death if they remained or returned, and all who gave them shelter or relief were made subject to the penalties of felony. While Richelieu was granting liberty of worship to the conquered Huguenots of La Rochelle, Sir Robert Cotton was balancing the arguments: "Whether it be more expedient to suppress Popish practices against the due allegiance to his Majesty by strict execution touching Jesuits and seminary priests;" or, as the more merciful alternative, "to restrain them to close prisons during life, if no reformation follow;" and the Puritans were clamouring against the king for his hesitation about putting the laws against Roman Catholics into effect. If Huguenot schools were abolished, it was the opinion of a celebrated Englishman, "Whosoever shall send his children to be popishly brought up in foreign parts, I think that for punishment both one and the other worthily might be disfranchised of the privilege due to Englishmen, so far forth as any good by the laws may descend to them, but not to be exempted from the penalties thereof." While Louis XIV., in after times, was sending to the galleys and imprisoning his Huguenot subjects, the English nation was blindly led by the infamous Oates, and his fellow-impostors, and the aged Lord Stafford was being beheaded.

We cannot afford to speak of the barbarity of the dragonnades, when we remember that only two years before, when an unjust sentence of death was given against the Roman Catholic lawyer Langhorne, the court was filled with shouts of joy from the spectators, while the witnesses for the defence were cruelly ill-treated and intimidated by the people of London; or when we recall the fact that in the same year five Jesuits were condemned to death and executed. The records of the past shew too plainly that the stigma of persecution attached itself in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to all creeds and parties without distinction.

HYMNS, or divine songs sung with musical cadence, are of the highest antiquity in the Church.[1] We find no period of the Church, whether before or after the day of Christ, in

[1] Si sit laus, et Dei laus, et non cantetur, non est hymnus. Oportet, ut sit hymnus, habeat hæc tria, et laudem, et Dei, et canticum. [Aug. *in Psa.* lxxii.]

which hymns were not used as handmaids to devotion. The earliest on record is that which Miriam and her choir of damsels sung with timbrels, when Israel came out of Egypt [Exod. xv.]. The song of Deborah was such an hymn [Judg. v.]. The hymn sung in honour of David, and accompanied with "tabrets and instruments of music," was an antiphonal hymn, the women answering one another as they played [1 Sam. xviii. 6]. The Psalms of David were written for the most part as hymns to be sung with musical accompaniments [1 Chron. vi. 31, xvi. 5]; and were so sung [2 Chron. xx. 21, xxix. 30]. In the Captivity, the songs of Zion were still vocal, though in sorrow and sadness [Psa. cxxxvii.]; and two hundred singing men and singing women returned again to Jerusalem [Ezra ii. 65], or as Nehemiah says, with greater precision, two hundred and forty-five [Neh. vii. 67]. When the temple was re-dedicated after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes, it was "with songs and citherns and harps and cymbals" [1 Macc. iv. 54], and one of the songs used would seem to have been the Hosanna Psalm; the word εὐοδήσαντι [v. 55], having been suggested by εὐόδησον δή in Psa. cxviii. 25. The same Psalm was a portion of the Hallel group [Psa. cxiii.-cxviii.] appointed to be sung at the Feast of Tabernacles, and also at the Paschal feast, both in the Temple when a lamb was slain for every household, and at the subsequent solemnity held under every roof [Hallel. Hosanna]; and to this custom allusion was doubtless made when our Lord and His disciples are said, ὑμνήσαντες, to have gone forth from the room where the Last Supper had been celebrated [Matt. xxvi. 30]. The services of the Christian Church were derived in all their principal features from the Temple and the synagogue, and on Easter Sunday the Proper Psalms for the afternoon are the beginning and ending of the Hallel Hymn [cxiii. cxiv. cxviii.], which formed the last solemn words of devotion used by our Lord before He suffered. In the New Testament the "Magnificat," the "Song of Simeon," and the inspired utterance of Zacharias, are holiest hymns. St. Paul also bids the Colossians [iii. 16] teach and admonish "one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." In the account of the martyrdom of Ignatius we read of funeral hymns [sec. 25]. In the Clementine *De g. Petri*, whose authority on such a point may be allowed, hymns are seen to have had a precatory form,[1] ἱερῶν ὕμνων εὐχήν, and to have formed an invariable element in divine worship [sec. 152, 153]. Similarly the Apostolical Constitutions are of high antiquity, and preserve to us the morning and evening hymn used in primitive times—the first draught of the angelic hymn of the Eucharistic service. The hymn itself has descended to us, as the greater doxology, from the earliest ages;[2]

[1] So Hannah "prayed and said" a hymn of praise. [1 Sam. ii.]

[2] Among the remains of Cyril Lucarius, edited by T. Smith; also towards the end of the *Treatise de Virginit.* ascribed to Athanasius. It is found in the third volume of Mr. Harvey's *Vindex Catholicus* at p. 317.

and was apparently used by Polycarp at the very moment that fire was applied to the pile.[3] Innocent III. ascribes it to Telesphorus.[4] Polycarp therefore may have learned it at Rome. Allusion is made to it by Origen [*c. Cels.*],[5] by Pliny doubtless as the "carmen" that Christians sung to Christ as God;[6] and it was very possibly the πολυώνυμος ᾠδή that provoked the scoffs of Lucian.[7] [Compare also Basil, *de Sp. S.* sec. 73]. Gregory Nazianzen and Synesius have left many hymns. It is to be hoped that closer communion with the Eastern branch of the Church Catholic will before long put us in possession of their entire hymnology, of which for the present our knowledge is very partial. The τρισάγιον of the Greek Church is the Sanctus of the West.[8] The Western Church has always been particularly rich in its hymnal; some of its most noble hymns descend from Ambrose, Archbishop of Milan, in the fourth century,[9] remarkable for their terse yet delicate beauty, also for their correctness as dimetre iambics. Gregory the Great has left hymns also in the same metre, one which is very much better adapted to his noble intonement than the versification "solute fluens" of the Psalms.[10] His is the noble Pentecostal Hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus" ascribed by Daniel to Charlemagne, who was scarcely equal to the elegancies of Latin composition. The hymn, according to Mone, occurs in MSS. older than the Carlovingian period. "Salve Mundi Salutare" is a noble hymn by Bernard; "Pange lingua Gloriosi" is the work of Venantius Fortunatus or Mamertus Claudianus in the fifth century. The two, "Stabat Mater" and "Dies Iræ" were written in the fourteenth century; the first by Jacopone da Lodi, the last by T. di Celano.[11] Prudentius was the most prolific writer of sacred poetry and hymns in the Middle Ages. Some we have also of the Venerable Bede[12] and Thomas Aquinas. Successful

[3] *Martyr. Polyc.* sec. 14.

[4] Innoc. *de Myst. Miss.* ii. 20.

[5] viii. p. 422, ed Cantab.

[6] *Ep. Plin. Sec. ad Trajanum Imp.*

[7] *Philopatris.*

[8] "Αγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ὁ ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

[9] Such as "Te Deum Laudamus," but the authorship is not absolutely certain. By many it is ascribed to Hilary. "Intende qui regis Israel" on the Advent; "Illuminans Altissimus" on the Theophany; "Illuxit orbi jam dies" on the Epiphany; "Hic est dies verus Dei," Vesper hymn from Easter to Holy Thursday; "Jam Christus astra ascenderat" for Whitsunday; "Splendor paternæ gloriæ," quoted by Hincmar of Rheims as Ambrosian.

[10] *e.g.*, "Ex more docti mystico" for Lent, of which the following is a verse:—

> Utamur ergo parcius
> Verbis, cibis, et potibus,
> Somno, jocis, et arctius
> Perstemus in custodia.

"Primo dierum omnium" for the first day of the week, mattins; and for the next "Immense cœli Conditor," vespers; "Telluris ingens Conditor," vespers; "Rerum Creator optime," nocturns; "Nox atra rerum contegit," nocturns; "Tu Trinitatis Unitas," nocturns.

[11] See a highly interesting passage on Latin Hymnology in Dean Milman's *Lat. Chr.* vol. vi. p. 491.

[12] *e.g.*, "Primo Deus cœli globum" on the Hexaëmeron

vernacular translations were made at an early date, *e.g.*, the Norman version of the Horæ Canonicæ (Compline)—

A l'oure deregne de complye le corps est enterrée
De mon tres noble seignour, par qi la vie est expirée
Et en mort de douche odours les escriptours sount consummée
En memoire continuelment me soit la mort, dont sumes curée.

The romance of the Cid has scarcely a more majestic flow. Compare also the old German "Passions lied"—

Da daz crucz wart ufgericht
Da hing er also jemerlich
Mit uszgespanten armen.
Ach mensch, sieh an die grosse noth
Und losz dich es erbarmen.

Der Herr erlitt so manch dorechten
Von rittern, von fuersten, und von knechten,
Iz gespoett was so manigfaltig
Sie sprachen ; Bist du Christus Gottes Son,
So mach dich selbs behalten.

Der Herr der bat vuer sine fynd,
Er verzieg dem schecher alle sine suend
Der schecher bat in mit flisse,
Der Herr gab im me dan er begert,
Er verhiez ym daz paradisze.

Mone, pp. 106, 109.

Our modern hymnals have long been a standing proof of the difficulty of writing good hymns. The best are some of the latest. And they are the best because they have caught something of the spirit of the hymns of the mediæval period, solemn and majestic in the thoughts conveyed, and most sweet in their musical cadence. A good hymn, apart from its accessory of music, should be full of melody, so as to win its way to the heart of a people; but it should convey at the same time grand and solemn thoughts, far removed as well from familiarity as from severity of tone. Each hymn also should have its own musical notation, so as to rest upon the memory complete in all its parts, in its rhythm, its holy guidance of the thoughts, and its harmonic sympathy with the world of sense. [See Cassander, *Hymni Eccl.*; Geo. Fabricius, *Poet. vet. Eccl.*; Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*; Mone, *Lat. H.*; R. C. Trench, *Sacred Lat. Po.*; Neale, *Hymni Eccles.*]

HYPERDULIA [ὑπερδουλεία]. A term used in Roman theology for a degree of worship between Latria, which is offered to God only, and Dulia, which is offered to ordinary saints. Hyperdulia is that degree of worship which is offered to the Blessed Virgin Mary alone, as the most exalted in grace and honour of all created beings. It needs hardly to be added that the theoretical distance between Latria and Hyperdulia is as infinite as that between the Uncreated and the created. It is a disputed point whether this theoretical difference is generally recognised in the practical worship of the Romanized churches.

St. Thomas Aquinas makes a subtle distinction between the Human Nature of Christ contemplated in union with His Divine Nature, and as contemplated *per se*, and decides that in the latter case hyperdulia and not latria is to be offered [*Summa Theol.* iii. 9, xxv. 2].

HYPOSTASIS. To meddle with philosophical terms, on the force and meaning of which all parties are not agreed, is to play with double-edged tools. An unskilled use of the Hegelian terms "objective" and "subjective" may easily shew the defender of orthodoxy as a Pantheist. And almost throughout the Arian controversy one half of the Christian world regarded the other half with suspicion, because the precise meaning of the theological term "hypostasis" had never been clearly defined; this would have been done by the Council of Alexandria [A.D. 324] if the advice of Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, had been followed. The Greek Church, according to Grotius [John i. 2; Heb. i. 3], having received the term through Origen from the Greek philosophy, understood by it a real personal subsistence; "reality" being the fundamental idea involved in the word. So in Aristotle [*de Mundo*, iv. 21] καθ' ὑπόστασιν, "in reality," is the correlative of κατ' ἔμφασιν, "in appearance." In Heb. i. 3, "the express image of His Hypostasis" is rendered "Person" by our translators, after the Vulgate. The word occurs elsewhere in the New Testament, but in the sense, adopted from LXX., of "confident expectation," as the translation of the Hebrew term "Tikvath," &c. And no better term than "hypostasis" in the sense of "reality" could have been chosen to give theological expression to that which is so far beyond our power to conceive; the distinct individuality, and relative bearing of the Three Persons in the Holy and Undivided Trinity each to other; τὸ ἴδιον παρὰ τὸ κοινόν as Suidas expresses it; self-existent and incommunicable, and altogether distinct from the intercommunicated substance of the Deity. Before the time of Arius the term "hypostasis" had that meaning and that only which is here assigned to it, viz., a "real personal subsistence." But the idea of "reality" also applies to substance and being, and this was the application that Arius gave to it. "There are three hypostases," he said, but he meant natures, substances, and that the Nature of the Son and Spirit were different from each other and different from the Nature of the Father [Arius, *ad Alex.* A.D. 324, *ap.* Athanas. *de Synod.* and *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, sec. 5]. The Nature of the Son is one with the Nature of the Father; the Hypostasis of the Son is derived from the Hypostasis of the Father, as Sonship is a derivative from Paternity. This Arius denied, and affirmed that the Son was ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας and ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως. Therefore the Council of Nice anathematized in him all who said that the Son was *quâ* Nature ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας, of any other substance but the One Godhead, or *quâ* Person ἐξ ἑτέρας τινος ὑποστάσεως, of any other person save the person of the Father. Up to this point the language of the Church had always been the same. But the clamorous assertion of three hypostases in an heretical sense by Arius introduced confusion. The Latin Church had hitherto continued free from error. In any case of difficulty the eyes of the Catholic reverted to the "See of the Apostles." In this instance, however, it only

increased the confusion. "Persona," the equivalent for πρόσωπον, was the term that expressed to the Western Church the Catholic meaning of ὑπόστασις. There was no Latin word for οὐσία until Hilary coined the term "essentia" [*de Synodis*]; in the meantime the language of theology could not remain incomplete, and the want was supplied by taking ὑπόστασις, the philosophical equivalent for οὐσία [Jerome, *Ep.* 57 *ad Damasum.*], and translating it sometimes as "substantia," sometimes as "subsistentia." Both of these words seem to express with equal accuracy the force of the Greek term; but there is a clear distinction to be observed between them. "Substantia" means the essence of a thing, the very root and foundation of its being, whereas in "subsistere" is contained the inherent idea of "check," "making a stand" as we should say. And there is the idea of "limitation" in "personality;" it has an "idiosyncracy" that is wholly its own. The limitation involved in "subsistentia" is the definition that marks the distinction of each Person in the Holy Trinity. The idea of Father is limited by Paternity; that of the Son by Filiation; that of the Holy Spirit by Procession from both Father and Son. So Hooker; "The substance of God with this property, to be of none, doth make the Person of the Father; the very self-same substance in number with this property to be of the Father, maketh the Person of the Son; the same substance having added to it the property of proceeding from the other two, maketh the Holy Ghost. So that in every Person there is implied both the substance of God which is one, and also that property which causeth the same Person to be really and truly to differ from the other two. Every Person hath his own subsistence which no other besides hath, although there be others beside that have the same substance" [*Eccl. Pol.* v. 51]. Hence from poverty of language [Basil, *Ep.* 349, *ad Terent.*] the terminology of the Western Church became confused, "substantia" being held to be the equivalent for ὑπόστασις, and the confusion did not fail to react upon the East. Thus Athanasius, as standing in close communication with the Roman Church, adopted its mode of speaking, and makes ὑπόστασις to be synonymous with οὐσία [*Or.* iii. *c. Ar.* c. 65]; though elsewhere he speaks of three hypostases [*c. Ar.* iv. 1]. The great council held at Sardica [A.D. 347] allowed the use of ὑπόστασις in the sense of οὐσία, for whereas Ursacius and Valens, as Arians, affirmed three hypostases, in the sense of substance, the council declared that in that sense the Divine Hypostasis was One. In the Meletian schism both that and the Eustathian party were orthodox in their faith, but while the latter adopted the Roman mode of speaking, and held that there was only one ὑπόστασις, meaning substance, in the Deity, the former used the language of primitive antiquity, and declared that there were three ὑποστάσεις, meaning Persons. The Council of Alexandria [A.D. 362], on examining the two parties, affirmed both to be equally orthodox, and that the difference was only verbal; though for the future it ruled that the words as well as the faith of the Nicene Council were to be held binding. Jerome [*Ep.* 57, *ad Damasum.* A.D. 376] deprecates the use of the expression "three hypostases" as savouring of Arianism. Perhaps, however, the time from whence uniformity of expression is to be dated is the Council of Alexandria [A.D. 362], where the term οὐσία was applied to "substance," and ὑπόστασις restricted once more to personal subsistence. The first synodal definition of "hypostasis" as "person" in contradistinction to substance was at the Council of the Dedication at Antioch [A.D. 341; Hilary, *de Syn.* 334]; and the writer who enforced the accurate distinction between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις was Basil [*Ep.* 349, *ad Terent.*].

I

ICONOCLASM is the name given to the religious struggle by which the Eastern Church was distracted in the eighth century, and which, as the name denotes, had for its object the destruction of images, under which term were included not only statues, but mosaics and paintings.

The contest is remarkable for owing its origin, not to the people or the rulers of the Church, but to the Emperor alone,[1] in the year A.D. 726, when an imperial edict suddenly appeared prohibiting the worship not only of statues but of paintings and mosaics. It was followed within a short time by another and more severe edict, which commanded the destruction of these objects of veneration. The edicts were very unfavourably received by the people of Constantinople, and by many provinces of the empire. One of the imperial officers, while carrying out an order he had received for the destruction of a famous image of the Saviour, was beaten to death by the populace; and in Greece an insurrection broke out, which, at one time, assumed so serious an aspect, that a rival emperor was proclaimed, and a fleet fitted out to support his pretensions. The patriarchs of the East and West, Germanus of Constantinople and Gregory of Rome, made common cause against Leo, but in vain. The appeals of Gregory were disregarded, and Germanus was driven from the patriarchal throne.

Constantine Copronymus succeeded Leo, his father, and inherited the same views. In his reign was held the third Council of Constantinople, at which three hundred and forty-eight bishops appeared. In this council image-worship was condemned, its principal supporters being anathematized; while it was declared that the only image of the Saviour which might lawfully be adored was in the Eucharist. None of the great patriarchs appeared at this council, and its enemies seem to have ground for pronouncing it to have been completely subservient to the Emperor's will, from the fact, that just before it assembled Constantine from the pulpit proclaimed the new patriarch of Constantinople, whose punishment came when, a few years later, the imperial will resolved on the extirpation of monasticism, and the patriarch, himself a monk, was compelled to break his oaths to God and the Church. The tyranny of Constantine Copronymus, and his cruel persecutions of the defenders of images, are almost incredible. In Thrace, the monks were allowed to choose between the renunciation of their vows and exile, accompanied by the loss of their eyesight. The patriarch himself, having offended the Emperor, was scourged and publicly degraded from his office; then, with shaved head and beard and eyebrows, was led in mockery on an ass before the rabble of the city, who spat on him and trampled him under their feet. A few days later he was beheaded by the Emperor's orders. Leo the Chazar succeeded Constantine, and distinguished himself by moderation and clemency. His wife, Irene, in secret favoured the cause of the image-worshippers, and when, at the death of her husband, she assumed the regency during the minority of her son Constantine, her sentiments were openly avowed, and under her protection the second Council of Nicæa assembled [A.D. 787]. The decision of this council was as follows:—"It enjoined that bowing and an honourable adoration (*ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν*) should be offered to all sacred images, but that this external and inferior worship must not be confounded with the true and supreme worship (*τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν αληθινὴν λατρείαν*) which belongs exclusively to God." [Hardwicke, p. 82; Mansi, xiii. 377. A good summary is in Carranza, *Summa Conc.*, A.D. 1655, p. 676.] Even after making every allowance for this reservation, and granting that a decree for deifying images, as asserted by some extreme advocates of image-worship, does not exist, there remains in the acts of the council a very great amount of superstition. This council is undoubtedly received as œcumenical by the Eastern and Latin Churches. But its decrees have not been ratified by any council confessedly œcumenical. Neither the Eastern nor the Western Church was fairly represented in it, and the Council of Frankfort immediately protested against it. In answer to this last particular, it is alleged that the Fathers of Frankfort proceeded upon a falsified document; it was represented to them that the Nicene decree ran thus: "That they who will not pay the same worship and

[1] Philippicus Bardanes, Emperor of the Greeks, a Monothelite, ordered [A.D. 712] the removal from the church of St. Sophia of a picture of the Sixth General Council, which had condemned the Monothelites, and sent an order to Rome for the removal of all similar pictures. Pope Constantine protested against the edict, and commanded pictures of all the six councils to be placed in the porch of St. Peter's. [F. Spanheim, *Op.* ii. p. 721.] His dethronement interrupted the controversy, which slumbered under the two succeeding emperors, but broke out again.

adoration to the images of saints that they do to the Deific Trinity, shall be excommunicated." This is true; but the falsified document was only one out of the writings against which the Frankfort protest was directed. [See Neale, ii. 132, note. For the character of both the Nicene and Constantinople Councils, see Milman, iv. 7 and 8.]

Charlemagne took a decided part in the controversy, and procured a reply, perhaps by Alcuin, to the acts of the Nicene Council. The reply was sent to Adrian, who answered it. Charlemagne then called a council at Frankfort [A.D. 794], in which the Caroline books were confirmed, the worship of images condemned, but their use allowed. [Mansi, xiii. 909; Goldastus, 61.]

In A.D. 825 a council at Paris rejects Adrian's letter, adhering to the decrees of Frankfort, and censuring the Nicene Council. [Mansi, xiv. 424; Goldastus, 623.] The synod collected at great length the opinions of the Fathers concerning the use and abuse of images, and with more caution than had been shewn in the former council.

The English Church appears to have united with the Frankish in passing its protest, so that very few of the Western Christians outside of Italy were committed to the principles of Nicæa. [Spelman, i. pp. 218, 306, 363.]

Returning to Constantinople, in A.D. 815, Leo the Armenian assembled a council which abolished the decrees of the Nicene Council, but without enacting any penal laws against the image-worshippers. [Mansi, xiv. 135.] Michael tolerated the image-worshippers. Theophilus persecuted them; but his widow Theodora, regent during the minority of her son, called another council in A.D. 842, and restored the decrees of Nicæa. [Mansi, xiv. 787.] In A.D. 843 the use of images was reintroduced, and the event has been commemorated ever since by an annual feast called the Feast of Orthodoxy. The proper office for the day answers nearly to our Commination. The anathema against the Iconomachi asserts that "what the Jews and Greeks spake in blasphemy immediately against the Prototype, these, by means of His icons, blush not audaciously to say against Him that is represented." [Neale, i. part 2, pp. 745, 868.]

The Greek Church has never again been disturbed by the iconoclastic contest, which, however, both during its continuance and after it had ceased, was fraught with the most important consequences. In the East the strength of the empire was wasted on the internal dissensions which it caused, and the Mohammedans were enabled to advance almost unchecked. The spirit of the Gospel seems to have been completely lost sight of in these religious contests, and the most barbarous cruelties were perpetrated. Hatred of images became a fanaticism, but, as Milman says, "it could never become a religion" [*Latin Christ.* iv. 7]. It became, in fact, a political fanaticism, in which the element of Christianity was reduced to the very lowest term, and which exhausted the strength that might have resisted errors of greater consequence.

IDIOTÆ. The name of ἰδιῶται was given to all Christians who were not κλῆροι (that is, who had not received any ordination) in the early Church. It is used by St. Paul in a passage [1 Cor. xiv. 16] where it is translated "unlearned" in our English version, but St. Chrysostom and Theodoret in their commentaries explain that the word there means "laymen," and probably the same sense was intended by the English translators.[1] Origen uses it when speaking of laymen who had power, as well as clergy, to act as exorcists [Origen, *Contr. Cels.* vii.]; and ἰδιῶται are opposed to ἱερεῖς by Synesius [Ep. ad Theoph. liv.]. The "place" of the ἰδιῶται, and the Eucharistic response of Amen, are thus to be understood of that part of the Church not set apart for the clergy, and of the participation of the congregation in the highest act of Christian worship. [LAITY.]

IGNORANCE OF CHRIST. In the loving condescension of our Lord Jesus Christ He became Man to the extent of partaking in the weakness of human nature. By the ordinary processes of bodily growth and development He "increased in stature" from infancy to childhood, and from childhood to the full maturity of manhood. He was entirely like unto His brethren in all things except those which belong to the region of sin; was susceptible of hunger, thirst, weariness, mental sorrow, bodily tears, full human suffering, and death. He had also a human will, which desired that if it were possible the cup of His Passion might pass from Him.

This entire affinity of our Lord's human nature with the nature of men extended also to the understanding, at least in some degree. It is recorded that the child Jesus "increased in wisdom" as well as in "stature" [Luke ii. 52], not attaining the one any more than the other without passing through the ordinary stages of development. Although, therefore, in His childhood the wisdom of the child Jesus far surpassed that of ordinary children, it was not the wisdom of His mature manhood, but a very perfect form of that knowledge which belongs to the time of childhood; and the very expression that He "increased in wisdom" makes it necessary to believe that there were some things which did not yet form part of His knowledge. Thus in His childhood, the human knowledge of our Lord was not identical with the Omniscience or Divine Knowledge of the Godhead. His Divine Nature and His human nature were hypostatically united, and we may predicate much of the one nature which belongs properly only to the other [COMMUNICATIO IDIOMATUM], but there was yet a certain independence of operation by which, as the human will could act in a manner entirely human, so also could the human understanding.

That such should be the case is a consequence naturally following the statement of the Athanasian Creed that our Lord is "equal to the

[1] It is also used in Acts iv. 13 respecting the Apostles by the Sanhedrim. In both places Luther's translation recognises the ancient and not the modern sense of ἰδιῶται, rendering it by the German word "laien."

Father as touching His Godhead, but inferior to the Father as touching His Manhood." The Manhood which is "inferior to the Father" must also be "inferior" to that Divine Nature of Christ which is "equal to the Father;" and one portion of that inferiority while He was on earth, with His Manhood yet unglorified, was that limitation of knowledge which is theologically called the "Ignorance" of Christ. Things which were known to Him in the Omniscience of His Godhead were unknown to Him in the humiliation of His Manhood, so that He was able truly to say respecting the day of His own Second Coming, "But of that day and of that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" [Mark xiii. 32].

This characteristic of Christ's condescending sympathy is referred to by several of the Fathers. In writing against the Gnostics, St. Irenæus says, "Unreasonably inflated, you presumptuously profess yourselves to be acquainted with the unspeakable mysteries of God, whereas, even the Lord, the Son of God Himself, allowed that the day and hour of the judgment was known to the Father alone. . . . If then the Son was not ashamed to ascribe the knowledge of that day to the Father only, but said that which is true, neither let us be ashamed to reserve for God those greater subjects which are in dispute among us. For no man is greater than his Master" [Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* ii. 28, vi.]. St. Athanasius, in his orations against the Arians, says that our Lord "shews Himself to know the end of all things as the Word, but as man is ignorant of it. For it belongs to man to be ignorant, especially of such things as these. So that this expression springs from His goodness towards man's nature, inasmuch as, becoming man, He is not ashamed, so far as His ignorant flesh goes, to say, 'I know not'" [Athanas. *Orat. contra Arian.* viii. 43]. "We who reverence Christ are assured that He did not say He was ignorant in that He was the Word; for in that relation He knew well; but shewing His human Nature, because it belongs to humanity to be ignorant, and He had put on ignorant flesh, speaking in reference to this He said that as man He was ignorant" [*ibid.* 45]. So also St. Ambrose writes, "There was increase of age and increase of wisdom, but it was of human wisdom. . . . If He advanced as a man in age, He must have advanced as a man in wisdom; the advance in wisdom must have been proportionate to that in perception, from which it is derived" [Ambr. *de Incarn.* vii. 72].

It is obviously difficult to understand in what manner the Omniscience of God and the ignorance of man could co-exist in our Lord, but it is equally difficult to understand the co-existence of His suffering Manhood and His Impassible Godhead. "If Jesus, as man, could be without the Divine attribute of perfect blessedness without prejudice to His full possession of it as God; why could He not in like manner, as man, be without the Divine attribute of perfect knowledge. The difficulty is common to all the contrasts of the Divine Incarnation; but these contrasts, while they enhance our sense of our Lord's love and condescension, do not destroy our apprehension of the Personal Unity of the incarnate Christ. His single Personality has two spheres of existence; in the one it is all blessed, undying, and omniscient; in the other it meets with pain of mind and body, with actual death, and with a correspondent liability to a limitation of knowledge. No such limitation, we may be sure, can interfere with the completeness of His redemptive office; but at least it places Him as Man in perfect sympathy with the actual conditions of the mental life of His brethren" [Liddon's *Bampton Lect.* 695].

It must be strongly enforced in conclusion, that [1] this limitation of the knowledge of Christ during the time of His humiliation must on no account be supposed to extend to His knowledge as the glorified Son of Man, for it was a part of that temporary discipline by which He learned sympathy as He "learned obedience" [Heb. iv. 15, v. 8], and for which there was no need when the work of His humiliation had been perfected. [2] Nor must it be imagined that such limitation of knowledge entailed the possibility of error; for although relatively to Omniscience the temporal knowledge of Christ's human Nature was Ignorance, relatively to ordinary human knowledge it was all but omniscience; and there is not a shadow of ground in Holy Scripture for supposing that, as far as it extended, such knowledge was otherwise than infallible.

ILLUMINATI [φωτιζόμενοι]. A name given to the baptized in the early Church. St. Paul writes of those who were ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας in two places with an evident reference to baptism [Heb. vi. 4, x. 32], and the Council of Laodicæa [A.D. 372], in its third canon, calls the newly-baptized προσφάτως φωτισθέντας. The name is explained by Justin Martyr in his second *Apology* as referring to the spiritual knowledge acquired by those who were baptized, and there was probably an association between the term and the ritual use of lights in the Baptismal service. [Illumination. Lights.]

ILLUMINATI. The name has been assumed by four sects of enthusiasts, in Spain, France, Belgium, and Germany. [1] The *Alombrados* arose in Spain about the year 1575. They were mystics of a very extreme form, who cast aside altogether the assistance of sacraments, and the duty of good works, believing that perfectibility of religious life was to be attained by contemplation. The original sect was suppressed, but it revived again about 1623, and was formally condemned by the Spanish Church. [2] Shortly afterwards the *Guerinets* arose in France, a sort of Illuminati similar to the preceding, but who added to their mysticism the belief in a special revelation of perfectibility made to one of their number, a friar named Bocquet. [3] A sect of the same kind of mystics existed in Belgium under the same name, in the latter half of the last century. [4] The "order" of the Perfectibilists, or Illuminati, was originated at Ingol-

stadt by a professor of Canon Law, named Weishaupt, in 1776. It was an association of deists and republicans, and was largely supported by the freemasons. It was suppressed by the Elector of Bavaria in 1786, but its influences had spread very widely, and they probably contributed towards the overthrow of the Church in France, and its danger in other countries, during the terrible epoch of the French Revolution. [MYSTICS. *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

ILLUMINATION. The spiritual enlightenment of the understanding and the conscience which proceeds from the indwelling of Christ, "the true Light which lighteth every man" [John i. 9].

That Presence being brought about first of all by Holy Baptism, illumination is primarily a result of that sacrament. This was so keenly recognised in the early Church, when numbers were baptized as adults, and the effects of regeneration were thus made evident by contrast, that baptism was often called φωτισμὸς, as by Justin Martyr, who wrote, "This washing we call illumination, because the understanding of those who learn these things is enlightened" [*Apolog.* II. lxi.]. The expression is common among the Fathers, and appears also to have been used familiarly by St. Paul, who is evidently writing of Baptism when he speaks of "those who were once enlightened" (τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας) [Heb. vi. 4], and speaks of the time "after ye were enlightened" [*ibid.* x. 32], and tells those who were once heathen, but had been made Christians, that "ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light" [Eph. v. 8]; "ye are all children of the light and of the day" [1 Thess. v. 5]. St. Peter also uses the same language, speaking to Christian Jews as those whom Christ has called "into His marvellous light" [1 Pet. ii. 9], and St. John speaks of an active, loving Christianity as "abiding in the light" [1 John ii. 10].

Illumination is not, however, the effect of Baptism only, though that sacrament is the instrumental cause of its first entrance into the soul. Every increase of grace by which Christ and the Christian are drawn into more close union brings to the latter some increase of spiritual intelligence and moral perception from the presence of the former. "In Thy Light shall we see light" [Ps. xxxvi. 9]. The spiritual intelligence thus gained brings truth within the range of mental apprehension by a kind of intuition, faith being quickened so as to supply to a certain extent, *and for the spiritual necessities of the individual person himself*, the place of acquired knowledge. Thus holy persons, who would be justly accounted ignorant in secular things, have a clear vision of God and of spiritual truth. Holy living and sacramental grace bring them the Presence of Christ, and with it comes an illumination of the mind, such as makes them quickly apprehend the practical force of spiritual truth. They thus arrive by supernatural means at a terminus which could only be intellectually reached, if reached at all, through an atmosphere of doubt, which would have to be dissipated by processes of reasoning. They have "the eyes of their understanding enlightened, that they may know what is the hope of His calling, and what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints" [Eph. i. 18]. But such illumination must not be confused with the confident assumption of spiritual knowledge which is often found among sectarians, which is not associated with spiritual purity and holy living, and which mostly betrays itself to the keen observer as mere ignorant speculation and guesswork.

The illumination thus produced by the Light of Christ's Presence extends also to the conscience. Hence the mystical language of the Book of Proverbs speaks of "the candle of the Lord searching all the inward parts" of the spiritual man [Prov. xx. 27]. Hence it is found by daily experience that those who live simple Christian lives, depending, unconsciously perhaps, on God rather than on intellectual discernment for moral guidance, are quick in their moral perceptions. Women and children are thus said to know right and wrong by instinct, not by reasoning; and such knowledge is of the highest order, because it is derived from union of the human conscience with the Supreme Conscience, an union to a great extent unopposed, through simple submission of will, and the simple reception of grace.

Illumination is, therefore, the initiation of a spiritual condition which will develope into perfection in that life where the Presence of God will be unveiled, and where no other light will be needed than the glory of God and the light of Christ [Rev. xxi. 23]. Consequently, every increase of it that can be obtained during the present life is to be regarded as among the best of those good and perfect gifts which proceed from above, coming down from the Father of Lights [James i. 17]. It is to be sought as a gift of high value even to the most intellectual, and its presence is to be reverenced even in the most ignorant.

IMAGE OF GOD. This is the term by which Holy Scripture denotes the perfection of human nature in its original condition. When the Blessed Trinity determined to crown the work of Creation with the noblest work of all, "God said, Let us make man in our Image, after our likeness" [Gen. i. 26]; and of the act of Creation when it was past, it is said, "So God created man in His own Image, in the Image of God created He him" [Gen. i. 27]; "In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made He him" [Gen. v. 1]. After the Deluge God once more refers to this glory of man's nature, saying, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the Image of God made He man." [Gen. ix. 6; *cf.* 1 Cor. xi. 7 and James iii. 9.]

But although the Creator thus made man theomorphic, we are not to think of God as anthropomorphic; and we must look for the likeness of man to God in such qualities as can be justly predicated of God on the one hand, and of man on the other. Since God is a Spirit, His Image in

Image of God

man cannot relate to the human body [ANTHROPOMORPHISM; BODY, NATURAL], but must consist in certain spiritual and mental qualities or capacities, the perfection of which is found only in God, but of which an impress or image was communicated to man. We cannot limit the extent or nature of Divine qualities by the capacities of human nature; but, on the other hand, we have no right to limit the communication of those qualities to human nature except so far as its essential limitability for their reception requires.

1.] Human Nature, then, in its original perfection was the Image of God because of the communication to it of the Divine quality of *Indestructibility*. Divine Nature itself is characterized by what is called "necessary existence." Not being created, it cannot be otherwise than immortal; and hence the mysterious but yet partly revealed name by which God has designated Himself, "I AM," "Jehovah," an Eternally Present Existence. To suppose that original human nature had such an immortality would be to suppose it to be not the Image of God, but God; we must therefore understand that the *communicated* indestructibility of the one was rather analogous to, than identical with, the *inherent* indestructibility of the other. Such a difference may be deduced from the known constitution of the organic part of our nature. We have no reason to suppose that any great change has taken place in this since its first creation, and may undoubtedly conclude that it needed to be renewed day by day from the first by means of food; but no such necessity can belong to the Eternal Divine Nature. Such, however, on the other hand, is the wonderful character of our existing nature in its physical structure, that it is a machine which is continually being renovated by its use as well as by food. The friction which destroys every other machine is, in the body, a source of perpetual reproduction of its particles, and the use of the muscular system actually developes its substance. Hence it is scarcely so much an effort of the imagination as a conclusion of the reason to suppose this renovating process going on for ever under the influence of food exactly adapted to the requirements of nature, and circumstances of life from which the many elements of deterioration induced by mental care were absent. The communicated indestructibility of our original nature was plainly of this character. "God," says the author of the Book of Wisdom, "created man to be immortal;" that is, for the state of immortality, "and made him the Image of His own propriety" [ἰδία ἰδιότης. Wisd. ii. 23, 24]. He gave to him a nature capable of enduring for ever in all its parts, body as well as soul, under certain conditions; these being represented to us—so far as they were different from those under which human nature now exists—by the literal or figurative expression (let it be considered in either way the result is the same for the present argument), "eating of the tree of life." What the classical mythology predicated of ambrosia and nectar, that they were food and drink capable of giving immortality to mortals, was doubtless a tradition of a far more ancient primeval truth told us in this opening page of the history of human nature. Provided with physical structure identical with that known to all subsequent generations, and which is, in itself, liable to degeneration through the wear and tear of life, human nature had access originally to some restorative aliment which did the work of an *elixir vitæ*, continually counteracting the process of degeneration, and maintaining the animal tissues as well as the vital energies in perennial vigour.

The original immortality of human nature was so far an image of Divine incorruptibility, that the constitution of our physical structure was of a self-reproductive character, as it still is; was animated by some communication of the nature of divinity, the "breath of life," by which it is still animated; and had access to a perpetually recuperative power in the "tree of life," which represents a food of immortality of a supra-natural character.

2.] Other qualities of Deity are *Impassibility*, *Power*, *Knowledge*, and *Goodness;* and these also appear to have been imparted to human nature under such restrictions as to make it still human and not Divine, but yet in such fulness as to make man the Image of God. With reference to the first of these, it must be taken as a consequence of the gift by which immortality was attainable. With our present physical structure, incapacity for dying implies incapacity for the physical degeneration, disease, and decay which are the cause of all bodily suffering, and which form the initial and progressive parts of a process whereof death is only the climax. If, indeed, we believe, as we must in reason, that the nervous structure of the body now is identical with the nervous structure of the first created human bodies, we must also believe that the latter had the same capacity for physical pain as we have. But, on the other hand, if physical pain is the indication of an initiatory process which culminates, if not arrested, in death, then we are bound to believe that the same means which counteracted death in its final, prevented it also in its initial stages, and that physical pain was unknown to bodies which partook of the "tree of life." Mental pain or sorrow would also be absent from a nature not yet acquainted with evil, as was the case with our original human nature; and, indeed, its absence has ever been regarded as a special characteristic of the "happiness" which the first created human beings enjoyed. In this, too, we see the Image of that pure non-Incarnated Deity who created them, and who thus endowed them in body and soul with the high gift of a likeness to His own impassible Nature.

3.] The human image of the Divine *Power* and *Knowledge* are indicated in the authority delegated to man by the Creator, when He commissioned him and empowered him to "replenish the earth and to subdue it:" and to "have dominion over every living thing that moveth upon the earth;" a sovereignty, the evidences of which are too strong to call for any proof or elaboration of the Bible statement, and which is universally

allowed to be a Divine gift or delegation.[1] The evidence in respect to knowledge is scarcely less strong, though revealed to us by one instance only of the possession of such supereminent knowledge in our original human nature as to be called Divine. "I suppose," says Plato in one of his Dialogues, "that a certain power more than human first imposed names upon things." "The Creator of every living thing," says the Bible, "brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowls of the air, and to every beast of the field" [Gen. ii. 19, 20]. As the great philosopher theoretically concluded that only a knowledge derived from God could be equal to this task, so we may, with all Jewish and Christian writers of eminence on this subject, consider that this is given as an illustration of the supreme capacity for knowledge with which God has gifted human nature; a capacity, the possession of which, and the exercise of it in this way, presupposes also the Image of God in man.

4.] In this enumeration of the Divine Gifts, bestowed on our nature in its vivification by the emanation from God, which is called the breath of life, nothing need be said in detail about the original *Goodness* or *Righteousness* which constitutes one special characteristic of the Divine Image. Let it suffice to mention here that the state of righteousness, goodness, or holiness in which human nature was first created, was not one in which he leaped at once to the climax of final perfection, but was like his condition generally, one of progress. This progressive or improveable character of human nature, even under such elevated circumstances of existence, distinguishes it from the Divine as much as a thing created is distinguished from one self-originated. Thus, a capacity for incorruptibility, for a knowledge only short of Omniscience, and for a power, the bounds of which we cannot set, were bestowed, by means of the communication of God's nature, in the degree which has been indicated to man's nature; but the full development of these capacities was as much a work of progress as is the present development of human capacities. Here, again, the old heathenism had a tradition of the truth, when it told of its noblest men that they passed by an apotheosis from the highest condition of which an earthly life was capable to a life which was all but Divine. And it is not unlikely that in the undying translation of Enoch and Elijah, we see types of the manner in which human nature in general was originally intended to be transferred, after a certain period of progress, from a paradisiacal to a heavenly existence; to a state of existence in which capacities would be developed into fixed habits, and indestructibility be no longer shackled by its union with "the dust of the ground." Great as the perfections of our original nature were, there was yet, from the very first, a higher perfection into which it could and must develope if it carried out the intention of its Creator. And although it was already made a partaker of the Divine Nature, a progress towards the Infinite in indestructibility, power, knowledge, and goodness was open to it, of which the Eastern theories about the final absorption of the human into the Divine are a faint and human expression, such scriptural sayings as that "God shall be all in all" a Divine revelation, and such scriptural prayers as that we "may be filled with all the fulness of God," a true devotional aspiration. It was but a misapplied truth, that "ye shall be Gods" [Elohim], "knowing good and evil." And it was the highest and most authoritative form of that truth which found utterance in the words, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect" [Matt. v. 48]. From this it becomes evident that the true progress of mankind is its forward march in the track of its original destiny; that the lower and created nature rises in all its normal characteristics just in proportion to its participation in the higher, uncreated, and Divine; that the highest aspiration which humanity can utter is one that it may be changed into the same Image of God in which it was originally made, changed from a state which was capable of degeneration to the glory of a state in which that Image may be both perfectible and perfected. [Fall of Man. Restoration of the Creature.]

IMAGE WORSHIP. The use of the word "image" in ecclesiastical history and in theology extends to any representation, whether in sculpture or painting, of a holy person or thing, and there is a great variety of determinations, of more or less authority, respecting the use of such.

Early writers [*e.g.* Origen, *Hom.* viii. *in Exod.* Genebr. p. 52; Theodoret, i. p. 149, Sismondi], distinguish between "similitudo" and "idolum," defining the former as the similitude of that which really exists, the latter the representation of that which is feigned. Our homily against peril of idolatry asserts that idol and image are synonymous. Neither of these agree with modern usage, which has established the distinction that an image is an idol when it receives excessive veneration.

There appears to have been little or no use of images in public worship for the first three centuries. There was private use of symbols and images, as on rings [Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* iii. 11, p. 289, Pott], on vases [Tertull. *de Pud.* p. 721, Paris, 1641], and private use of statues [Euseb. *Hist.* vii. 118], but no public use is proved. It is agreed by both Romanist and Anglican authorities [*e.g.* Petavius and Jeremy Taylor] that this is sufficiently accounted for by the evident inexpediency of a public use of images while the remembrance of idolatry was fresh in men's minds. It is noticed also that the use of images by the Carpocratians [Irenæus, i. 5, 6] could not but tend to deter the orthodox from such use. Private use, however, naturally passed into public use, and against this the Council of Eliberis

[1] It may be remarked that this sovereignty was bestowed upon a naked, unarmed man, and seems to indicate that the obedience of the lower creation was to be obtained not by physical force, but solely by the power of the will.

[A.D. 305] gave a decision in Can. xxxvi., "Placuit picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur." Upon which the gloss may be allowed that it was "pro temporum illorum ratione."

At the latter end of the fourth century, pictures of saints and martyrs were more frequently found in churches. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola in the early part of the fifth century, ordered his church to be painted with them, and some intimations of the same practice in other places are found in St. Augustine, who condemns the "picturarum adoratores." Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles [A.D. 599], ordered all images to be defaced and cast out of all the churches in his diocese, but Gregory the Great blames him for doing so: "Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manufactum adorari posset, habuisse laudavimus, sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse judicamus; idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus videndo legant, quæ legere in codicibus non valent" [*Epist.* ix. 106].

The iconoclastic controversy has been already noticed under the word ICONOCLASM. It is only necessary here to say that the general principle of the Mediæval Church in the West on this subject is fairly represented by the Council of Trent, "Imagines porro Christi, Deiparæ Virginis et aliorum sanctorum in templis præsertim habendæ ac retinendæ sunt, eisque debitus honor et veneratio impertienda: non quod credatur inesse aliqua in eis divinitas vel virtus, propter quam sint colendæ; vel quod ab eis sit aliquid petendum; vel quod fiducia in imaginibus sit figenda, veluti olim fiebat a gentibus, quæ in idolis spem suam collocabant; sed quoniam honos qui eis exhibetur, refertur ad prototypa, quæ illæ repræsentant; ita ut per imagines quas osculamur, et coram quibus caput aperimus et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et sanctos, quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur" [Sess. xxv. 2].

There is no rule respecting the use of images given to us in the New Testament. It may be concluded, therefore, that the Church is left—[1] to that in the Old Testament which is of perpetual obligation; [2] to the rules of reason, enlightened by the principles of a complete revelation; [3] to the measures of spiritual prudence. Thus [1] the severity of the Mosaic law, by which God forbade the making images of visible creatures, was only of temporary reason, from the singular proneness of the people to idolatry; the precept of Deut. iv. 15, 16 [comp. Acts xvii. 29], giving a natural reason for a natural duty, is binding on Christians; [2] reason points out the instruction which may thus be given to the ignorant, the stimulus to a devout imagination, the aid to the memory, the suggestions which may holily minister to faith; while [3] spiritual prudence remembers that the more ignorance there is, the more proneness to superstition, and reminds us that we must ever be on the watch lest faith should become dependent on sight, lest the body should overweight the mind, lest any innate or proper holiness should be attached to the image, and the mind instead of being helped to pass beyond the image, should rest on it as an object of worship.

Upon such general principles, the Church has a lawful use of images. The human form of our Blessed Lord may lawfully be represented. So may the acknowledged symbols, as the Lamb, and the Good Shepherd. The objection of the Iconoclasts, that the representation of the human form suppressed the Divinity, and did not represent Christ, is valid to shew that the earlier paintings, with priestly robe and glory, are both truer and more pious than the naturalistic paintings of later artists. Why the symbol of the Lamb was in some cases forbidden does not appear; for it seems to be a symbol which cannot be misinterpreted, as does also the symbol of the Dove for the Holy Ghost.

Regarding images of the saints, there is not only the danger of attributing a proper holiness to the image itself, but the danger also of exaggerrating the true doctrine of the intercession of the saints, and introducing another species of false worship.

That all such images of holy things and persons are to be regarded with reverence flowing from our sense of the sanctity of the original, no well-constituted mind will doubt. That such reverence becomes superstitious when any inherent holiness is attributed to the image, when through it the power and presence of Almighty God is localized, or the intercession of the saints thought to be more prevalent in consequence of tendering devotion to them by aid of their images; this, too, we may assume not to need argument.

And lastly, to bring the matter down to the Church of England, that such errors both of doctrine and practice prevailed most deeply and widely at the time of the Reformation, the language itself of the Tridentine Canon, compared with other teaching, is sufficient to shew. The Schoolmen, many of them, taught, "Eundem honorem deberi imagini et exemplari, ac proinde imagines S. Trinitatis, Christi, et Crucis cultu latriæ adorandas esse." [See Jeremy Taylor, *The Rule of Conscience*, bk. ii. ch. ii. Rule vi. sect 26. where, however, we venture to differ from the extreme estimate of the second Nicene Council, and the supposed sanction of Trent to that estimate.] So, in practice, "image worship was become a gross and unspiritual adoration—the worship of the actual, material, present image, rather than that of the formless or spiritual power of which it was the emblem or representative. The whole tendency of popular belief was to localize, to embody in the material thing the supernatural or divine power. The healing or miraculous power dwelt in, and emanated from the picture of the saint. . . . These outward things were not mere occasional vehicles of the Divine bounty, indifferent in themselves; they possessed an inherent, inalienable sanctity" [Milman, iv. 7].

Against such teaching and such practice our Homily against Peril of Idolatry was directed. It is a controversial tract against an abuse, not a

calm teaching of the truth. Of such teaching and practice our Twenty-second Article speaks. Written in 1553, it was adopted by Elizabeth's Divines in 1562, the Trent Article dating Dec. 4th, 1563. We may say, then, that our Church holds still the middle course, with the Council of Frankfort, between the Councils of Constantinople and Nicæa, and desires, with the Council of Paris, to learn what the general voice of the Fathers has taught, allowing the use, guarding against the abuse of images.

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. The name given to a doctrine held by some theologians, and dogmatically asserted in the bull "Ineffabilis Deus," by Pope Pius IX., the substantial point of which is that the Blessed Virgin Mary was (by the grace and favour of Almighty God) preserved perfectly free from all taint of original sin, "ex primo instanti suæ conceptionis," from the very moment in which she was conceived by her mother. It is also the name of a Roman Catholic festival corresponding in date with the Feast of "the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary" in the English Calendar.

[I.] THE HISTORY OF THE FESTIVAL AND OF THE DOCTRINE are closely linked together. From very early times it has been maintained that the Blessed Virgin was sanctified before, or at the time of her birth, that she might be a pure and undefiled tabernacle for her Holy Child; but no holy-day in commemoration of this fact and doctrine is traceable in the early ages of the Church. About the sixth century there is some uncertain indication of such a festival in a "Typicon" or "Directorium" of the Eastern Church, which was originally written by St. Sabba, and rewritten by St. John Damascene [A.D. 756]. This contains a liturgical hymn on the Annunciation, in which Mary is called "the only undefiled and beautiful dove," but there is no evidence whatever that this is really earlier than the eighth century. There is also another hymn, said to have been written by St. Andrew of Crete in the seventh century, in which the festival is spoken of as a commemoration of the conception of St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin: "Thy conception, religious Anne, we celebrate to-day, because, being loosed from the bands of barrenness, thou didst conceive her who was enabled to contain Him who is Incomprehensible." In agreement with this early idea of the festival, it has always been named in the Eastern Calendars "The Conception of Anne, the mother of the mother of God," the date of it being December 9th, a day later than in those of the Western Church.

But although the sanctification before birth of the Blessed Virgin was thus commemorated, no separate office for the day is known as having existed before the end of the fifteenth century, when one was composed under the name of Vincentius Bandellus, President of the Congregation of Rites in Lombardy [A.D. 1493]. This office does not recognise the doctrine of Immaculacy, the tone throughout being that of the Invitatory, "The sanctification of the Virgin Mary let us celebrate; Christ her Son the Lord let us adore;" and our Lord is addressed in a hymn as being "alone without sin." But the office generally used was that for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, slightly altered for the purpose of adapting it to the Conception.

In England the Feast of the Conception has been said to have been introduced by St. Anselm, but this assertion has no authentic foundation, and is probably as untrue as that the doctrine of the Immaculacy is to be found in his works. In the fourteenth century it was included among the festivals of the English Calendar for the first time,[1] by Archbishop Islip's *Constitutions* [A.D. 1362], though a special order was made for its observance throughout the province of Canterbury in 1328, by Archbishop Meopham. Neither the word immaculate, nor the idea conveyed by it, was ever associated with the festival in the English Office Books: nor was it, indeed, admitted into those of the Roman rite until the pontificate of Gregory XVI. The antiquity of the Festival of the Conception (or the Sanctification before birth) of the Blessed Virgin, is, therefore, no evidence as to ancient belief in the Immaculacy of her Conception. And, in fact, even Bellarmine asserts this, writing: "The chief foundation of this festival was not the Immaculate Conception, but merely the Conception of her who should be the mother of God. . . . Hence they even who hold that the Blessed Virgin was conceived in sin celebrate this festival" [Bellarm. *De Cultu Sanct.* iii. 16].

When or where the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was first taught is quite unknown. Perrone says that some writers have ascribed its origin to France, and he himself is of opinion that it came from the East, and was recognised at Naples in the ninth century. Roman Catholic writers have very generally asserted that St. Anselm [A.D. 1033-1109] held the doctrine; but the Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, to which they refer for proof of this allegation, was written by Hervé of Bourg-Déols at a later date, and the words relied on are not even his, but a still later interpolation [*Patrolog.* clviii. 41]. Natalis Alexander [xiii. 219] proves that St. Anselm was of a different opinion; as is also shewn by Mabillon [*Annal. Benedict.* vi. 121]. Nor ought any one to be doubtful about St. Anselm's opinion on the subject, who has read his treatise on the Incarnation, for there he writes without any hesitation: "Virgo tamen ipse, unde assumptus est, est in iniquitatibus concepta, et in peccatis concepit eam mater ejus, et cum originali peccato nata est, quoniam et ipsa in Adam peccavit, in quo omnes peccaverunt" [Anselm. *Cur Deus Homo*, ii. 16, *cf.* 17, 18].

[1] It is usually said that the Council held at Oxford, under Archbishop Langton [A.D. 1222], included the festival in the Calendar, expressly declaring, however, that it was not a day of obligation, and that the observance was optional. But this assertion rests on the evidence of one Belgian MS. only, no English authority containing either the day or the reservatory clause [Pusey's *Eirenicon*, ii. 365, *n.*].

The first really historical trace of the doctrine is to be found in an Epistle of St. Bernard to the canons of Lyons, who observed the Festival of the Conception (as did the Franciscans at Rome) with a full recognition of the Immaculacy. This letter of remonstrance was written by St. Bernard in A.D. 1140, and in it he distinctly affirms the festival itself to be a novelty in the Church: "nova celebritas quam ritus ecclesiasticus nescit . . . et non commendat antiqua traditio" [St. Bernard. *Ep.* 174, *ad Canon. Lugdun.*]. It is significant that the clergy of Lyons justified themselves by stating that they had learned their peculiar rite from a document which the Blessed Virgin had sent down from heaven [Bulæus, *Hist. Schol. Paris*, ii. 185]. Half a century after St. Bernard's time the doctrine became a standing cause of contention between the Scotists and the Thomists; St. Thomas Aquinas having maintained the ancient tenet (which referred to the Sanctification of the Virgin before her birth), and Duns Scotus, at a later date [A.D. 1307], having energetically supported the most extreme theory of her Immaculate Conception in a disputation held before the University of Paris. The controversy was thus taken up by the two great and influential communities, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, the former following the moderate and reasonable doctrine of Aquinas, the latter the Immaculacy theory. In A.D. 1387 a Spanish divine, named John de Montesono, set forth some theses on the subject, in which he maintained it to be contrary to Scripture to assert that any one but Christ was ever free from original sin, and consequently to say that the Blessed Virgin Mary was not conceived in sin. He was censured by the Sorbonne, the then reigning Pope of Avignon, Clement VII., and the Pope of Rome, Urban VI., from which it is evident that the extreme doctrine was making way among Roman divines. More force was given to it by a decree of the Council of Basle [A.D. 1439]. They ruled as follows:—"Nos . . . doctrinam illam disserentem gloriosam virginem Dei genitricem Mariam, præveniente et operante Divini Numinis gratia singulari, nunquam actualiter subjacuisse originali peccato, sed immunem semper fuisse ab omni originali et actuali culpa sanctamque et immaculatam, tanquam piam et consonam cultui ecclesiastico, fidei catholicæ, rectæ rationi et sacræ Scripturæ, ab omnibus catholicis approbandam fore, tenendam et amplectendam, diffinimus et declaramus, nullique de cætero licitum esse in contrarium prædicare seu docere"[1] [*Sess.* xxxvi.; Harduin, *Conc.* viii. 1266]. Upon this the University of Paris made the subscription of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception a condition of their degrees, and required doctors of divinity to maintain it with all their power, expelling those of their members who refused to subscribe to it. Later in the century Sixtus IV. published two bulls, "Cum præcelsa," dated Feb. 27, 1477, and "Grave nimis," dated Sept. 4, 1483, endeavouring to throw oil upon the waters so troubled by the contests of the Dominicans and Franciscans, by excommunicating all on either side who asserted or denied the belief in the doctrine to be heresy; his ground for so doing being that it had not yet been decided by the Apostolic See. The Council of Trent, after much controversy between the two orders, affixed a rider to their decree concerning original sin, declaring that they had no intention to include "beatam et immaculatam Virginem, Matrem, Dei genetricem" therein [*Sess.* v. 5]; and enforcing the constitutions set forth in the bulls of Sixtus IV., thus leaving the question still open. There was much subsequent controversy and bitterness on the subject during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and in 1834, a bull was issued by Gregory XVI. admitting the word "Immaculatam" into the Mass of the Conception, with plenary indulgence to all such as should join in celebrating the festival; and also inserting "Regina sine labe originali concepta" in a litany addressed to the Blessed Virgin. On December 8, 1854, Pius IX. promulgated the bull "Ineffabilis Deus," by which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was finally imposed as an article of faith on the Roman communion. The bull declares as follows:—"Auctoritate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac Nostra, declaramus, pronuntiamus, et definimus, doctrinam, quæ tenet Beatissimam Virginem Mariam in primo instanti suæ Conceptionis fuisse singulari Omnipotentis Dei gratia et privilegio, intuitu meritorum Christi Jesu, Salvatoris humani generis, ab omni originalis culpæ labe præservatam immunem, esse a Deo revelatam, atque idcirco ab omnibus fidelibus firmiter constanterque credendam." Such is the history of this much controverted doctrine.

[II.] The Theology of the Doctrine has been the subject of many volumes [see Walchii *Bibliotheca*], but can be noticed here only in a very condensed form.

1. The actual sanctity of the Blessed Virgin-Mother during the period of the holy Child's formation in her womb was, beyond doubt, of an entirely unprecedented character. As, at His death, the holy body of the God-Man was buried in a new sepulchre wherein never man before had lain, so during the nine months that the same body was being formed of human substance it lay in a pure virgin shrine fitted to contain that holy thing which was to be born therefrom for the restoration of human nature to holiness. This is distinctly revealed to us in Holy Scripture. Considering, moreover, the circumstances of our Blessed Lord's indwelling for so long in the body of His Virgin Mother, it is impossible to believe otherwise than that her sanctity during that period was infinitely beyond that of any other merely human saint: a borrowed light, and a light inferior to that of the Sun of Righteousness, but yet a light exceeding all lights but His in brightness. The very first

[1] It was for this council that Cardinal Turrecremata prepared the elaborate treatise and catena against the novel doctrine, which was republished in England in 1869.

principles of practical religion, those which attribute sanctification in all its degrees to the work of the Holy Ghost, and the indwelling of our Blessed Lord, do in fact require us to draw the inference that the overshadowing of the power of the Highest and the advent of the Holy Ghost, the plenitude of grace vouchsafed to her, and the actual indwelling within her of the Divine Saviour, formed such an accumulated power of sanctification as almost, if not quite, to shut out the practical possibility of *actual* sin on the part of her on whose person it was gathered.

2. While we have nothing revealed to us in Holy Scripture as to the spiritual condition of the Blessed Virgin before this overshadowing, it is most reasonable to believe that God had chosen a very holy virgin for the purpose of receiving it; a person by whom His grace had been so specially co-operated with that it had received no hindrance from her will, and had thus been able to exert its full power of sanctification. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that during the fifteen or sixteen years which preceded the wonderful epoch of her miraculous maternity, the Blessed Virgin Mary had lived a life of surpassing innocence, one of purity such as is shadowed out in the sweet lives of some regenerate children in Christian times. Many saintly ones, following the Lamb whithersoever He goeth, have given living proof that God's grace could have such prevailing power; and if on any, certainly it would have such power on her who was predestined to be the mother of the God-Man.

3. Up to this point there is no real ground for controversy. There is no reason for supposing that the Blessed Virgin had ever committed sin before the birth of Christ, and there is every reason for supposing that she had not done so. The entire unresistance of her will to the will of God was an antecedent element of the Incarnation, and this is also the highest form of sanctification. But the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is at once confronted with several difficulties. It is not supported by any evidence of Holy Scripture; it is a comparative novelty in theology; and it is distinctly opposed to the doctrine of original sin.

a] As to Scripture evidence, only two passages are adduced by the really learned defenders of this doctrine. The first is Gen. iii. 15, the πρωτευαγγέλιον of Divine revelation, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." In the Vulgate the penultimate words appear in the form "*ipsa* conteret caput tuum," and some force is given to this reading by a few writers; but even if such a reading could be critically allowed[1] it does not make the verse applicable to the conception of the Blessed Virgin by her mother. There is absolutely no ground whatever for using it in such a sense, and it is only so used to meet the necessity of finding scriptural support for the doctrine. The other passage alleged is the Angelic Salutation [Luke i. 28, *cf.* 30], coupled with the words spoken by Elizabeth [Luke i. 42], "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women. . . . Fear not Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. . . . Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." The argument founded on these words is that κεχαριτωμένη, translated in the Vulgate by "gratiâ plena," means fulness of grace in such a sense as necessitates exemption, from the beginning of existence, from all taint of sin; and that the same meaning necessarily belongs to the expression "blessed art thou among women" [Liebermann, *Instit. Theol.* ii. 833; Perrone, *Prælect. Theol.* ii. 651, Paris 1863]. But why these words should be so interpreted those who use them for the purpose do not say. They are, in fact, uncritically and illogically forced into the service of the doctrine; and, as in the case of the "Protevangelium" of the Old Testament, they offer no real support to it whatever. As for other passages, of a mystical type, which are used as a secondary evidence, they would be of value only as confirming and illustrating any in which the fact was directly and undoubtedly stated.

b] That the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is a comparative novelty in theology is historically certain. There is not one writer before St. Bernard—that is, for the first eleven centuries of Christian history—who uses such strong language about the holiness of the Blessed Virgin as is used by St. Bernard himself in the letter to the canons of Lyons, previously referred to. Yet, he contends for the doctrine of her holiness by the power of God's grace exercised upon her after her conception by her mother, and against that of a sinless, or immaculate conception as a dangerous novelty doing dishonour to the Blessed Virgin and to Christ. "The mother of God," he writes, "was, without doubt, sanctified before she was born, nor is the holy Church in error in accounting the day of her nativity holy. I think that even a more abundant blessing of sanctification descended on her, which not only sanctified her birth, but also preserved her life from all sin, which happened to none other of the children of men. It was becoming, indeed, that the Queen of Virgins should pass her life in the privilege of a singular sanctity, and free from all sin, who, in bearing the Destroyer of all sin and death, obtained for all the gift of life.

"Whence, then, is the sanctity of her Conception? Can she be said to have been prevented by sanctification, as being already holy when conceived, and thus her Conception itself was also holy? But she could not be holy before she existed, as she existed not before she was conceived. Or, again, did holiness attach to her conception, "inter amplexus maritales," so that she was, at the same time, both sanctified and conceived? But reason admits not this; for how can there be holiness without the Holy Spirit to sanctify, or how could there be any

[1] The reading is discarded by the best Roman critics. See De Rossi's criticism of it in Pusey's *Eirenicon*, ii. 385.

union between the Holy Spirit and sin? or, again, how was there not sin where there was concupiscence? unless it be said, indeed, that she also was conceived of the Holy Ghost and not of a human father, which is hitherto unheard of. I affirm that the Blessed Virgin conceived, and not that she also was conceived by a virgin; otherwise where is her prerogative as the mother of God, by which she alone is believed to exult both in the gift of an offspring and in the spotlessness of her body, if you ascribe the same to her mother also? This is not to increase, but to detract from her honour: . . . although it is granted to a few among the sons of men to be born in holiness, it is not also granted them to be conceived holy; and thus to one alone would be reserved the prerogative of a holy Conception, even to Him who should sanctify all men, coming, alone of all, without sin, to make a cleansing of sins. Our Lord Jesus Christ, then, alone, was conceived of the Holy Ghost, who was alone holy even before His Conception; He only excepted, to all the other offspring of Adam apply the words spoken by one in humility and truth of himself—'I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.'"

Exactly similar doctrine is found in Peter Lombard [*Sentent.* III. *Distinct.* iii.], in St. Alexander of Hales (the Irrefragable Doctor, and master of St. Bonaventure), a great commentator on Lombard, in St. Bonaventure himself, and above all in St. Thomas Aquinas [*Summ. Theol.* III. *qu.* xxvii. *art.* 1]. Duns Scotus [A.D. 1308] was the first theologian of any repute who advocated the theory of immaculacy; and it was even later before it became quite formalized into the shape in which it is maintained in the present day. It may be truly said therefore that it is a comparative novelty in theology.

c] Lastly, this doctrine is distinctly opposed to that of original sin. The very necessity for a miraculous conception in the case of Him who was to be without sin [INCARNATION] is in itself a proof that every person conceived in a natural manner must be conceived in sin [NATURE, HUMAN]. The Word of God is express and unmistakeable as to the fact that all *are* conceived in sin [ORIGINAL SIN]. There is not one particle of evidence that the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary by her mother differed in any respect from that of other children by other women. Although, therefore, it is painful that any association should ever have to be made between sin and the name of the Virgin Mary—"de qua, propter honorem Dei, nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, volo quæstionem" [St. August. *de Natur. et Grat.* xxvi.]—yet it must, for the sake of truth, be asserted against those who dishonour Christ by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception that, with all other human beings, His holy mother (how soon soever she was purified from its stain, and liberated from its power) was in the first instance conceived in original sin, because she was derived by natural conception from Adam, in whom all have sinned. [MARY.]

IMMERSION. [BAPTISM.]

IMPANATION. One of the many terms invented with the object of defining the mode of union between the outward part and the inward part in the Eucharistic Bread of Life. It is practically synonymous with the Lutheran term CONSUBSTANTIATION.

IMPLICIT FAITH. The child-like disposition which receives testimony without question, requiring no evidence or explanation, but relying wholly upon the trustworthiness of the person or persons giving it. On the same ground, implicit faith is a preparedness of mind ready to yield belief to propositions as yet undeclared. It can only be properly offered to an infallible authority, and, therefore, God alone is the only Person to Whom it can be offered without any reservation.

IMPOSITION OF HANDS. This ceremony was used by the early Church in benediction, absolution, and the unction of the sick, as well as in ordination and confirmation. But the phrase is often used in cases where actual placing of the hands on the head of each person was not practicable, as in the benediction of large bodies of penitents at the daily morning prayer [Bingham's *Antiq.* XIII. 10, viii.]: and although the ceremony is in such cases still called χειροθεσία, there can be no doubt it was modified into an elevation of the hands over the people, such as it is still customary to use when blessing them. In ordination and confirmation, imposition of hands has been used in both forms by the later Western Church; but in the Church of England an actual laying of the hand of the bishop upon the head of the person to be ordained or confirmed is strictly required. [CONFIRMATION. ORDINATION.]

IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS. A leading article of Calvinistic theology, one of its advocates assuring us that "none ever died in denial of it, and escaped the damnation of hell."[1] It is thus defined by a celebrated modern author: "Justification is an act of God Almighty's grace, whereby He acquits sinners from their guilt, and accounts them righteous for the sake of Christ's righteousness wrought out for them and imputed to them. By Christ's righteousness, I mean the whole of His *active* and *passive* obedience, springing from the perfect holiness of His heart; continued through every stage of His life, and extending to the very last pang of His death: by the word *imputed* I would signify that this righteousness though performed by our Lord, is placed to our account, is reckoned or adjudged by God as *our own;* insomuch that we may plead it and rely on it, for the pardon of our sins, for the communication of grace, and for the enjoyment of life eternal."[2]

In support of this theory, the wedding garment which the rejected guest had not on [Matt. xxii. 11-13], has been explained as referring to Christ's imputed righteousness; but we find from our

[1] The late J. Macgowan—author of *Dialogues of Devils, Priestcraft defended,* &c.—*Works,* vol. i. p. 459.

[2] Hervey's *Theron and Aspasio,* vol. i. p. 55 [1767]. See also Toplady's *Meditations and Remarks,* p. 103 [1825].

Lord's account of the Day of Judgment [Matt. xxv. 31-46], that the rejection of those on the left hand is attributed not to a want of Christ's imputed righteousness, but of those good works which afford proof of the faith of His true disciples and their meetness for His kingdom. In the description given of the proceedings of that awful day, the true meaning of the wedding garment is intimated: it is personal holiness, not a nominal imputation, but a real partaking of Christ's righteousness through the indwelling gifts of His Holy Spirit, which is evidenced by a life of faithful obedience. Again, the statement of St. Paul that Christ is made to us "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption" [1 Cor. i. 30], or rather, "was made or became so" (ἐγενήθη), has been alleged in support of the Calvinistic tenet; but on the contrary, the passage is manifestly contradictory to it, by referring (according to the uniform teaching of Holy Scripture), to our justification, when, according to the true meaning of the phrase, Christ's righteousness was imputed to us solely through a past act of God in our regeneration by baptismal grace.

Again, several passages of Scripture which speak of faith being imputed to the believer for righteousness [Rom. ix. 30, x. 4-10; Gal. iii. 22] have been brought forward in support of this doctrine, yet with very little reasonableness, since the imputation of the believer's faith is obviously not synonymous with the imputation of Christ's righteousness, as a modern commentator clearly proves.[1]

It has been asserted, perhaps the most plausible plea in defence of this dogma, that nothing but thorough and perfect obedience could ever be available for acceptance before a God of infinite purity; and consequently that Christ's righteousness, which was alone perfect, must be imputed to the believer ere he can be accepted before God. This assertion is wholly destitute of proof, since it cannot be supposed that an *all-perfect* obedience to the Divine Will ever was or could be rendered by any created being whatever. If God, as Job says [iv. 18], charges His angels with folly, if "the heavens," or the inhabitants of heaven—to whom it will be admitted that no righteousness but their own is imputed—are said "not to be clean in God's sight" [Job xxv. 14]; may we not, since their imperfect obedience *is* accepted before God, by parity of reasoning infer that our inferior tribute of obedience, with feebler powers and opportunities of serving God imparted to us, will not pass unrewarded—nay, rather, worthless and imperfect though it be, will be *more favourably* received, being presented before the eternal throne, sprinkled with the atoning Blood of our great High-Priest and Intercessor.

But the theory before us is not only unsupported by the teaching of Scripture, it is even inconsistent with its primary and fundamental truths—it *really* sets aside the duty of obedience to God's commandments. If Christ's righteousness be imputed to every sinner who believes on Him, what can his striving to attain personal holiness avail? As covered with the righteousness of his Redeemer he is all-perfect; the attempt to improve such a state would certainly be unavailing, and would even seem to detract from the all-availing merits of his Substitute. He (the believer) cannot become less acceptable to God, however sinful may be his state of heart and life. As covered with our Lord's righteousness, he is still in a state of absolute perfection. Such is not only an obvious inference, but, as we shall shew, it is *the* inference which thoroughly Calvinistic writers themselves have always admitted and avowed. Such, for example, is the testimony of the following passages from the works of Dr. Crisp, a well-known writer of the seventeenth century: "Though a believer, after he be a believer, doth sin often, yet God no longer stands offended and displeased with him when he hath once received Christ. Except God will be offended where there is no cause to be offended (which is blasphemy to speak), He will not be offended with believers" [*Serm.* II. i. 15]. Yet again: "Let me speak freely to you, and in so doing tell you that the Lord hath no more to lay to the charge of an elect person, yet in the height of iniquity and in the excess of riot, and committing all the abominations that can be committed. I say, even then, when an elect person runs such a course, the Lord hath no more to lay to his charge than God hath to lay to the charge of a believer; nay, God hath no more to lay to the charge of such a person than He hath to lay to the charge of a saint triumphant in glory."[2] A few extracts may also be given from the works of modern advocates of the doctrine. Hervey says, "We consider believers in their *personal* and *relative* capacity, as they are in themselves, and as they are in their Surety. Notorious or confessed transgressors in themselves, they have a sinless obedience in Christ."[3] "We are assured that God justifies the ungodly; those who have nothing of their own but abominable iniquities. To these, therefore, something else must necessarily be imputed besides their own personal deeds."[4] Mason, in his *Spiritual Treasury for*

[1] "The uniform doctrine of Scripture," says Macknight, "is that the believer's *faith is counted to him for righteousness*, by the mere grace or favour of God through Jesus Christ, that is on account of what Christ had done to procure that favour for them. This is very different from the doctrine of those who hold that by having faith imputed or counted for righteousness, the believer becomes perfectly righteous; whether they mean thereby that faith is in itself a perfect righteousness, or that it is the instrument of conveying to the believer the perfect righteousness of another. With respect to the first, it is not true that faith is a perfect righteousness, for if it were, justification would not be a free gift but of debt. And with respect to the second supposition, although the perfect righteousness of another were conveyed to the sinner by faith, it would not make him perfectly righteous, because it is beyond the power of Omnipotence itself, by any means whatever, to make a person not to have sinned who actually hath sinned. And yet unless this is done, no believer can be perfectly righteous." *Commentary on Rom.* iv. 3.

[2] *Serm.* IX. ii. 363, 364. See also Fletcher's *First Check to Antinomianism*, pp. 87, 88 [1788].

[3] *Theron and Aspasio*, vol. ii. p. 76.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 58, 59. In proof of God justifying

the children of God, speaking of the elect, says: "As the Father gave their persons, so He imputed their sins to Jesus—He bore them away—God charges not trespasses to them—they are free from sin as viewed by God in Christ. To this truth the Spirit bears witness through the faith of Jesus. So, believer, reckon of thyself. Though black as hell, polluted with guilt, defiled with sin, yet in Christ 'all fair, without spot,' fully reconciled to God, and without trespasses before Him."[1] "If any man here present," says Bulteel, "believe on the Lord Jesus, that man is without spot of sin before God, although in himself he may feel them to be more in number than the hairs of his head, and his heart fails him. For God sees no sin in believers, because there is none in believers before Him; and though feeling, sense, and reason tell him it is not so, yet the Word of God tells him it is so. God sees no spot or blemish of sin in us who call on the Name of Jesus, because He hath covered us with the righteousness of Jesus, which is unto, and upon, and within, every one that trusteth in Him. And one thing more we may say, whereas the believer by faith hath made this righteousness his own, it is utterly impossible he should want any other. And whereas the righteousness is the righteousness of God, not only of God's appointing but of God's working, for it is of Christ, God-man, it were a blasphemy of us to say, either that it is not sufficient to make us accepted before God, or to affirm that any additions of man can make it more complete than it is. Therefore, as many as trust in Christ, being thus clothed, are not only counted, but made, perfectly righteous and holy, without any spot or blemish of sin in the sight of God."[2]

The extracts which have been given clearly shew that this dogma *in itself*, and not by any doubtful inference, is grossly Antinomian; that it really sets aside the plainest directions in God's Word of His hatred against sin and the fearful judgments impending over sinners; that it represents a man's life, whether he be living in obedience or disobedience to the Divine will, as having no influence on his state before God; and thus we can only exclaim with the Psalmist, "Verily, I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency;" in a word, that it is subversive of the very object and purpose of Divine Revelation—"to purify a peculiar people, zealous of good works."[3]

A brief statement may be added of the true doctrine of imputed righteousness. When we are made partakers of the Christian covenant in baptism, being cleansed from sin and regenerated by the Holy Ghost, we are hereby taken out of our fallen state by nature, and, in St. Paul's words, are "in Christ;" that is, are made members of Him by incorporation into His Body the Church, or, as the same Apostle also says, "we put on Christ" [Gal. iii. 27], are both accounted, and actually made, righteous by the infused gifts of the Holy Ghost. Thus, in a true sense, are we covered with the robe of Christ's righteousness, as being through His all-atoning merits pardoned, sanctified, and made one with Him—He dwelling in us, and we in Him. His righteousness is thus imputed to us, His perfect obedience and sacrifice on the Cross becoming in a *certain sense* our own, as being adjudged to our account; "being made sin (a sin-offering) for us, we are made the righteousness of God in Him" [2 Cor. v. 21]. But we have no intimation in Scripture that subsequently to baptism this plenary gift of pardon and sanctification will thus be unconditionally granted, or that on falling into sin, by an "act of faith" we can again appropriate to ourselves that robe of righteousness in which we were clothed once for all in Holy Baptism. The unconditional promises of pardon to the ignorant and unenlightened heathen must, we may be assured, essentially differ from those vouchsafed to Christians, who in baptism have received the Holy Ghost, and covenanted to obey the precepts of the Gospel. This essential difference between the Christian and heathen state is clearly laid down in Scripture, and is indeed obvious in itself if men's responsibilities be proportioned to their privileges and advantages, but being overlooked and forgotten, we have before us the fearful dogma which has been examined. Hence, also, we may account for those imperfect and inadequate views of the evil and danger of sin, arising from a forgetfulness of our Christian duties and obligations, which peculiarly characterize popular theology.

INCARNATION. The assumption of human nature by the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.

The word expresses in a short form the fact stated in St. John i. 14, Ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, *Verbum caro factum est*, and is doubtless founded on the form of that statement. Its use can be traced back as far as the writings of Irenæus [A.D. 180], and to that still earlier summary of the Creed which he embodies in them. In this form our Lord Jesus Christ is spoken of as Τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, which is rendered in the nearly contemporary Latin version, "Incarnatum pro nostra salute" [Irenæus, *Contr. Hær.* i. 10]. The Nicene Creed and the writings of the Fathers gave the term a permanent place in Latin theology and in Divine service, and it is also found in all the Western forms of the Litany. In the earliest English, "incarnatus est" was translated "wearth geflæschamod," or "iflæschamod," but the Litany obsecration, "by the mystery of Thy holy Incarnation," and the present form of the word in the Nicene Creed, were introduced a few years before the

the "ungodly," he quotes, mistaking or perverting the *meaning* of the passage, Rom. iv. 5. [See Exod. xxiii. 7; Prov. xvii. 15; Isa. v. 23.]

[1] Vol. i. p. 141 [1779].

[2] Sermon before the University of Oxford, pp. 21, 25, 26 [1831].

[3] See Bishop Bull's refutation of this doctrine in *Examen Censuræ*. He says, "probatur haud difficile est istam Justitiæ Christi imputationem quam defendis, consequenter ipsissima Evangelii fundamenta convellere, atque universam Dei οἰκονομίαν quæ in Novo Fœdere revelata est, penitus evertere." *Responsio ad Animadversionem*, xi. *Bulli Opera* [1721].

English Prayer-Book was set forth [Blunt's *Annot. Book of Common Prayer*], and the word was freely used in the time of Hooker.

I. Scriptural Statements respecting the Incarnation of God. There is much in the Old Testament which, interpreted by the light of Gospel history and Apostolic exposition, shews that the Great Deliverer of the future, whom the whole world, in one form or other, expected, and for whom the Jews looked as their Messiah, was spoken of in the language of inspiration as Divine. Such texts as declare Him to be the Son of God are instances of this language, the meaning of which could not be perfectly known until revealed by the event to which it referred; but, being revealed, now assumes the nature of direct evidence. Thus, in the Psalms, God says, "Yet have I set My King upon My holy hill of Zion. I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto Me, Thou art My Son; this day have I begotten Thee" [Psa. ii. 6, 7], words which could be spoken of the Only Begotten alone, whose Eternal Generation is signified by the expression "this day," and whose Messiahship is predicted in the kingdom set up on Zion [Heb. i. 5]. Equally plain are the words, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness; therefore God, Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows" [Psa. xlv. 6, 7], in which the very name, as well as the office of Christ, is referred to, and in which He is also addressed, in words of adoration, "O God" [Heb. i. 8, 9]. Even in such prophecies as speak of the work of the Great Deliverer, it is almost impossible to dissociate the language from the idea of Divinity. When it is said that "a man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land" [Isa. xxxii. 2], the mind looks and longs for such an one as a person capable of doing that which a person only human could not do, and sees in such terms the promise of Divine Power as well as that of Human Love. But more direct assertions still are given that the Messiah will be Divine. Thus Isaiah prophesied, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call His Name Immanuel" [Isa. vii. 14], the name so given having the meaning "God with us," and fixing at once, to us, the full sense of the text as a prediction that God would become incarnate.[1] Of a similar force are the words, "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon His shoulder; and His Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace" [Isa. ix. 6]; and, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In His days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely; and this is His Name whereby He shall be called, The Lord our righteousness" ["Jehovah-tsidkenu," Jer. xxiii. 5, 6].

Such prophetic testimonies of the Old Testament—rays of light shed out of Divine Omniscience—are in strict accordance with the historical witness of the New Testament; St. Paul, especially, several times declaring that God had become Incarnate. Thus, setting forth to the Gentiles their freedom in Christ, he bases his doctrine on this statement: "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" [Gal. iv. 4, 5]. Of a similar character are his words to the Jews, "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same; . . . for verily He took not on Him the nature of angels, but He took on Him the seed of Abraham" [Heb. ii. 14, 16]. But more express still is the same Apostle's proclamation of the mystery of the Incarnation when writing to Timothy, "And, without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh,[2] justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory" [1 Tim. iii. 16], in which the same plainness of language is used as by St. John, when he de-

[1] It is by no means clear, however, that the Jews understood this prophecy in the sense in which the event proves it to have been written. Trypho the Jew, in disputing with Justin Martyr, said, "The Scripture does not say, 'Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son,' but, 'Behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear a son,' and so on, as you quoted. But the whole prophecy relates to Hezekiah, and it is proved that it was fulfilled in him, according to its terms" [Just. Mart. *Dial. with Trypho*, lxvii.]. The Christian philosopher shewed how absurdly pointless such a sense of the words would be, but it has been generally maintained by the Jews. Thus Kimchi writes, "עלמה (Alman) non est virgo, sed puella. . . . Puella vero hæc uxor prophetæ, vel uxor Achazi, quod probabilius videtur." But Christian Hebraists prove that עלם (Elem) signifies unmarried youth in the masculine, and that, as "Almah" is derived from it, the meaning of the latter word [here, as in Gen. xxiv. 43] can be nothing else than that of "unmarried young woman," or "virgin." [See note on Kimchi, *in loco*, ed. Cæsar Malanimeus, Florence, 1774]. The prophecy was, in fact, one which could only be properly understood by its fulfilment.

[2] There has been much dispute as to the true reading of this passage in the original. The words of our English version are translated from the Greek as it stands in the great majority of MSS., Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστι τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκὶ. In some uncial MSS. the word Θεός is contracted into two letters ΘΣ or ΘΣ, and in some the middle stroke of the Θ is missing, or (as in the Alexandrine Codex), has been tampered with so as to make it uncertain whether it was originally present or more recently inserted. Without this stroke the abbreviation stands for ΟΣ, "who:" and the Vulgate even reads "quod manifestum in carne," which would require the Greek to be Ὅ, "which," a reading not found in the Greek but supported by the Latin of St. Jerome and the Latin Fathers in general. The balance of manuscript authority is in favour of our English version; while Θεός also makes good grammar and good sense in the Greek, which ὅς does not: it is also used universally by the Greek Fathers.

clares, "The Word was made flesh." [Divinity of Christ. Word, The.]

II. The Incarnation of God effected in the Conception and Birth of Jesus. The preceding passages of Holy Scripture, and many others which refer to the Divinity of the Messiah, are clearly applicable to our Lord Jesus Christ: but there is also direct evidence that the Son of Mary was He of whom the Scriptures spoke when they declared that God would become, or had become, Incarnate.

The narrative of our Lord's Conception and Birth is given by two of the four Evangelists, St. Matthew and St. Luke. The simple language of the first is, "Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as His mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child by the Holy Ghost" [Matt. i. 18]. And, a few verses further on, this is said to be the fulfilment of God's Word, spoken by the Prophet Isaiah, and quoted in the previous section, "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call His Name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us" [*ibid.* 23]: this being ushered in by the statement of the holy angel to Joseph, "for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost" [*ibid.* 20]. The narrative of St. Luke is given in somewhat more detail, declaring how "the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary." After the salutation, "the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus." . . . "Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God" [Luke i. 30, 34, 35]. The accomplishment of this prediction in the birth of Jesus is narrated in the next chapter, where it is declared: "She brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped Him in swaddling-clothes, and laid Him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn" [Luke ii. 7]. To this it must be added that St. Matthew expressly declares Joseph "knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born Son" [Matt. i. 25].

Upon these statements the Church founds the article of the Creed which declares that Jesus Christ was "conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary:" and upon these statements, combined with such others as have been previously noticed, rests the doctrine that God the Son became Incarnate, and was made Man.

It is plain that the doctrine of the Incarnation, as a fact already accomplished, is bound up with the history of our Lord Jesus, for He is the only historical man who ever claimed for Himself, and whose followers ever continously claimed for Him, that He was God Incarnate. It is necessary, therefore, to pursue into further detail the initial part of that history.

The Miraculous Conception and Birth of Jesus, although so clearly narrated in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, have been challenged by the doubts of unbelievers on two grounds, [1] that the facts alleged were within the knowledge of very few persons; and [2] that they were inconsistent with all human experience. Neither of these alleged reasons for disbelief, however, offer any real foundation for doubt respecting this mystery, as may be shewn by a careful examination of the facts of the case.

[1.] It was undoubtedly the case that few persons had any personal knowledge respecting the miraculous Conception of Christ. The first person to whom it was known would, of course, be the Blessed Virgin who was to be the instrumental medium of the Incarnation: and the second, so far as we are informed by Holy Scripture, was her subsequent husband and protector, Joseph. It cannot be reasonably supposed that the parents of the Blessed Virgin were unacquainted with the supernatural character of their daughter's conception; and the fact seems to have been communicated to Elizabeth by Divine revelation, perhaps at the moment of her cousin Mary's visit to her. But that this conception before her marriage to Joseph was not generally known to her relatives and acquaintances seems to be proved by the intention which he had formed of annulling their betrothal in some private manner by which he could spare her from shame.

It appears, therefore, to be a probable conclusion that the circumstances of our Lord's Incarnation were all of such a character as to lead those to whom the Divine secret was not confided to the conclusion, "Is not this the son of Joseph?" But the very fact that circumstances were so ordered as to make such an opinion possible shews that the revelation of the truth was not intended to be made, at that time, to the world at large. It was part of God's Providence that the Blessed Virgin should pass through the world as the wife of Joseph and not as a Virgin Mother, and that the mystery of the Incarnation should be concealed from all but a few until after the Resurrection of Christ.

The Primitive Church believed that this reticence had reference to the contest between Christ while in His unglorified Human Nature and the great Adversary whom He had come to defeat. So St. Ignatius says, "the virginity of Mary was hidden from the Prince of this world, as was also her offspring" [Ignat. *ad Eph.* xix.]. It may have been that, as our Lord did not gird Himself for the warfare until the Temptation, it was fitting that Satan should not know of His miraculous entry into the world, that until then Christ might be left in peace.

But it must also be remembered that the force, so to speak, of our Lord's miraculous Conception and Birth received its complement in His ministry. The Son of God became Incarnate that

He might accomplish the work of Redemption, which work was not completed until He had ascended in His Human Nature to heaven. No object, as far as can be seen, would have been gained by a general disclosure of the mystery of His Conception before His work had been completed: and certainly, when the Jews would not believe the possibility of His descent from heaven, even though their minds were prepared for such a fact by the record of ancient theophanies and angelic visits, it is not probable that they would have believed an outspoken declaration of Christ's true origin.

Consequently it would be contrary to reason, under the circumstances, to expect that our Lord's miraculous Conception would have been known to any number of persons during the time of His ministry; and the absence of any attempt in the Gospels to shew that it was so known is evidence that the Evangelists and Apostles rested upon Divine revelation as the true proof of the fact.

[2.] It has also been said that the miraculous Conception by which the Incarnation of God the Son was effected is incredible, because contrary to experience, and beyond the bounds of possibility. To say that it would be contrary to experience is only to allege what every theologian at once admits, that one instance, and one only, of such a miraculous conception has ever occurred. To say that it would be impossible is equally to beg the question. No rational physiologist who believed an act of creation possible would allege that such an occurrence was beyond the power of the Creator to effect: and to call this exceptional and solitary instance of parthenogenesis an impossibility would be as absurd as to deny the possibility of any genesis of human nature.[1]

There being, thus, no reason for alleging antecedent improbability against the narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke, their statements may be left to stand on the ground of the general credibility which belongs to their Gospels. This being fully established, beyond the power of all cavil to weaken, there can be no difficulty in identifying the Jesus whose miraculous Conception they record with the Incarnate God elsewhere spoken of in Holy Scripture. *In what manner* the Incarnation was initiated is a mystery respecting which the words of the Scripture are our only guide. The Holy Ghost overshadowed the Blessed Virgin, and henceforward for nine months "that Holy Thing, which should be born of her" was being moulded of her substance, so as to develope day by day as in the ordinary process of gestation; being yet from the same moment in such actual union with the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, as that when born It should "be called the Son of God."

Had no other evidence existed, however, that Christ was God Incarnate, the language of the New Testament respecting Him is such as to teach this truth; such as could not be used except in subordination to it. In the Gospels and elsewhere the Man Christ Jesus is constantly exhibited to us with the attributes of Divine Personality. He is revealed to us as the Lord of Nature, exercising over it an equal authority with the Father [John v. 17], and shewing His power, especially by the instantaneous healing of diseases. With a word He healed the leper [Matt. viii. 3], the centurion's servant [Matt. viii. 13], the sick of the palsy [Matt. ix. 6], and many others. To Him "all power is given in Heaven and in earth" [Matt. xxviii. 18]; men are intrusted to Him that they may be taught and baptized [Matt. xxviii. 19, 20], and thus "quickened" to spiritual life [John v. 21]; and it is "His Voice" which will hereafter raise the dead from their graves, that He may "execute" upon them the "judgment committed" to Him [John v. 22-29], and "give eternal life" to those who have faithfully served Him [John xvii. 2]. All the spiritual world is subject to Him, devils are cast out in His Name [Matt. vii. 22], angels ascend and descend upon Him [John i. 51], sit in the sepulchre where His sacred Body had lain [John xx. 12], and will come with Him in His glory [Matt. xvi. 27]. He holds and bestows the power of binding and loosing the consciences of men [Matt. xviii. 18]. He is omnipresent, still "in heaven" when He had come down to earth [John iii. 13], and for ever "in the midst" of "the two or three gathered together in His Name" [Matt. xviii. 20]. He is omnipotent, "all power is given unto Him" [Matt. xxviii. 18], that He may "subdue all things" [Phil. iii. 21] and "uphold all things" [Heb. i. 3]. He is omniscient, for He alone "knoweth the Father" [Matt. xi. 27], and is able to "tell the heavenly things" which He has "seen" [John iii. 11, 12], since He alone has "seen the Father" [John vi. 46], and "knows the Father" [John x. 15]; and in Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge [Col. ii. 3]. He is eternal, saying of Himself "I AM" [John viii. 58], sharing "the glory" of the Father "before the world was" [John xvii. 5], and Himself being "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, Which is, and Which was, and Which is to come" [Rev. i. 8]. His likeness to the Father is absolute: they work together [John v. 17], doing the same things [John v. 19], and exercising an equal power over the bodies and souls of men [John v. 21-26; *ibid.* x. 28, 29]; whilst those who

[1] The exclamation of contemporary Jews, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" has been taken up by more modern unbelievers on much less rational grounds. Against such a theory we have, what the Jews of Christ's day had not, the statement of the Gospel (bearing on its face the stamp of simple truthfulness), and the continuous tradition of the Christian world.

The Talmud, and some modern Jewish accounts of Christ, adopt the idea which arose in the mind of Joseph before the truth was revealed to him. It does not appear that any such reproach was cast upon the honour of our Lord's mother by contemporaries, not even by the generation which said of our Lord Himself "he hath a devil." Yet those who invented the blasphemy are dependent upon the Gospel, and that alone, for any account whatever of Christ's Conception and Birth, and might with more reason deny the whole than add to it this wicked invention.

know the Son are said to know the Father also [John xiv. 7]. His oneness with the Father is absolute, "I and My Father are One" [John x. 30]. "I am in the Father, and the Father in Me" [John xiv. 10]. He has an equal share in the honour due to the Father; "all men" are bidden to "honour the Son even as they honour the Father," and dishonour done to the Son is said to be at the same time a dishonour to the Father [John v. 23]. Again, He is set forth as the Creator of the world, "all things were made by Him: and without Him was not anything made that was made" [John i. 3]. "By Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth: all things were created by Him and for Him" [Col. i. 16]. By Him the Father "made the worlds" [Heb. i. 2]; He "laid the foundations of the earth: and the heavens are the works of His hands" [Heb. i. 10]. He is the Preserver of the world, "by Him all things consist" [Col. i. 17]. He "upholds all things by the word of His power" [Heb. i. 3]. He is "the Brightness of the Father's glory, and the express Image of His Person" [Heb. i. 3]; "the Image of the invisible God" [Col. i. 15]; and "in the form of God" [Phil. ii. 6]; "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead" [Col. ii. 9]. His glory is "as of the Only-Begotten of the Father" [John i. 14], "and we receive of His fulness" [John i. 16]. He is God, "the great God" [Titus ii. 13]; "the true God" [1 John v. 20]; "God blessed for ever" [Rom. ix. 5], Who "purchased the Church with His own Blood" [Acts xx. 28]; and of Whom it is said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," and "was made Flesh" [John i. 1-14]. Such language as this offers the strongest possible testimony to the doctrine of the Incarnation, shewing as it does that the glory, majesty, and power of God belonged to Jesus; and that the Son of Man was also the Son of God.

Accordingly, the fourth anathema of St. Cyril of Alexandria declares, "Whosoever divideth into two Persons and Hypostases those things which are contained in the works of the Apostles and Evangelists, and of the things that are said of Christ by the saints or by Himself, apply some severally to the man beside the Word of God, and others, as if worthy of God, to the Word of God the Father, alone, let him be accursed."

III. Results of the Incarnation. [1.] Human nature having been thus assumed by the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, it is to be understood that it was assumed entire. The Body of Christ was not a phantom, as the Gnostics and the Docetæ maintained, but a true body, like the ordinary bodies of men. His soul was not identical with the Divine Word, as was believed by the Apollinarians, but a "reasonable soul," capable of willing, thinking, and actuating, as are the ordinary souls of men. Neither, again, did our Lord's Human Nature come down, ready formed, from Heaven, as was the opinion of the Valentinians, but was formed of the substance of His mother, of "human flesh subsisting."

Thus the Incarnate Word was "perfect Man" as well as "perfect God." He was capable of enduring in His Body all sufferings of which human bodies are capable, and in His soul all emotions which can be felt by human souls. Hunger, thirst, fatigue, pain, weeping, were all within the range of His possible, and of His actual, experience in the body, as sorrow, pity, love, and joy were among the experiences of His soul. It was only where the defects of our human nature are those that are specially associated with personal imperfection and sin, that a line of distinction began to be drawn between Christ and mankind in general. He assumed the capacity for bodily pain and for death [Death of Christ], but not for disease; He assumed capacity for mental suffering, but not for sin. His conception was perfectly immaculate, because He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and as He thus took human nature without any taint of original sin, so that human nature continued utterly sinless, in perfect union and communion with God.

[2.] The mystery of the Incarnation also comprehends the truth that the Perfect Manhood of Christ was and is in natural, essential, personal union with His Perfect Godhead. It was the error of Nestorianism that Christ had two persons—the one human, of which Mary was the mother, the other Divine, the Person of the Son of God; and that these two Persons were only accidentally, not essentially, united; an error that reached its natural terminus in the theory of Adoptionism. It was the error of Eutychianism, on the other hand, to acknowledge one Nature only, as there is only one Person, in Christ, which was only another form of that Docetic folly which looked on the human nature of our Lord as a phantom and not a reality. Against these errors were contrived those clauses of the Athanasian Creed which declare that our Lord, "although He be God and man, yet He is not two, but one Christ. One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God. One altogether; not by confusion of substance, but by unity of Person."

In this Hypostatic Union it is true that properties which belong to God, such as omniscience, are predicated of Christ's Human Nature, and those which belong to man, such as passibility, are predicated of His Divine nature [Communicatio Idiomatum. Theandric Operation]. But there is no error in this, because this kind of language is never used by exact theologians except when speaking of the *Person* of Christ. Thus, although it would be an error to say that Christ's Body is omnipresent, it is not an error to say that Christ, God and man, is omnipresent, because His two natures cannot be separated, and where He, *i.e.* the Person of Christ, is, there must be both natures, or "whole Christ."

[3.] The mystery of the Incarnation refers not only to a past time, when during a certain stage of the Eternal Word's existence He assumed human nature, but to all time, so that the Hypostatic Union exists still, and will exist, as long as

time shall last. Holy Scripture has provided sufficient evidence as to this permanence of the Incarnation, in the accounts which are given of Christ's Death, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, and Session in heaven. At each of these stages of Christ's work, the continuous identity between the human nature born of the Virgin Mary, and that which was dying, living again, or ascending to heaven, is carefully shewn; many witnesses combining their testimony to prove that He was "this same Jesus" [Acts i. 11]. Thus a great multitude were witnesses of His death; the burial of His body was so effected that evidence of its identity with that which arose on the third day after was secured at the hands of the Roman and Jewish authorities [Resurrection]; He was touched and seen by those who could declare afterwards that it was a material body, and not a phantom or spirit made visible, which ascended to heaven; and in His human nature He was afterwards seen by St. Stephen, St. Paul, and St. John [Session of Christ], as He will be seen by all hereafter.

IV. The Purpose of the Incarnation. The preceding results of the Incarnation have been viewed chiefly as they regard Christ Himself. It is necessary also to consider the relation which they have towards the redemption and salvation of man; for it was "for us men and for our salvation" that the Son of God "came down from heaven, and was Incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made Man."

[1.] By becoming Man, the Son of God restored to human nature at large the capacity for union with God. A chief consequence of the Fall of Man was that it necessitated the propagation in all men of the likeness of their fallen forefather, instead of that of the Image of God; and up to the time of the Incarnation no remedy had been found by which this continuous force of the Fall could be counteracted. Thus the relation between God and man had become changed, not only in Adam, but in all his posterity. Human nature was not as God had created it, but as sin had changed it; and original sin was a constant bar between it and union with God.

Christ, coming into the world with human nature received from the substance of a virgin, was never brought under the influence of those circumstances by which original sin is propagated: and He, therefore, represented human nature in its original relation to God, *i.e.* as it existed before the Fall. He was human in form, and in organization; Man in flesh, blood, bones, in will, thought, and sensation; Man in soul, and Man in body; but *He was man unfallen.* Formed of the substance of His mother by a direct act of God, as Adam was by a similar act formed of the substance of the earth, it is probable that the words used of Him, "That Holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," are used in this case respecting that perfect humanity at first possessed by our original parent, of whom it is also said, "Adam which was the Son of God," by the same Evangelist [Luke i. 35, iii. 38]. So far, in His one individual person, the Holy Jesus had brought back human nature to its original starting-point, to the moral place and condition in which its Creator had originally set it. He was the representative of manhood in such perfection as none had ever attained to since men had been born of women. The Image of God was to be traced out perfectly in this "Holy Thing," and hence He was a second perfect man, a "Second Adam," possessed of such a nature as the first had when "God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good."[1]

[2.] It was this exceptional and original purity which qualified Christ to become an offering for the sin of the world. Entering on a state of probation analogous to that in which the originals of human nature were placed, He withstood temptation in its several representative forms. His hunger laid Him open to a temptation of the senses; His consciousness of the Divinity within to a temptation of "presumptuous sin;" His intense love of souls and desire for their salvation to a temptation prematurely to gain the kingdoms of this world for "the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ," forestalling the Providence of God. Such temptations were those offered to the first representatives of the human race, in the fruit "good for food, and to be desired to make one wise," in the presumptuous dealing with God's command, and in the craving after a premature attainment of that for which God's time had not yet come. In the one case the probation ended in a Fall, in the other in a Victory; and that being gained, a representative Man was, as it may figuratively be said, again placed in Paradise as if the Fall had never been. Thus qualified by a victorious probation, Christ, free from the sin of nature and from the sin of act, could go forth to bear the sins of His brethren, and in His one individual person to represent all sinners paying the penalty of sin, as Adam represented all mankind falling under it in his. For "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive" [1 Cor. xv. 22], and "As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" [Rom. v. 19].

[3.] But it must be remembered that the second Adam was far more than the first, and that Christ was not only a special man in that He was a perfect representative of our species in its highest perfection. It may be doubted, indeed, whether even so perfect a nature, standing by itself, could have done more than give a very holy example. Perhaps there is reason to ask doubtingly, Could even such human nature have stood firm against a second trial, when it broke down under the first? And when it is considered that the work to be done consisted not only of a victorious personal probation, but also of a restoration and elevation of humanity, a redintegration in millions of human persons of the broken Image of God, it must be manifest that an infinitely higher power was requisite in the second Adam to restore others,

[1] St. Paul thus calls Adam "the figure (*τύπος*) of Him that was to come" [Rom. v. 14].

than in the first to preserve himself. The problem of man's progress to perfection was not so simple as in its original form. It had become greatly complicated by the first deviation from the normal path, and by all the subsequent wanderings of mankind: and it required for its practical solution the construction of a new system of progression to replace the original one which had been so grievously distorted. Hence that more perfect and entire Unity between the Human and the Divine which resulted from the actual Incarnation of God was absolutely necessary for restoring human nature to its original fair prospect of development: since more than even the highest human perfection was needed to withstand the second probation; and since, also, new relations were to be established between the Person so victorious and those whom He came to benefit, which could not spring out of mere humanity, however perfect it might be. Christ therefore, to perfect human nature—united to, and elevated by, the Divine nature—became the source of a new generative process, a re-generation, by which others could be made partakers of Him, as all are of our first parent. By natural generation, mankind are partakers of the Fall of human nature; by this new generative process, of its restoration or rise; "The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam a life-giving Spirit" [1 Cor. xv. 45]. This is so essentially a first principle of the religion of Christ, that when He discoursed with a well-educated Jew like Nicodemus, whose mind could follow up His sayings to their results, it was this that He made the very starting-point of His exposition of it, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God" [John iii. 3]. These words, though spoken at the beginning of Christ's ministry, may well be taken as an actual sequel to those many expressions afterwards used by Him in which He presented His own person so prominently before His hearers and disciples as the one source of salvation, of "seeing," of "entering into," and having the full fruition of, "the kingdom of God." "I am the door," He seems to say, "come enter by Me, and by Me be regenerated to a new life, that you may enter into, and abide in, that kingdom which is now come from heaven to be in the midst of you."

Thus the sacramental life of the Christian soul is evolved out of the life of God Incarnate: sacraments become, in the words of Jeremy Taylor, "the extension of the Incarnation" [*Worthy Communicant*, i. 2], and the mystery by which the redemption of mankind in the mass was wrought is continually working out the salvation of mankind in the individual. [Jesus. Divinity of Christ. Fall of Man. Atonement. Intercession. Mediation. Sacraments. Real Presence.]

IN CŒNA DOMINI. [Cœna Domini.]

INCOMPREHENSIBLE. The translation of ἀκατάληπτος in the Greek version [first printed at Basle by Bryling] of the Athanasian Creed, which the revisers of our Prayer-Book used. In the Latin original, however, the word is "immensus," and thus a question arises whether the meaning of the English word here used means "boundless" with the Latin, or "unintelligible" with the Greek. But one cannot think, since *incomprehensibilis* is the acknowledged rendering of ἀκατάληπτος [see Cicero, *Acad. Quæst.* i. 11, iv. 6, 10], that with the Greek in their hands, and believing it the original, our translators would have used *incomprehensible* for *immensus*, when they had the more exact word *immeasurable* of Hilsey's Primer. There was no reason for changing the word *immeasurable* if they were relying on the received Latin form: and the conclusion is that they adopted the Greek as that which was to be accepted by the Church. [See Waterland's *Critical Hist.* p. 233, n. and 234, n; Van Mildert, vol. iii.]

But it is remarkable that in Bishop Pearson's two lectures on the Immensity and on the Incomprehensibility of God, he uses both forms. In the former he writes, "Ita Symbolum quod Athanasianum dicitur, Immensus Pater:" in the latter, "Hoc verum esse patet et symbolo Athanasiano, Pater est incomprehensibilis" [*Minor Theol. Works*, Churton i. pp. 76, 128].

Κατάληψις is a word borrowed by the Fathers from the Stoic and Sceptic philosophers. [See Mr. Long's remarks on the sceptic notions of the Being of God, viz., that the sum of their objections, properly viewed, is this, that God is incomprehensible. Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.* art. *Sextus Empiricus*]. The Fathers, however, used the word to express, not an inferior degree of knowledge, but the highest degree of knowledge. The Stoics placed κατάληψις midway between ἐπιστήμη and δόξα; "docuerunt . . . perfectissimam scientiam, imperfectissimam opinionem; comprehensionem imperfectiorem scientia, opinione perfectiorem." But St. Augustine writes: "Aliud est videre, aliud totum videndo comprehendere. Quandoquidem id videtur quod præsens utcunque sentitur; totum autem comprehenditur videndo, quod ita videtur, ut nihil ejus lateat videntem aut cujus fines circumspici possunt" [*Epist.* cxii. (cxlvii.) c. 9]. For this it is required that the knowledge be [1] intuitive; that it include not only [2] all that is formally contained in the thing known; but also [3] all that belongs to it virtually; and [4] that the object be known not merely as far as the subject, or mind which knows, is capable of knowing it, but so far as the object itself is capable of being known. Proceeding upon this, God according to His essence is incomprehensible to a created intellect [Matt. xi. 27].

As a proof from Scripture, Job xi. 7, Rom. xi. 33, may be cited, upon which St. Chrysostom argues, If God's judgments are incomprehensible, then God Himself is incomprehensible.

Irenæus iv. 36 may be quoted as an authority for connecting the notions contained in the two words "immensus" and "incomprehensibilis:" "Secundum magnitudinem non est cognoscere Deum: impossibile enim est mensurari Patrem." [See Chrysost. *Homil. de incomp. Dei Natura.* Other authorities may be found in Pearson.]

So reason teaches that God can be infinitely known, but that it requires an infinite Being so to know Him. Man therefore cannot know Him as He is.

The same doctrine under another form is treated by St. Thomas Aquinas: *De Nominibus Dei, Qu.* xiii.; A consideration of his first conclusion will shew this: "Cum Deus in hac vita secundum quod in se est, minime a nobis cognoscatur, sed secundum quod principium omnium eminentissimum est, aliquibus nominibus hoc significantibus nominari potest; nullum est autem nomen divinam essentiam adequate repræsentans, Deo ab hominibus impositum."

Theodoret says that Eunomius dared to profess that he knew accurately the essence of the Deity [*Hæret. Fabul.* iv. 3]. Such language as this used by the Arians of France, against whom synods were held at Beziers, A.D. 356, at Paris, A.D. 362, gave occasion, it may be supposed, to the introduction of "immensus" into the Creed, if the words of Irenæus as given above were taken as a guide.

INDEFECTIBILITY OF THE CHURCH. [1.] The perpetuity of the Church, by which it is free from failure in succession of members. [2.] The inerrancy and infallibility of the Church, by which it is free from failure in holding and declaring the Truth.

Both these flow from the constitution and nature of the mystical Body of Christ. The Scriptures which speak to this point are John xv.; 1 Cor. vi. 15, 19, xii. 12; Eph. i. 23, iv. 12, v. 30; Col. i. 18, and cannot be explained away into metaphor. As Christ's natural Body was incorruptible, and yet before the Resurrection was liable to human infirmities [Matt. viii. 17], so His mystical Body, yet unglorified, is liable in each one of its many members to sin and falling from grace; but nothing can touch the life of the Body itself. As also the fulness of the Spirit dwelt in Christ, and Christ was the Truth, so the Spirit, by virtue of whose indwelling the Body is one, and one with its Head, guides the Church into all truth.

I. PERPETUITY. Plain promises of this are made in Isa. lxi. 8, 9; Dan. ii. 44; Matt. xvi. 18, xxviii. 20; John xiv. 16, 17.

There are also arguments to be drawn for it from the consideration of God's counsel and purpose. The consummation of all things is delayed only till the servants of God are sealed [1 Cor. xv. 28; Rev. vi. 9-11]. When faith fails in the earth, the end will be [Luke xviii. 8]. This is as regards God, in whose work we cannot suppose an interruption. So too as regards man. God will have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. The Church, which is the pillar and ground of the truth, could not fail without a failure of God's mercy. So long as there are men capable of salvation (and all men are capable of salvation, since Christ died for all), so long will the Church be preserved, that to it may be added both οἱ σωζομένοι, and οἱ σωθησόμενοι.

The promises of God are given to the Church as a whole. Each branch of the Church is on its probation, as is each individual member. And the law of probation, the law of their participation in the promise, is the same: "He that hath to him shall be given." To argue that because each particular church may fail, therefore the whole may fail, is not only a fallacy in logic, but a denial of Christ's power to impart to the whole that which He does not impart to each particular member.

II. INERRANCY AND INFALLIBILITY. The foregoing promises and arguments shew that the Church will not fail either by dying out or by apostasy. The work of the Spirit, as it will not fail in bringing sons to God, so it will never fail in providing that there shall always be a body persevering in the faith according to the election of grace.

This is to be considered more particularly as regards truth of doctrine. For this also there are promises, *e.g.*, John xvi. 13; 1 John ii. 27. The Spirit which dwells in the Church is likewise declared to be the Spirit of knowledge and understanding [Col. i. 9, ii. 3, iii. 10]. Less cannot be implied in these words than that the Church shall always have a tenure of the truth sufficient for salvation. They shew, further, that any doctrine which can be said to be the deliberate ascertained voice of the Church, must be from God, whose Spirit is in the Church. But they cannot be pressed so far as to prove that the Church may not for a time hold such an error as does not directly deny the foundation of faith, or does not directly deny Christ. Even an error, which by logical consequence denies the foundation of faith, is not to be taken as such a denial. The consequence may not be perceived; and, if perceived, the premisses would be at once rejected. The case is doubtless of great improbability, but its possibility must be conceded.

When, then, can we say that the voice of the Church is sufficiently ascertained? This leads us on from the inerrancy or *passive infallibility* to the *active infallibility*, or declaration of the faith. No actual limits of time can be set for which, if a doctrine has been held, it must be considered as the ascertained decision of the Church. The circumstances of the Church may not be such as to lead to investigation. Ten years in one period may cause more sifting of the truth than a hundred years of another period. It is the condition of the Church militant to be always under trial, sometimes by persecution from the world, sometimes by blasts of contrary doctrine within itself. In different degrees these are blended, and with very different degrees of speed will the truth emerge. The degree of holiness also, and above all, will regulate the discovery and reception of truth. For knowledge and understanding in spiritual things is the flower and fruit, the plant itself is holiness springing from the root of faith. The certainty then of a doctrine enunciated by the Church is a growing certainty, varying in amount with the time the doctrine has been held, the degree of investigation to which it has been subjected, and the degree of holiness in the Church.

Thus the decrees of a council which we may believe to be œcumenical can only be known to be the genuine voice of the Church by their acceptance. We may agree to the abstract proposition that a truly œcumenical council cannot err; but the proposition is of little practical value at the time of holding a council, for none can prove that the council has not in some respect failed in œcumenicity. The authority of its decisions rests on their acceptance. For the Spirit of God is given to the whole body of the Church; and that can only be known to be the true voice of the Church which is expressed by sufficient deliberation of generation after generation. In this sense the infallibility of the Church is a reasonable doctrine; and one, in fact, which it would be unreasonable for any Christian to disbelieve.

INDEFECTIBLE GRACE, that is, grace which cannot be lost, or fail of its intended purpose, the salvation of those on whom it is bestowed. Such is the grace, according to Calvinism, given to the elect, which is represented as irresistible or necessarily leading to salvation. It is shewn elsewhere that, according to the teaching of Holy Scripture, grace is not irresistible, and that this Calvinistic tenet cannot be reconciled with man's free will. [Calvinism. Election. Free Will.]

INDULGENCE. [I.] In the Primitive Church a relaxation, by the bishop, of canonical penance, upon sufficient evidence of true repentance. [II.] In Roman Theology it is a remission of temporal pain, supposed to be due in the way of satisfaction, even after the remission of the guilt and eternal punishment of sin.

I. It is generally agreed, that a power of such relaxation of penance is vested in bishops. Canon lxxiv. of St. Basil states, "He that hath the power of binding and loosing may lessen the time of penance to an earnest penitent." This power is acknowledged also in Canon xii. of Nicæa, in Canon v. of Ancyra, in Canon xvi. of Chalcedon,[1] and in Canon v. of Lerida. Bingham notices that this was what some of the ancients called an indulgence, quoting Vigilius [*Ep.* ii. *ad Eleutherium*], "ut si qualitas et pœnitentis devotio fuerit approbata, indulgentiæ quoque remedio sit vicina." [Libelli Pacis.]

This power of relaxing canonical penance is generally stated by English theologians as the true and only permissible notion of indulgence. [Field, *Of the Church*, app. to bk. iii. ch. 25; Bp. J. Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, I. i. 3; Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* vi. 5, 8, and 9; Marshall's *Penit. Discipline*, iii. 2.]

II. The limitation of indulgence to this relaxation of penance, "quasi indulgentia præter nudam remissionem pœnæ canonicæ non etiam valeat ad remissionem pœnæ temporalis pro peccatis actualibus debitæ apud divinam justitiam," was condemned by Pius VI. in 1794, in the *Damnatio Synodi Pistoriensis*,[2] art. xl. *De Indulgentiis*, as "falsa, temeraria, Christi meritis injuriosa, dudum in art. xix. Lutheri damnata" [*Canones et Decreta Conc. Tridentini*, Tauchnitz ed., pp. 310, 271]. These words of Pius VI., referring to the condemnation of Luther by Leo X., may be taken as the basis of an authoritative definition, such a definition not being given by the Council of Trent.[3] In agreement with them, Perrone, whom we may assume to be a fair representative of Romish doctrine, defines thus: "Est autem indulgentia remissio pœnæ temporalis adhuc post remissam culpam et pœnam æternam peccatis debitæ, in foro interno coram Deo valida facta per applicationem thesauri ecclesiæ a superiore legitimo" [*Prælectiones Theolog.* viii.; *Tract. de Indulgentiis*, p. 367]. This definition is very nearly the same as Amort's [*Hist. Indulgentiarum*].

The doctrine of indulgences may then be reduced to two propositions: [1] That after the remission of sin there is a certain amount of temporal pain owing to the justice of God, either before or after death; [2] that this pain may be remitted by an application of the merits of Christ and of the saints, out of the treasury of the Church, the dispensation of which treasure is committed to the bishops.

1. From *Conc. Trident.* sessio xiv. c. iii. c. viii. [*De Pœnitentia*] and can. xii. xiii. xiv., it appears that the Romish doctrine respecting satisfaction, is, that while contrition and confession form the essence of the sacrament of penance, and serve for the forgiveness of sin and for remission of eternal punishment, satisfaction, or the compensation of wrong done to God by our sins, completes the sacrament, and serves for remission of the temporal penalties which remain to be paid in this world or the next. An anathema had been pronounced [sess. vi. can. xxx.] against those who say that, after justification and the remission of eternal punishment, there remains no liability to temporal pain, either in this world, or in the world to come in purgatory. [Purgatory.]

2. Clement VI., in his *Constitutio Unigenitus*, first named this treasure of the Church: "Unigenitus Dei Filius . . . thesaurum militanti Ecclesiæ acquisivit; . . . ad cujus quidem thesauri cumulum B. Dei Genetricis et omnium electorum, a primo justo usque ad ultimum, merita adminiculum præstare noscuntur." Later

[1] Johnson translates τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωπίας, "power of indulgence." Φιλανθρωπία appears to be the standard word for such indulgence. [See Nicene and Ancyran canons.]

[2] The Diocesan Synod of Pistoia was called in 1785 by Bishop Scipio Ricci, under the auspices of Leopold II., Emperor of Germany and Archduke of Tuscany, for the reform of monasteries and nunneries, for the correction of the superstitions connected with the use of images, indulgences, and the invocation of saints, and to encourage the reading of the Bible and common prayer in the vulgar tongue.

[3] At Trent, the Bishop of Modena urged the difficulty of determining all the doctrinal questions connected with indulgences, and represented that it would require no great disputation to decide that the Church may grant them, and hath done so in all times, and that they are profitable for the faithful who receive them worthily. The council adopted this course, and avoiding a definition, decreed [sess. xxv.], that indulgences are of Christ's authority, and have been used from all antiquity, and that their use is to be continued as profitable for Christian people.

popes confirmed this: and the opinion of Baius,[1] condemned by Pius V. and Gregory XIII., may be quoted for the sake of comparison with the doctrine of "The Institution of a Christian Man," which will be given presently. Baius' proposition was, "Per passiones sanctorum in Indulgentiis communicatas non proprie redimuntur nostra delicta; sed per communionem caritatis nobis eorum passiones impertiuntur, ut digni simus, qui pretio sanguinis Christi a pœnis pro peccatis debitis liberemur" [*Damnatio errorum Baianorum*, n. 60; *Can. et Dec. C. Tridentini* (Tauchnitz), p. 277].

The existence of this treasure then depends on the possibility of meritorious works of supererogation; and it is taught that Christ has committed to the Church the application of these transferable merits, the dispensation of this treasure.

The abuses of indulgences, which it is not necessary to repeat here, first moved Luther. Against them it was ordered at Trent [sess. xxv.], "pravos quæstus omnes pro his consequendis, unde plurima in Christiano populo abusuum causa fluxit, omnino abolendos esse." Other abuses are to be sought out by the bishops, brought before the provincial synod, and referred to the Pope.

By these and similar injunctions, such as the decree of Pius IV., A.D. 1562, "ut Indulgentiæ gratis concedantur," and the "Revocatio Indulgentiarum quæstuariarum" in 1567, by Pius V., the grossness of the abuses which prevailed about the year 1500 may have been lessened:[2] but the great practical evil, the sale of indulgences, with a graduated scale in proportion to the sin, has not been done away. Even now such graduated scales may be seen on church doors in Italy.

And while, theoretically, the remission is only of temporal pain, and that after repentance and remission of sins, it is to be feared that the indulgence is looked upon as if it were a sacramental remission of the sin itself, and that the terms of the indulgence lend themselves too easily to such a notion. The form used by Tetzel was as follows: "May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of His most holy Passion. And I, by His authority, that of His Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, . . . do absolve thee, first from all ecclesiastical censures, . . . and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See: and as far as the keys of the Holy Church extend, I remit to thee all punishment which thou deservest in purgatory on their account; and I restore thee to the Holy Sacraments of the Church," &c. [See the form at length in Seckendorf, *Comm. de Lutheranismo.*]

The comment of Richard and Giraud [*Bibliothèque Sacrée*, art. *Indulgence*], upon this point, viz. that the indulgence in its terms remits the guilt of sin, is: "Ainsi quand on trouve quelquefois dans le formulaire des indulgences la remission de la peine et de la coulpe, cela signifie précisément que le Pape remet la coulpe en ce qu'il donne bien des facilités de la remettre, telles que le choix d'un confesseur, la permission d'absoudre des censures et des cas réservés, un grand nombre d'œuvres pieuses qui disposent à obtenir le pardon du péché, et qui le rémittent par conséquent non d'une manière effective, prochaine, et immédiate, mais d'une façon médiate, dispositive, et préparatoire." The explanation, if orthodox, ought at least to be indorsed on the indulgence.

The transition from primitive practice to this later practice did not take place at an early period in the history of the Church. Primitive practice is an adaptation of the general rules of discipline to the case of individuals. Such, Amort agrees [*Hist. Indulg.* pt. II. civ. sec. 57], were the chief instances of indulgences for the first thousand years after our Lord. In the latter part of the thirteenth century, "the bishop still could give indulgences in his own diocese as much as he willed, unless he were limited by the Pope" [Pusey's *Eirenicon*, part i. 199.]

So far as the teaching of purgatory goes, we may well believe that it arose from a feeling, which if not true charity, was at least nearly akin to true charity. But the sale of indulgences can hardly be attributed to anything else than the desire to accumulate money for ecclesiastical purposes. The way was prepared by the Penitential of Theodore [for which in this respect see Marshall's *Penit. Discipline*, p. 129], or at least by the practice which then commenced of the redemption of penance at a stated and graduated rate. And the Crusades presented a purpose in which noble motives and thoughts largely entered. Plenary indulgences were chiefly issued in connection with crusades; and the abuse of these indulgences, and the exceeding wickedness incident thereon, was probably one cause of the failure of those wars [*Eirenicon*, p. 200]. From this the descent was easy to the recognised office of the pardoner.

In her Twenty-second Article, the Church of England has formally condemned the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory and pardons. This Article was framed before the Council of Trent; and the change of terms, from "Scholasticorum doctrina" of 1553 to "Doctrina Romanensium," appears in the Parker MS. of 1562, the Twenty-fifth Sess. of Trent being December 3rd and 4th, 1563. It is therefore the popular Romish

[1] Baius (Michael), Professor of Divinity at Louvain, b. 1513. His works contained a great number of propositions condemned by Pius V. Baius, however, was far from allowing that he taught what was imputed to him. Yet, after the Pope's censure, he would not suffer the books containing the condemned propositions to be reprinted. The bull, dated Oct. 1567, does not name Baius, and was only privately notified to Louvain; but it was published by Gregory XIII. The reprint of Baius' works [M. Baii *Opera Colon. Agrep.* 1696] has a narrative of the proceedings. [See Bayle's *Dictionary*, where is a full account.]

[2] In Richard and Giraud [*Bibl. Sacrée*] is a list of spurious and of revoked indulgences, and of genuine indulgences.

doctrine that the Article refers to [Pusey's *Eirenicon*, part i. p. 207]. Yet, allowing this, the Council of Trent did not disown the principles upon which so gross a system had been built. It endeavoured only to remedy the worst abuses, and the principles involved in the system it virtually sanctioned.

In our Article XIV., works of supererogation are condemned; and upon such works rests the treasury of merits dispensable by the Church. But in what sense the Church of England holds a "treasure" we may learn from "The Institution of a Christian Man":—"Among all and singular the saints, that is to say, the quick and living members of the Catholic Church of Christ, which is His mystical Body, there is a perfect communion and participation of all and singular the graces of the Holy Ghost, and the spiritual goods and treasure which do belong unto the said whole Body, or unto any part or member of the same. And like as all the parts and members which be living in the natural body of a man do naturally communicate and minister each to other the use, commodity and benefit of all their forces, nutriment, and perfection, . . . even so, I believe that whatsoever spiritual gift or treasure is given by God unto any one part or member of this mystical Body of Christ, although the same be given particularly unto this member, and not unto another, yet the fruit and merit thereof shall, by reason of that incomprehensible union and bond of charity which is between them, redound necessarily unto the profit, edifying and increase in Christ's Body of all the other members particularly; insomuch that there shall need no man's authority to dispense and distribute the same, or to apply it unto this member or that (like as the bishop of Rome pretended to do by virtue of his pardons), but if the member which shall receive this treasure be a living member in this mystical body . . . he shall be made participant of the said treasure, and shall have and enjoy the fruit and benefit of the same, and that in such quantity and measure, as for the rate, proportion, and quality of the spiritual life, faith and charity, which he hath in the same body, shall be expedient and necessary for him to have" [*Interpret. of Creed*, Tenth Art. For the authority of "The Institution," see Blunt's *History of the Reformation*, A.D. 1514-1547, pp. 444, 465].

The principles of the Church of England concerning merit, works of supererogation, and purgatory, all of which are involved in the doctrine of indulgences, will be found under those words. But it is necessary to add somewhat regarding the doctrine of satisfaction, as stated above, which underlies the whole subject.

That with remission of sins the temporal effects of sin in this world do not cease is abundantly clear. That this temporal suffering is to be regarded as a satisfaction to the justice of God, due after forgiveness of sins; according to Perrone's definition, "Est autem satisfactio compensatio injuriæ Deo nostris peccatis illatæ"—this is denied by English theologians. On the other hand, they assert [1] that temporal pain, the fruit of sin, is in its nature remedial and disciplinary, both to the sinner, and to others that they may see and fear; and [2] that as such it is not remissible by any sacrament or ordinance entrusted to the Church. The former proposition is argued from such scriptures as Jer. ii. 19; Isa. iii. 9; from the examples of Moses and David, Numb. xx. 12; Deut. i. 37; 2 Sam. xii. 14. The whole tenor of Scripture shews that "sorrow dogging sin" is one instance of the "care with which God has begirt us round." And from analogy we may argue that if there be temporal pain after death it must be strictly remedial, a conclusion with which agree the slight but suggestive revelations made in Holy Scripture, and the consideration of the state of those who have departed in faith, but have not had time to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance [Pusey's *Eirenicon*, pp. 190-7].

The latter proposition follows from the former; for God's remedial discipline for fitting the soul for heaven must have its course. Our prayer must be not for its remission, but for the accomplishment of its purpose. To stop the means of God's appointing would be to hinder the end He designs.

Upon the whole, then, we may conclude that the Church of England does not condemn the idea of a purifying passage through the fire that is to try us, but declares that such temporal pain is not remissible by any sacrament or ordinance. Where there is any canonical penance, then indulgences must have place, as the adaptation of the general rules of penance to each man's case; and the cessation of indulgences among us is simply coextensive with the cessation of that godly discipline which must exist in every well-ordered Church.

INEFFABILIS DEUS. [IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.]

INERRANCY. [INDEFECTIBILITY.]

INFALLIBILITY. [INDEFECTIBILITY.]

INFANT BAPTISM. Although Holy Scripture teaches that faith and repentance are needed for a due reception of baptism [Mark xvi. 16; Acts ii. 38, viii. 37], it has been the usage of the Church from an early period to baptize infants who cannot have such conditions. It is important, therefore, to investigate the reasons on which an usage is founded which apparently has no direct scriptural sanction. Not that the want of scriptural proof is universally admitted, as indirect evidence for the usage at least has been generally alleged. Thus it is argued that as the household of Lydia and the jailer were baptized [Acts xvi. 15, 33], there were probably infants amongst them; but, admitting this *probability*, there is no proof that the Apostle baptized them. We cannot fairly prove the Apostolic origin of infant baptism by assuming the existence of the usage itself. As regards the jailer's household, we are told that Paul and Silas spake the Word of the Lord "to him and to all that were in his house," and that "he and all his were baptized." Now, it would appear from this statement, that the baptized were those to whom the Word of

the Lord was preached, who assuredly were *not* infants. The evidence on this subject from Scripture amounts to this, that we only read of baptism after a profession of faith and repentance. This by no means, it is true, excludes the possibility of the existence at the same time of infant baptism without such conditions; but the fact must not be assumed without evidence, and the utter want of proof from Holy Scripture obviously leads to a different conclusion.[1] But independently of its supposed scriptural sanction, an attempt has been made to prove this usage in the Apostolic age from the alleged fact, that the Jews then baptized proselytes from heathenism. Now this alleged fact of the baptism of proselytes is very uncertain, and, even if admitted, would by no means establish the Apostolic usage of infant baptism. The baptism of proselytes is first mentioned in the Mishna, a collection of Jewish traditions completed in the third century [A.D. 219], and the usage there mentioned (baptism of adults and infants) might have been derived, directly or indirectly, from Christians. But whether this supposed Jewish usage existed at all (amongst Jews or Christians) in the Apostolic age is uncertain. It is not mentioned by Josephus, even when we might fairly expect it would have been recorded, as when he relates that the Idumæans were received amongst the Jewish people by circumcision, without mentioning baptism.[2] Were the usage undoubted, it would only have been an unauthorized addition to the scriptural command,[3] since it was by circumcision only that proselytes were to be added to the Jewish Church [Exod. xii. 48]. It is, however, very unlikely that the Jews would adopt the usage of baptism from Christians; and the Mishna being founded on previous collections reaching to the Apostolic age, there is just a probability that, at the time of our Lord and His Apostles, a Jewish custom prevailed of baptizing proselytes and their children. Even admitting this, yet before this custom can be alleged in proof or confirmation of an Apostolic usage, it must be proved that the Jewish custom was adopted by our Lord or His Apostles; but of this neither the Scriptures nor the early Fathers afford any proof whatever. Besides, it should be considered that the baptism of proselytes widely differs in theory from the Christian doctrine of baptism. The convert to Judaism was baptized and all his family then born; but if he had children born afterwards, *they* were not baptized, the previous baptism of their parents being deemed sufficient.[4] It is unnecessary to shew that the Jewish theory of baptism, if it may be so called, must have differed essentially from the belief of the Church, which is founded on the doctrine of original sin, and necessarily implies that *all* infants should be baptized. But let us ascertain from the teaching of the Fathers whether infant baptism prevailed during the Apostolic age. Two learned writers widely differ on this subject, and it may be very fairly doubted whether the theory of the one or the other can be implicitly received. Bingham[5] endeavours to prove that infant baptism must have prevailed during the age of the Apostles, and has thus an Apostolic or Divine sanction. Suicer, on the contrary, asserts that, during the first two centuries, adults only were baptized.[6] Now, let us examine the arguments, and patristic evidence, alleged by Bingham. He admits that there is no direct evidence to be found of infant baptism in the writings of the Apostolical Fathers, St. Clement and St. Hermas. He then asserts of Justin Martyr that he "very plainly speaks of infant baptism as used from the time of the Apostles." He quotes St. Justin, who says [1 *Apol.* sec. 15] there are many men and women of sixty and seventy years of age who were disciplined (ἐμαθητεύθησαν) to Christ from their youth" (ἀπὸ παίδων). Bingham argues that, "as St. Justin wrote his *Apology* A.D. 150, those whom he speaks of as baptized in their infancy must have been persons baptized in the first age, when some of the Apostles were living." But, unfortunately for this argument, St. Justin does not speak of any one being baptized *in infancy*, but of boys or youths [παίδες] being baptized, whose baptism would be the same as that of adults.[7] Bingham then refers to the *Recognitions* of St. Clement, written he considers by a writer contemporary with St. Justin, who, he admits, "does not speak particularly of the baptism of infants." St. Irenæus [A.D.

[1] Neander says: "Originally baptism was administered to adults; nor is the general spread of infant baptism at a later period any proof to the contrary; for even after infant baptism had been set forth as an Apostolic institution, its introduction into the general practice of the Church was but slow. Had it rested on Apostolic authority there would have been a difficulty in explaining its late approval, and that even in the third century it was opposed by at least one eminent Father of the Church. Paul's language in 1 Cor. vii. 14 is also against its Apostolic origin, where he aims at proving that a Christian woman need not fear living in wedlock with a heathen, since the unbeliever would be sanctified by the believing wife; as a proof of this he adds that otherwise the children of Christians would be unclean, but now are they ἅγια, therefore the children of Christian parents are called *holy*, on account of the influence of Christian fellowship. Had infant baptism been practised at that time the argument would have had no force; for they would have been ἅγια by means of their baptism. Infant baptism therefore cannot be regarded as an Apostolic institution." [*History of Christian Dogmas*, vol. i. 229-30 (Bohn's ed.)].

[2] *Antiquities*, lib. xiii. c. 9.

[3] The Jews allege, as scriptural authority, that on the giving of the Law they were commanded to sanctify themselves by washing, which they maintain was, in effect, baptism, and therefore that proselytes must be baptized on their entering the Jewish Church. Extracts are given by Wall [*History of Infant Baptism*, vol. i. p. 4, et seq. 1836], from Maimonides, the Talmud, &c., in proof of the Jewish usage.

[4] Wall's *Infant Baptism*, vol. i. pp. 18-20.

[5] *Antiquities*, book xi. c. iv. sec. 5.

[6] "Primis duobus sæculis nemo baptismum accipiebat, nisi qui in fide instructus et Christi doctrina imbutus testari possit se credere, propter illa verba, *qui crediderit et baptisatus fuerit.* Ergo prius erat credere. Inde ordo catechumenorum in Ecclesia." [*Thesaur. Eccles. sub. voc. σύναξις.*]

[7] Thus St. Augustine says of Dinocrates, the brother of St. Perpetua, a child seven years old: "Nam illius ætatis pueri et mentiri et verum loqui et confiteri et negare jam possunt. Et ideo cum baptisantur, jam et symbolum reddant et ipsi pro se ad interrogata respondent." [*De Anima et ejus Origine*, c. x.]

180] is then quoted, and if by being "born again" he means (which seems almost certain) according to the scriptural and patristic meaning of the word "baptized,"[1] his statement proves that infant baptism was then in use. He says: "Christ came to save all men by Himself, all I say who through Him are born again to God, infants and little children (infantes et parvulos), and boys and youths and old men."[2] Another subsequent proof of infant baptism will be found in Tertullian [A.D. 200], who although he speaks in disparagement of the usage, yet it is clear from his allusion to it that it then prevailed to some extent in the Church; and also that he could not have considered it as having Apostolic sanction, since it is incredible that he would have dissuaded parents from obeying a Divine command. He says: "the Lord indeed saith, *Forbid them not to come to me.* Let them come then when they are of riper years, &c. Why is the age of innocence in haste for the remission of sins?"[3] Here be it remarked, that he attacks infant baptism itself, and thus could not have believed that it rested on Apostolic tradition.

Infant baptism was undoubtedly to some extent the usage of the Church in the latter half of the second century, but it was not universal amongst Christians even in the fifth century. The Fathers of the Eastern Church, St. Chrysostom,[4] St. Basil,[5] St. Gregory Nazianzen,[6] and Nyssen,[7] censure the negligence of their hearers, and its fearful peril, in putting off baptism. St. Augustine was not baptized in infancy, though his mother, St. Monica, was a devout Christian. The reason seems obvious why infant baptism only thus gradually prevailed in the Church, and became the universal custom when the world had become Christian. Baptized parents, surrounded by heathen neighbours and the abominations which were inseparable from heathenism, did not think it prudent or desirable that their children should be admitted to baptismal privileges, involving great responsibility, when surrounded by the fearful, and to the young almost irresistible, temptation of heathen worship or society. And may we not, in like manner, account for the fact that there is no direct allusion to infant baptism in Holy Scripture, though we have clear intimations that "it is most agreeable to the institution of Christ,"[8] and we have no doubt, as our Church says (without pleading a Divine command), that Christ "favourably alloweth this charitable work of ours in bringing infants to His holy baptism," that it would not have been a mark of ordinary wisdom or prudence, at an early period of Christianity, to have exposed baptized children to the corrupting influences of heathenism which then universally prevailed. It was better under such circumstances to defer baptism to a mature age, when there was greater strength and earnestness to resist temptation and to fight the good fight of faith.

Thus, as we might have expected, infant baptism prevailed in the Church in proportion to the prevalence of Christianity itself, and it may be said broadly that it became universal when Christianity itself throughout the Roman empire became the universal religion.

Infant baptism must, therefore, be considered as founded on ecclesiastical sanction,[9] though there are intimations in Holy Scripture of its accordance with our Lord's institution.

Tertullian first mentions "sponsors,"[10] a fact quite unaccountable had infant baptism been of Apostolic institution, since sponsors, as an ordinary rule, would be necessarily required in baptizing infants. St. Augustine implies that the father was usually sponsor for his child, and in case of exposed or deserted children, that the holy virgins of the Church undertook the office, and that masters were sponsors for the children of their slaves.[11] He thus explains the "faith" on a profession of which baptism was administered in the case of infants: "That the faith of those who bring the child to baptism profits the child; being lost by another's (Adam's) sin, he can be profited or brought to salvation by another's faith;"[12] and afterwards, more clearly, that whether the sponsor be a faithful or unfaithful Christian, the child is regenerated on the faith of the Holy Church.[13] In proof of the necessity of baptism, he says that children are exsufflated and exorcised that the evil spirit may be expelled,[14] and that this is a most ancient and universal usage of the Church, which would be unmeaning unless they (infants) were born in sin and the children of wrath. Arguing against the Pelagians, he asserts

[1] Thus St. Augustine asserts that the words are synonymous. [*Contr. Julian*, lib. vi. c. 26.]

[2] *Advers. Hæres.* lib. ii. c. 22; comp. with lib. iii. c. xvii. sec. 1.

[3] *On Baptism*, sec. 18.

[4] *Homilia in Acta Apost.* i. 41.

[5] *Homilia in Sanctum Bap.* tom. ii. [1839].

[6] *Oratio in S. Baptisma*, x. sec. 28, tom. ii. [Migne].

[7] *Oratio adv. eos qui differunt Baptisma* (βραδυνόντας εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα), tom. iii. [Migne].

[8] Compare "Ye were by nature" (φύσει), *i.e.* when born into the world, "children of wrath" [Eph. ii. 3], with "except any one (τις) be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" [John iii. 5], and we cannot doubt that the Church has rightly interpreted our Lord's gracious permission, "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not."

[9] Origen [A.D. 250] says that infant baptism rests on Apostolical sanction [*Homil. in Rom.* lib. v. c. 9], and we read in the Apostolical Constitutions [lib. vi. c. 15], βαπτίζετε τὰ νήπια, but this only proves that children, not infants, were to be baptized, νήπιον, according to scriptural usage, meaning a child rather than an infant [see Matt. xi. 25, xxi. 16; Eph. iv. 14]. Besides, the Constitutions do not contain the oral teaching of the Apostles, though some portions may thus have originated, but can only be considered as shewing the doctrine and usage of the ante-Nicene age, *i.e.* during the first three centuries. The passage merely proves that the baptism of νήπια,—it matters little whether the word means children or infants,—was at that time a common usage of the Church. St. Augustine also speaks of infant baptism as resting on Apostolical sanction, but the statement, in the absence of all proof from the first two centuries, is of no weight or authority.

[10] *De Baptismo*, sec. 18.

[11] *Epistola Bonifacio*, 98 *al* 23, secs. 5, 6.

[12] *De libero Arbitrio*, lib. iii. c. 22.

[13] *Epistola Bonifacio*, sec. 5.

[14] *De Peccato Originali*, c. 40. *De Nuptiis et Concupisc* lib. ii. c. 18.

that there is no "middle place" for children who die unbaptized, but not belonging to Christ by an incorporation into His body, they must be eternally lost.[1] [Limbus.]

Another word is required with special reference to modern errors. When children are regenerated in Holy Baptism, Christian instruction by parents or Godparents, we must remember, is indispensable, otherwise the implanted seed of grace will be unprofitable, and cannot bear fruit. Forgetting this obvious truth, persons have denied the grace of regeneration, and the necessity of infant baptism; the seed does not in many cases grow to perfection, hence they suppose that it has not been sown, though the Divine seed, as in the natural world, can only fructify on good ground, and therefore instruction is needed for the clearing of the heart, that the fruits of the Spirit may grow and abound in new creatures in Christ.

Some over-zealous missionaries have baptized children (Jewish or heathen) without consent of their parents. This can scarcely be expected to benefit them (unless they die in infancy), since they cannot have the blessing of Christian instruction and example. Besides, children are placed under the care of their parents by the law of nature, which is confirmed and sanctioned by Christianity. When arrived at mature age, they should be invited, whether parents are willing or not, to Christian instruction and baptism. The teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas on this subject is clear and reliable.[2]

INFIDELITY. This is an inclusive term for all kinds of opinion in which non-acknowledgment, or rejection, of Christ's Person, Work, and Revelation, forms the principal element. Its earliest use in this sense is by St. Paul, who contrasts the πιστὸς, or "believer," with the ἄπιστος, or "unbeliever," in 2 Cor. vi. 15 and in 1 Tim. v. 8, where the one stands for the convert to Christianity, and the other for the person who has not made profession of Christianity. From the context of the passage in the Epistle to Timothy, it is clear that St. Paul used the term "infidel" in a negative sense, reckoning one who positively denied the faith (τὴν πίστιν ἤρνηται) as one who was worse than one who had only not acknowledged it (καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστου χείρων). In this sense the word was generally used until the rise of Deism in the seventeenth century; but in more recent times, "infidelity" has been taken in the positive sense, that which points to the conscious rejection of Christianity. [Atheism. Deism.]

INFINITE, without end or limit, the negation of finite: ἄπειρον, "un-endlich."

I. *The Indefinite.* Besides the definite consciousness of which logic formulates the laws, there is also an indefinite consciousness which cannot be formulated. Besides complete thoughts, and besides the thoughts, which though incomplete, admit of completion, there are thoughts which it is impossible to complete; and yet which are real, in the sense that they are normal affections of the intellect. Positive knowledge, however extensive it may become, does not and never can fill the whole region of possible thought. At the uttermost reach of discovery, there arises, and must ever arise, the question, What lies beyond? Regarding science as a gradually increasing sphere, we may say that every addition to its surface does but bring it into wider contact with surrounding nescience. There is always something which forms alike the raw material of definite thought and remains after the definiteness which thinking gave to it has been destroyed [H. Spencer, *First Principles*, p. 21 follg. 88, 90 follg.]. This vague element in thought, which is ineradicable, Spencer considers to be the groundwork of the feeling of awe, and of natural religion. It is the Infinite in this sense, the attempt to conceive which involves a contradiction in terms; which can only be believed to exist, but can never become an object to consciousness. "If all thought is limitation; if whatever we conceive is, by the very act of conception, regarded as finite—the infinite, from a human point of view, is merely a name for the absence of those conditions under which thought is possible" [Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 48; *cf.* pp. 30, 63, 80, 118; see especially notes on pp. 48 and 51, 4th ed.].

II. *The Infinite as an interminable series.* Aristotle mentions five ways [*Phys. Ausc.* 203, b. 15] in which the notion of the ἄπειρον is attained: [*a*] From the unlimited duration of time; [*b*] from the possibility of perpetually subdividing magnitudes; [*c*] from the continuance of growth and decay in nature; [*d*] from the fact that limitation is always relative and never absolute; and [*e*], "the strongest proof of all," from the inability to conceive a limit to number, magnitude and space. Any given moment of time is both preceded and succeeded by another, and that by another without end. Any magnitude admits of multiplication or division, and the

[1] *De Peccat. Merit. et Remiss.* lib. i. c. 16. St. Augustine argues, in regard to the future state of infants, that none can enter into God's kingdom except through baptism, and that there is no intermediate place between heaven and hell after the last judgment, and hence the conclusion is inevitable that unbaptized infants must eternally perish, though he speaks of *their* suffering as *mitissima*. Others have speculated whether in their case the punishment of original sin be actual suffering (pœna sensus), or only a deprivation of the vision of God (carentia visionis Dei), which is the general opinion. It can hardly, I think, be doubted that they do sustain a loss, of whatever kind. In the *Institution of a Christian Man* the Church of England declares, "Insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby (*i.e.* by baptism), else not." In the last revision of the Prayer-Book we read, "It is certain by God's Word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved;" in other words, we are *certain* of the future happiness of the baptized, but have no assurance of the salvation of the unbaptized infant. The question must thus be left in obscurity, as we have no sufficient warrant to go beyond the cautious statement of our Church. [Spirit.]

[2] *Tertia*, quæst. 68, art. x.: "Filii infidelium cum ante usum liberi arbitrii, sub parentum cura sint, non sunt eo tempore invitis parentibus baptisandi; habentes tamen usum liberi arbitrii cum in divinis suæ sint potestatis, recti ad baptismum suscipiendum admoneri atque induci possunt."

multiples or parts are again capable of multiplication or division, respectively, without limit. Any effect in nature is the result of a cause which again is the effect of another cause in an endless regress; and, conversely, every effect is itself the cause of some other effect, and this in its turn is the cause of another effect, and so on in an interminable progress. Time, space, and causation thus exhibit infinity in the form of a straight line or series of terms without beginning or end. The characteristics of this mode of the Infinite are: [*a*] that it is purely negative, *i.e.* is the mere process of passing beyond limitations; [*b*] that it postulates the perpetual recurrence of limitations as its condition; and [*c*] that, as an endless series, it is incapable of being thought out, it is always possible and never actual, it cannot be said to exist, but always to be in the act of coming into existence.

It follows from this that, if infinity is an idea realizable by the mind, it must be conceived in some other way than as a linear series; it must be capable of an expression which is at once definite, and yet preserves the true character of infinity. Mathematical science does this by the summation of an infinite series in a finite expression, and manipulates both the infinite and the infinitesimal as terms having a definite meaning in calculation. The possibility of conceiving the infinite as complete may be seen more easily from the consideration that any object which we can see, handle, imagine, conceive, without any difficulty, *e.g.*, a fruit, or a stone, is really the sum of an infinite number of parts into which it may be divided, an infinite therefore which is not merely coming into existence, but actually exists here and now. Regarded too under the aspect of a term in the line of causation, any object in nature sums up an infinite series in itself. For, as an effect, it is the result of all previous causes, and, as a cause, the germ of all succeeding effects.

These summations of the serial Infinite, whether achieved by the formulæ of mathematics or presented as complete, in every portion of space, in every period of time, and in every object in nature, are anticipations of a higher form of infinity which is revealed by the mind of man.

III. *The Spiritual Infinite* (Infinitum rationis, infinitum actu, ὅλον τέλειον) differs from the former, not so much in excluding as including the limit or boundary of which it is the negation, *i.e.* as not limited from without and perpetually passing beyond the limit, but as limiting itself. As the natural or mathematical infinite is represented by the line, so the rational or spiritual infinite finds its appropriate symbol in the circle, *i.e.* the line which is without beginning or end, and at the same time is limited at every point by itself. It is thus at once absolutely unlimited, and yet absolutely definite. The transition from II. to III. may be illustrated by the mathematical definition of a straight line as the chord of an infinite circle. Such is the Infinite as exhibited in [*a*] the thought and [*b*] the volition of man.

[*a*] Consciousness, and thought as a mode of consciousness, involve the opposition of the subject which thinks and the object about which it thinks. As a condition of thinking at all, the mind must set its thought over against itself as not itself, and, conversely, as the condition of an object being thought of at all, it must be presented as distinct from the mind which thinks of it. Here, then, is a limitation or barrier which constitutes what is called "the finiteness" of the human understanding. The thinker is limited and conditioned by his thought, the thought is limited and conditioned by the thinker. But as it is possible to present any object to thought, it is competent for the thinker to present *himself* as the object about which he thinks, *i.e.* to be at once the subject which thinks and the object which is thought about. This capability of self-consciousness, of which, so far as can be ascertained, the lower animals are destitute, constitutes at once the pride and the degradation of man, is a source at once of his best and his worst actions. Here we have the analogue of the line returning, as the circumference of a circle, into itself. The limitation of the thinker by the object thought of is as real as before, only it is a limitation of himself by himself: he is conditioned, as before, but self-conditioned, *i.e.* infinite. [Personalty.]

[*b*] The same infinity appears in free will. As free, a man does an action which originates absolutely with himself. But this action has a permanent effect on his character, and thus determines the quality of the next action. This new action is also originated absolutely by the free agent, but the agent himself is modified, conditioned, limited, by the previous action. The agent has thus his freedom limited and defined, and increasingly so with every fresh action, but he is limited by that of which he is himself the absolute originator. He is finite (limited, conditioned) and at the same time infinite (unlimited, unconditioned), because he is self-conditioned. [Liberty.]

It is in this sense, rather than in that of infinite magnitude, that infinity is an attribute of God. [Theism.]

IV. *Relation to the Finite.* It follows from what has been said above [*a*], that, although the essence of infinity is the transcendence of every limitation, yet that the finite and limited, even when excluded [I. and II.] is postulated as a condition of infinity, and that in the higher forms of infinity the limit is included, or rather imposed from within. Even in the sense of the indefinite residuum of thought, definite thinking is presupposed as the condition of our becoming conscious of the vague element beyond. The serial infinite, again, as the mere process of transcending every given term, postulates the perpetual recurrence of terms to transcend. ἄπειρον, says Aristotle, μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν οὗ κατὰ ποσὸν λαμβάνουσιν, αἰεί τι λαβεῖν ἔστιν ἔξω [*Phys. Ausc.* 207, a. 7]. "The quantitative infinite is that which always has something outside it, *i.e.* a term 'not yet reached.'" The spiritual infinite, lastly, as the self-determination of thought and volition, is, *ex vi termini*, a process of generating at every

step the finite and limited. [*b*] On the other hand, it would be a reversal of the true order to conceive the Infinite to be, as its etymology suggests, the mere negation of the finite, and as such, a secondary and derived idea. On such a supposition, it becomes impossible to explain how we become conscious of limitation at all. How, it may be asked, do we know that thought is finite if we know nothing first of the Infinite? How is the consciousness of limitation possible except as the negation of what is unlimited? The Infinite is thus, as the condition of the finite, prior and positive; the finite, as the limit excluded, included, self-imposed by the Infinite, posterior and negative.

The relation of GOD, as the Infinite, to the world and the soul, as finite, is considered elsewhere. But unless [*a*] be borne in mind, the logical result is Deism, and if [*b*] be neglected, Pantheism.

V. *Infinity as symbolized in the Imagination.* We find the attempt to picture the Infinite to the imagination amongst non-European nations in the form of a state of vacancy immediately preceding creation. The constituents of the image are generally air and water. The image of mere air or mere water would be no realizable image at all, because involving no distinction. But in the contrast of the two we get that minimum of definiteness which renders the image possible. A beautifully pure representation of the imagined infinite is found in the sacred books of the aborigines of Guatemala [Max Müller's *Chips*, vol. i. p. 333]. It is as follows: "There was a time when all that exists in heaven and earth was made. All was then in suspense; all was calm and silent. All was immoveable, all peaceful, and the vast space of the heavens was empty. There was no man, no animal, no shore, no trees; heaven alone existed. The face of the earth was not to be seen; there was only the still expanse of the sea and the heaven above. Divine Beings were on the waters like a growing light. Their voice was heard as they meditated and consulted, and when the dawn arose, man appeared." Here we have as the constituents of the image "empty heaven," or space, and—which is introduced as if not at all contradictory to the statement that "heaven alone existed"—the "still expanse of the sea." [Compare this with the account in Holy Scripture, where the constituents of the image are [1] "darkness upon the face of the abyss," and [2] the surface of the waters, with the Divine Spirit hovering between the two, and calling light into being.] In the Hindoo account the creative spirit is represented as rowing about in a boat upon the ocean.

We have substantially the same image of the Infinite lying at the back of the Greek mind. But there are two differences. [1] The double image is dismembered. The symbol of Thales is water alone; of Anaximander, the void in suspense; of Anaximenes, the atmosphere; of Xenophanes, the globe of the sky. [2] The Infinite is not pictured as preceding the emergence of finite things, but as underlying the process of nature, as it is ordinarily known.

The Egyptian symbol of the serpent with his tail in his mouth approaches the mathematical representation of infinite length.

INITIATION. A common term in the early Church for baptism, having reference to the full instruction in the mysteries of Christianity which was given to the baptized, but withheld from the unbaptized. The baptized were thus called *initiati*, οἱ *μεμυημένοι*, *μυσταί*, or *μυσταγώγητοι*; and it is very common to find the Fathers using the expression "the initiated will understand" in their preaching to mixed congregations, especially when they were speaking of anything which belonged to the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. This expression is said by Casaubon to occur fifty times in the sermons of St. Chrysostom alone.

INSPIRATION—the representative of the Latin word *inspiratio*, which has been used from the earliest times—from the days of Tertullian, who was the first theological writer employing the Latin language—to express the Holy Ghost's agency in the composition of Scripture. Some modern writers[1] have proposed to substitute for "inspiration" the term "theopneustia," the substantive which corresponds to the adjective employed by St. Paul [2 Tim. iii. 16], *θεόπνευστος*. This word *θεόπνευστος*[2] is translated in the Vulgate *divinitus inspirata*; as also the word *φερόμενοι* [2 Pet. i. 21] is translated *inspirati*. In the earliest Latin translation of the Bible, of which the date is placed soon after the middle of the second century, and which both Tertullian and the Latin translator of St. Irenæus seem to have used—the so-called *Itala*—the phrase "*inspiratio* Omnipotentis" is given as the equivalent of נשמת שדי [Job xxxii. 8, xxxiii. 4]; the Vulgate rendering in the former text *inspiratio*, in the latter *spiraculum*; the English version, "the *inspiration*," and "the *breath* of the Almighty;" while the LXX. has in both *πνοὴ παντοκράτορος*. The Greek translation is thus more accurate than either the Latin or the English, inasmuch as the Hebrew term corresponding to *πνεῦμα* or *spiritus* (and therefore to *inspiration*), is רוח, not נשמה.[3]

In order to understand what is meant by the "Inspiration *of Scripture*," this Divine influence must be carefully distinguished from that gift of the Holy Ghost conferred upon the Church of the New Covenant, to which in like manner the term *inspiration* has been assigned. Thus, in the Book of Common Prayer the word "inspiration," as used in the opening Collect in the Communion Office, and in that for the fifth Sunday after

[1] *E.g.* M. Gaussen, in his eloquently written but not very accurate treatise, *Theopneustia: the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, London, 1841.

[2] There can be no doubt that this word is to be taken *passively*, as *ἔμπνευστος*,—although other kindred derivatives have an *active* sense, as *εὔπνευστος*.

[3] The LXX. renders נשמה by *πνεῦμα* in one place only [1 Kings xvii. 17]; elsewhere, by *ἀναπνοή*, *ἔμπνευσις*, *θυμός*, *πρόσταγμα*, and in fourteen places by *πνοή*. It is to be noted that נשמה is the noun used for "*breath* of life" in Gen. ii. 7, a fact which disposes of the error sometimes committed of identifying this expression with "the *spirit* of life" [See Lee, *On Inspiration*, p. 552].

Easter, and the verb to "inspire" in the version of the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, are employed in a sense quite apart from that in which we speak of the operation of the Holy Ghost in the composition of the Bible. "The inspiration of the authors of the Bible was an energy altogether *objective*, and directed to supply the wants of the Church. The inspiration of the Christian is altogether *subjective*, and directed to the moral improvement of the individual" [Lee, *On Inspiration*, 4th ed. p. 243]. In a word, "that Divine influence, under which the Bible has been composed, was absolutely unique, and *specifically* different from those preventing and assisting graces of the Holy Ghost which have been the gift of Christ to His Church" [*ibid.*]. In his elaborate discourse on the subject of the different gifts of the Holy Ghost [1 Cor. xii., xiv.], where he expressly lays down that "there are *diversities* of gifts, but the same Spirit" [xii. 4], St. Paul pauses [chap. xiii.] in order to point out that the *objective* gifts may exist without the *subjective:* "Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing." This fact is clearly exhibited in the history of St. Peter's "dissimulation" [Gal. ii. 13], where the moral imperfections of the Apostle, just as his denial of his Master, are to be regarded as absolutely distinct from his *official* acts and *official* teaching. What we read of David, of Solomon, of Balaam, of Jonah, of the disobedient prophet in 1 Kings xiii., establishes the same distinction. Indeed, were this distinction lost sight of, there could be no such thing, properly speaking, as an "inspired" Book of Scripture before the Day of Pentecost, for those *moral* influences of the Holy Spirit to which the term *inspiration* is in popular language applied, are plainly represented in the New Testament as the peculiar characteristic of the Christian dispensation. Thus St. John writes of our Lord: "This spake He of the Spirit (περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος), which they that believe on Him *should receive* (ὃ ἔμελλον λαμβάνειν); *for* the Holy Ghost WAS NOT YET (οὔπω γὰρ ἦν Πνεῦμα), because that Jesus was not yet glorified."[1] And yet Christ has expressly declared that the Holy Ghost co-operated in the composition of the Old Testament: "How then doth David *in Spirit* (ἐν Πνεύματι) call Him Lord?" &c. [Matt. xxii. 43]. It is a fundamental principle, therefore, that the Divine influence which qualified the authors of Scripture for their *official* labour was an influence *specifically* different from those spiritual gifts of which the object is the moral improvement of fallen man, although both proceed from "the same Spirit," and are, speaking generally, designated by the same name.

[1] Cf. also: "Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women *there hath not risen a greater* than John the Baptist ["A prophet? yea I say unto you, and more than a prophet," ver. 9]: notwithstanding, he *that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.* Matt. xi. 11.

Another distinction of great moment must be noted here—the distinction between Revelation and Inspiration. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God" [2 Tim. iii. 16]; but all Scripture is not a Revelation [see art. REVELATION]. On this distinction is founded what may be regarded as the central truth as to this great doctrine—viz. that of the uniform and uninterrupted exercise of the Holy Spirit's influence from beginning to end of the Bible, an influence expressed by the term *Inspiration;* while the most superficial reader can mark out passage after passage in Holy Writ which every one will allow not to be a Revelation from heaven.

This distinction is to be regarded as the *first* of the two *conditions* of the problem of which the object is to establish the perfect inspiration of Holy Scripture. The *second* condition is the recognition of the fact that the Bible contains both a Divine and a human element, and can only be satisfied by showing how the two elements may be combined. Without the Divine element, Scripture would cease to be a communication from God; without the human, that communication must have been confined to the person or persons to whom it was originally made. That it should be possible for man to receive a Revelation from God, this Revelation must present itself allied to human conceptions, and clothed in human language. To attain this object, the same power which gave the message selected the messengers; and the grounds of this selection we can clearly discern to have been the natural capacity, and the opportunities, as well as the personal characteristics which marked the several writers of Scripture. Moses was skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; St. Paul, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel [Acts xxii. 3], had also been a pupil in the Gentile school of Tarsus; the prominent features of St. John's character were zeal and love. In a word, certain grounds existing in the nature or position of each sacred writer were the qualifications which marked him as suited for his high office. Kings, or herdsmen, or Galilæan peasants, were, as God decreed, chosen to convey His will to man; while the principle which linked together the several parts of the chain of Divine knowledge thus constructed, was the fact that One Holy Spirit guided and inspired each and all of the succession of writers. And thus the actuation of the Spirit of God consists in the illumination and elevation of the human element supplied by the various penmen, so as to secure the attainment of the end proposed. This has been termed the "Dynamical theory" of Inspiration—*i.e.* the theory which regards the Holy Spirit as exerting an influence which guides and directs the human agent's activity, not as exerting a power which suppresses and obliterates all the energies of the man—and this principle, combined with the distinction between Revelation and Inspiration, will be found to establish the infallible authority of the Bible. [See Lee, *On Inspiration.*]

Inspiration, accordingly, may be defined, "That actuating energy of the Holy Spirit, in whatever

degree or manner it may have been exercised,[1] guided by which the human agents chosen by God have *officially* proclaimed His will by word of mouth, or have committed to writing the several parts of Scripture." It results from this definition that Scripture can only be regarded as one organized whole—each part performing its appointed function, and each conveying its own portion of the truth. As to the language in which that truth is conveyed, it is sufficient to say that as in ordinary composition men have usually the power of clothing their thoughts in appropriate words, so the words adopted by the sacred writers must, in like manner, be the adequate expression of their conceptions, and therefore of that inward life produced by the Spirit. The same Divine power which breathed this life into the soul must surely be regarded as the vital principle of the language which represents it; and thus each and every portion of the Sacred Volume must be looked upon as no less than the Word of God Himself, inspired from beginning to end by the Holy Ghost in the full sense of the saying of Athanasius, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τῶν Γραφῶν ῥήμασιν ὁ Κύριος.

There are three lines of proof which conduct to this conclusion:—[1.] According to the immemorial doctrine of the Church of God, the Bible is the infallible record, composed throughout under the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, of the different Revelations, and of the different lessons which the Almighty has communicated to man. As such the Church, from generation to generation, has received it; regarding, that is, the entire series of writings as inspired, and as containing those articles of faith which are necessary to everlasting salvation.[2] [2.] The Bible being brought before each successive generation stamped with this recognition of its authority, the question naturally suggests itself—Does the Volume, thus commended to us as Divine, confirm by its own express statements the prepossessions under which we open its pages? The answer which Scripture gives to this question furnishes the *second* proof of the perfect inspiration of the sacred Books. [3.] The *third* proof, or "witness of the Spirit," is supplied by the testimony which the Holy Ghost Himself conveys to each reader of the Scriptures.[3] This argument is one which must always be employed with reserve. It contains no proof whatever for those who profess insensibility to the evidence on which it rests. Its proper function is to *confirm*, not to *prove*; it may suitably be addressed to the affections, not to the understanding. The *second* proof, however, viz. the answer of Scripture itself—the assertion of its own Divine authority which the Bible makes, is conclusive.

Of ancient prophecy St. Peter declares that "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" [2 Pet. i. 21]; and St. Paul, writing of "the Holy Scriptures," which Timothy had "known from a child," declares that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God" [2 Tim. iii. 15, 16].[4] The sacred writers—also Christ Himself, as in the thrice repeated "It is written" during the Temptation—invariably employ the expressions "Scripture," or "it is written," in a strictly technical sense, to denote portions of what we call the canonical writings. The New Testament, no less than the Old, is thus referred to. The saying in the Gospel, "The labourer is worthy of his hire" [St. Luke x. 7], is quoted *verbatim* by St. Paul as "Scripture" in the same sense as the passage from the Pentateuch which is coupled with it. St. Peter [2 Pet. iii. 16] classes the Epistles of St. Paul among "the other Scriptures." St. Paul [1 Cor. ii. 13] enforces his teaching by the declaration, "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth;" and he appeals to those who were endowed with the highest spiritual gifts to confirm the Divine authority of what he had contributed to the New Testament Canon: "If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that *I write* unto you are the commandments of the Lord" [1 Cor. xiv. 37]. Add to these texts, which by no means exhaust the large number of passages

[1] In other words the real question is as to the *result* of the Spirit's influence on the Bible as a whole, *not* as to the *manner* according to which it has pleased God to distinguish any one of the sacred writers. Thus the writings of Moses, although he received the most eminent marks of the Divine favour, are not more trustworthy vehicles of the Divine will than the writings of Ezra or Nehemiah. The Gospel of the Apostle John is not of higher authority than that of St. Mark, who was not an Apostle.

[2] To give a few instances of the Church's teaching: St. Clemens Romanus thus quotes Isa. liii.—*καθὼς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν* [*ad Cor.* i. c. 16]. St. Ignatius refers to 1 Cor. iii. 16 with the words, *τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν* [*ad Philadelph.* c. vii.]. St. Cyprian writes: "Loquitur in Scripturis Divinis Spiritus Sanctus" [*De Opere et Eleemos.*]. St. Basil says that "all Scripture is divinely inspired and profitable," *διὰ τοῦτο συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἵν' κ.τ.λ.* [*Hom. in Ps.* i.]. St. Jerome, "Absque Scripturis Sanctis ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est." [*ad Pammach.* Ep. 57]. St. Augustine, "Solis iis Scripturarum libris, qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam" [*ad Hieron.* 82]. St. Chrysostom, *οὐ γὰρ ῥήματά ἐστιν ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου ῥήματα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολὺν ἐστι τὸν θησαυρὸν εὑρεῖν καὶ ἐν μιᾷ συλλαβῇ* [*In Gen.* ii. *Hom.* xv.]. St. Gregory the Great: "Quid est enim Scriptura S. nisi quædam Epistola omnipotentis Dei ad creaturam suam." [Ep. 31, *ad Theodorum Medicum.*]

[3] On this proof the *Westminster Confession*, *e.g.*, relies [see ch. I. 4, 5].

[4] So the English Version renders *πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος*. Bishop Ellicott translates, "Every Scripture (*i.e.* every individual *γραφή* of those previously alluded to in the term *ἱερὰ γρ.*") inspired by God is also useful," &c. "It is very difficult to decide whether *θεόπν.* is a part of the predicate, *καί* being the simple *copula*, or whether it is a part of the subject, *καί* being *ascensive*, and *ἐστι* being supplied after *ὠφέλιμος*. Lexicography and grammar contribute but little towards a decision. . . . We are thus remanded wholly to the *context*." It may be observed here that *γραφή*, in the language of the New Testament, is strictly employed as a proper name: hence, according to the well known rule [*cf.* St. Matt. ii. 3; Acts ii. 30], the absence of the article does not forbid the rendering *tota Scriptura*. The similar construction, too, 1 Tim. iv. 4, is not to be overlooked.

that may be adduced, that Christ on *four* distinct occasions previous to His Passion promised His Disciples the assistance of the Holy Ghost—viz. Matt. x. 19, 20; Luke xii. 11, 12; Mark xiii. 11; John xiv.-xviii.;—the promise that the Holy Ghost should "bring all things to their remembrance" [John xiv. 26], receiving its fulfilment, as we read in John ii. 22, xii. 16; Acts xi. 16.

INTENTION. A deliberate motion of the will by which it is purposed to accomplish a certain act: first, taking in merely the act, secondly, taking in also the consequences of the act. An action may be done with a good intention, and may produce bad results: or it may be done with a good intention, and produce good results. It may also be done with an evil intention, and yet good results may follow: or with an evil intention, producing evil results. As a question of morals, therefore, the intention with which anything is done really determines the quality of the action as regards the person who does it. It is not possible that it should always determine the course of social policy in the matter of rewards or punishment: but it may mostly determine the verdict of conscience respecting the good or evil of an act, and has doubtless a large place in the Divine judgment of them. No intention can be good, however, which purposes the doing of an evil action, although with the object of securing good results; nor any which does a good action with the object of producing evil results. [Conscience.]

Intention in the celebration of Sacraments is considered by Roman theologians to be necessary for their validity. Thus the Council of Trent [sess. vii. can. xi.] decrees, "If any one shall say, that in ministers, whilst they effect and confer the Sacraments, there is not required the intention at least of doing what the Church does; let him be anathema." The same principle was enunciated in the Constitutions of Martin V. and Eugenius IV. in the early part of the preceding century. Much exaggeration has been used in interpreting this principle, many Roman writers giving grounds for the assertion of opponents, that if such exaggerated interpretations were to be admitted, there would be no certainty respecting the validity of a majority of the baptisms of the Church, or of the celebrations of the Holy Eucharist. If the minister of any sacrament were to celebrate it with the profane and perverse intention of openly ridiculing it, or making it invalid, then, indeed, there might be reasonable doubt whether his ministration would be effective. But if he uses the prescribed rites and words, he acts as the deputy of the Church, and no deficient or evil intention can affect the validity of what depends on his ministerial acts, and not on his private and personal will. The Twenty-sixth Article of Religion virtually repudiates this extreme form of the doctrine of Intention, declaring that the effect of a Sacrament flows (where there is faith in the receiver), from its due administration as to form and words, no wickedness of the minister, whether as to his life or his intention, forming a bar to its validity. For a moderate Roman account of Intention, see Liebermann's *Institutiones Theologicæ*, ii. 386-392, ed. 1861.

INTERCESSION OF CHRIST. Our Blessed Lord's Intercession is the action of that part of His mediation by which He acts on man's behalf towards God the Father. It is the exercise of that priesthood in which He is a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec; and the occupation in which He is engaged during His Session "at the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

The need of an Intercessor arose from the loss of the right of communion with God, of which Adam was deprived when he sinned. Before the Fall Adam was the high priest of all creation, and as such was privileged to hold free inter course with God, and this privilege, lost by Adam when he sinned, was restored in Christ. "God heareth not sinners," and, whilst sin remained unexpiated, man forfeited the right of access to God. Until the fulness of time came a temporary provision was made for man's acceptance with God in the sacrifices of the Patriarchal age, and the ceremonies of the Mosaic ritual; but all these were shadows of the priestly functions of the Son of God, which commenced from the time when He offered up Himself as a sacrifice upon the Cross.

The Intercession of Christ is the exercise of His priestly office, which is carried on continually in heaven. It was represented by the entrance of the high priest once every year into the sanctuary with the blood of atonement, which was a type of the entrance of the great High Priest into heaven, to offer that sacrifice which had been slain on earth as the plea by which His intercessions avails. He was constituted to be our High Priest by the union of His Divine and Human Natures, through which He has become our medium of communication with the Father. "He is able to save to the uttermost them that come to God by Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them" [Heb. vii. 25]. The prophecy of Isaiah, that having borne the "sin of many," He "made intercession for the transgressors" [Isa. liii. 12], is fulfilled in Him who is our "Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous." His Manhood enables Him to plead on our behalf as the representative of human nature, and so to sympathize with those needs and those sorrows which require His intercessions, that He offers them up as one most deeply interested in our welfare, "For we have not an high priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" [Heb. iv. 15]. His priesthood, moreover, requires an offering, and it is still His Human Nature which furnishes both the victim and the priest. His Godhead renders that sacrifice an invaluable offering and His intercessions all-effectual. He is an High Priest, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, because He is the Son who is consecrated for evermore, and "through the eternal Spirit" He "offered Himself without spot to God" [Heb. ix. 14].

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The sacrifice on the Cross once slain was the foundation of our great High Priest's intercessions, but when that sacrifice had been completed on earth, He entered into heaven to continue its perpetual offering. As the high priest carried into the holy of holies the blood of the sacrifice which had been slain in the tabernacle without, and with it made intercession for the people, so Christ has carried into heaven the sacrifice offered on Calvary, which He is continually presenting to the Father. That which Holy Scripture teaches and the Church believes, is that this work is continually going on, and that through this medium our Eucharists and our prayers reach the Father.

The Saviour's work in heaven is one in which the Church on earth takes part. He has said, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in My name, He will give it you" [John xv. 16]. The prayers which we offer on earth reach the Father through the intercession of the Son, and thus He not only intercedes for us but with us. He does not so intercede in our stead as to release us from the duty of prayer; for prayer on our part is necessary, since the Father has appointed this as the means whereby we may make known our requests to Him. The priesthood of our Lord rests upon His people, who are one with Him as the members of His Body; and therefore through this union they become intercessors as well for themselves as for their brethren, and their prayers are heard which otherwise would find no access to the ear of God.

But as our Lord's intercession implies a sacrifice continually offered, so does that of His Church on earth. If the members of Christ are intercessors, and their intercessions avail through His, they too must have a sacrifice to offer, and this also is provided. In heaven our great High Priest is continually offering Himself to the Father, and on earth provision is made by means of the Eucharist, that the offering may be continued; for the sacrifice once slain on Calvary is evermore to be offered not in heaven only but on earth. *Do this* (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, a sacrificial term), was the command of our Lord, when first He instituted the sacrament of His Body and Blood; and St. Paul teaches us that as oft as we *do this* "we shew forth the Lord's death till He come" [1 Cor. xi. 26]. The sacrifice on the Cross was the central point from whence two streams diverged, to meet again continually, the Intercession of Christ in Heaven and the Eucharistic sacrifice of His Church on earth. The earthly priest shews forth the Lord's Death in the offering which he presents, but the offering ascending up becomes one with that which the great High Priest is continually presenting in heaven. The congregation too, as a kingdom of priests, ratify the offering and take their part in its presentation by pronouncing the Amen after Consecration. [Lay Priesthood.] At other times prayers are always offered up "through Jesus Christ our Lord," addressed to Him that He may offer them to the Father, mingled with His own intercessions; but the Holy Eucharist is one in act with our Lord's intercessions in heaven, since that which the Church offers on earth and Christ in heaven is one and the same sacrifice. And, therefore, although prayers to the Son are continually offered at other times, yet in the Holy Eucharist, it was directed by the Council of Carthage, that prayers should be offered to the Father alone, "Cum Altari assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oblatio" [Con. Carth. III., can. xxiii., Hard. i. p. 963]; and the reason for this, given by Cardinal Bona, is "quia missa repræsentatio est ejus oblationis, quâ Christus se Patri obtulit."

The Intercession of Christ was represented under the Mosaic ritual by the altar of incense. The altar of incense was placed between the altar of burnt-offering and the mercy-seat. It was situated originally within the veil, but afterwards outside, yet still in a line connecting the altar of burnt-offering with the mercy-seat. When, on the day of atonement, the high priest entered into the holy of holies, he filled his hands with incense from the altar of incense, and took with him a censer of coals from the altar of burnt-offering. Thus, for a little season, the priest, the sacrifice, and the incense, were all within the veil, signifying the entering of Christ within the holy place not made with hands, even into heaven itself, there to appear in the presence of God for us, "True priest, true sacrifice, presenting His Church in Himself through His all-availing intercession" [Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 179].

It has also been observed by Archdeacon Freeman, that as the altar of incense stood before the veil which separated the holy of holies from the outer tabernacle, the smoke of the burnt-offering mingled with the fragrance of the incense ere it penetrated into the sanctuary. So the intercessions of Christ mingle with our sacrifices, whether it be the one great sacrifice of the Cross, the Eucharistic sacrifice, or that of the Church's prayers or praises, ere they are accepted in the holy place. The place of the Mosaic incense is supplied in the Christian scheme of the Intercession of Christ, by "that intercessory will of His, that willingness to be offered, that desire to save, which, using the sacrifice as its instrument or plea, wrought the redemption and sanctification of the world" [*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 181]. In the ritual of heaven, described in the Apocalypse, the Lamb as it had been slain stands before the Majesty of God, in the midst of the throne, and in the midst of the elders, so uniting the Church and the Father. The sacrifice took place once on Calvary, and it is not repeated [Art. xxi.], but continually offered up in heaven. There it stands as an abiding plea, and gives effect to the much incense which the Angel of the Covenant, Christ Himself, is offering on the golden altar which is before the throne.

The doctrine of our Lord's intercession in heaven is a key by which we may understand the worship of the Church on earth. For as this was represented in the Mosaic services, so does it find its counterpart, not only in the heavenly

but the earthly ritual. The worship of the Church on earth mingles with that which is offered up in heaven, and it is through this union that our eucharists, our prayers, and praises, derive their efficacy. There is a door opened in heaven —Christ is the door—and through this door our offerings and petitions ascend. The angels take up the song, but the offering is made before the Throne by the great High Priest Himself.

The doctrine of our Lord's intercession is a protest against that rationalism which would make each man in himself, and each man's prayers by themselves, acceptable to God. This would destroy our dependence on Christ, and our humility and self-abasement, when we think of what we are in ourselves. This doctrine is also a comfort and encouragement, because it assures us that, however unworthy we are, our prayers are heard and our sacrifices accepted, because they are presented by One whose intercessions must be all-availing. It impresses an awful solemnity on our ritual when we remember that standing in the house of God and at the gate of heaven our services are part of those which are going on in heaven itself. Such a doctrine also encourages the penitent to draw near the throne of grace, for it represents Him who offers our prayers as One who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, who was the sinner's friend on earth, and is still the refuge of penitents and the defence of the humble and meek. It connects together the intercessions of departed saints with the prayers of the Church on earth, for they with us have equal right of access to the Father through the Son. It speaks of the Church now represented by the High Priest in heaven, but hereafter to be presented to the Father without spot or wrinkle or any such thing.

INTERCESSION OF SAINTS. The belief that the saints in paradise intercede for those on earth is a consequence of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, and agrees with revelations made in Holy Scripture. The communion of the saints departed with the saints yet living is that part of the general doctrine which is especially insisted on by those of the ancients who first took notice of it in the Creed. And it can be no mere theory; but must involve correlative acts and duties. It is no presumption therefore to assert that the saints departed, recognising that communion, and living in a revelation of the presence of the Saviour the Intercessor, in and through the Spirit, Who is also an Intercessor, cannot but intercede likewise for us on earth. How otherwise should they be living the life of Christ, and breathing the breath of the Spirit? This conclusion agrees with an "à fortiori" argument founded upon Dives' prayer to Abraham; and with the notice in the Apocalypse of the souls under the altar, and the subsequent offering of their prayers with much incense. It may be noticed also that the dream or vision of Judas Maccabæus [2 Macc. xv. 12-14] must have been in accordance with the belief of the Jews at that time. This intercession of the saints is met by the prayers of the Church on earth for the dead in Christ. [Prayers for the Dead.]

But it must be observed that, when speaking of such a belief as one of the plainest doctrines of Christianity, it is not implied that the saints have any special or particular knowledge of the state of those on earth. It is sufficient that they know us to be still subject to temptation, and still engaged in the contest. There are no grounds whatever for attributing to them a supervision of all the changes and chances of this mortal life. Rather, it appears probable, inasmuch as to angels is assigned a ministry on behalf of the elect, and since the intermediate state is a state of incompleteness, in which the faithful are waiting for the powers of the resurrection body, that the employment of the saints is devotion and contemplation, rather than active ministry. [Invocation of Saints.]

INTERCESSORY PRAYER. [Prayer.]

INTERDICT, an ecclesiastical censure frequent in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, which is said to have taken its origin in France as regards local application. Lyndwood defines it as an ecclesiastical censure inflicted as a penalty on contumacy or offences, whereby people are prohibited from receiving sacraments. Sarpi refers the first instance of an interdict to the pontificate of Alexander III., but Bellarmine instances an earlier fulmination against Poland by Gregory VII., A.D. 1073. Du Pin says, that for seven centuries and upwards, he had never read in church-history of a society excommunicated or laid under an interdict. An interdict prohibits the celebration of Holy Communion, administration of Sacraments and Divine Service, and burial in holy ground. It is an ecclesiastical censure suspending ecclesiastics from their duties, and deprives the people of divine worship, sacraments, and burial. There are three kinds—*local*, confined to certain places and persons; *personal*, directed against individuals; and *mixed*, combining both characteristics. *Local* interdict is either general, which embraces a kingdom, province, castle, or town; or particular, where it is restricted to a place, a special church or individual, chapels and cemeteries adjacent to the church named being included. *Personal* interdict is also divided into general, including a community or number of persons; and particular, where launched against certain persons distinguished by name.

An interdict local and particular was inflicted on a cemetery of which the maker had, as a condition, purchased the right of burial, or one in which a heretic had been interred, or on a church where an interdict naming persons had been received. Interdict, denial of admission into a church, was pronounced on persons disturbing a church or clerk, and remaining impenitent, persons detaining legacies or gifts to a church, persons neglecting their duty to protect the Church, persons violating sanctuary, persons who had not paid Easter dues, physicians who failed to summon the priest to the dying, and clerks guilty of being accessories to the murder of a bishop.

Owing to the cruel wrongs caused to the

unoffending in a general interdict, the Council of Basle laid down several restrictions upon its use.

During an interdict general Baptism and Confirmation were administered, and the Holy Communion in case of necessity; to consecrate Holy Chrism, to say service in a low voice within closed doors and without sound of bells, to inter clerks in holy ground without rites; to celebrate Holy Communion aloud with bells ringing and open doors at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun, Days, and three other feasts; and on those days to admit the persons distinctly interdicted by name within the church but not to the altar; and to allow a service once a year to be celebrated by certain religious.

An interdict, unlike excommunication, did not cut off civil rights. Those who violated interdicts by forcing themselves into a church were punished by suspension, deposition, particular interdict, and excommunication. A clerk who celebrated, if a church was interdicted by censure, incurred irregularity. His violation of an interdict rendered him incapable of a benefice.

An interdict exhausted itself in time, either by lapse of the period of the original sentence, or its satisfaction. Absolution removed a simple interdict; in other cases, a superior—the ordinary, a legate apostolical or the pope—removed it. Excommunication and suspension have taken the place of interdicts. Properly speaking, places only were interdicted, and colleges and universities could be laid under the law. Communication with others was permitted in cases of interdict and suspension; on certain days interdicted persons were permitted to enter the church, and they could be admitted to penance. Excommunication was inflicted only on account of personal offences.

Interdict is also the denial of the power to minister in the diocese, or to preach, being a suspension of the exercise of his office in a priest made by a bishop. If a parish should refuse to provide the ornaments and necessary goods for Divine Service, the church and parish would be practically laid under an interdict. [André; Ferraris; Lyndwood.]

INTERIM. A name given to the scheme by which Charles V. endeavoured to conciliate the Protestants of Germany, and by means of which he wished to make it possible for them to continue in the Church during the time that a General Council was assembling and coming to a decision on the points in controversy between the Protestants and the Church.

The idea of an "Interim" originated in A.D. 1541, during the deliberations of a commission composed of three Catholics, Eck, Pflug, and Gropper, and three Protestants, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius, but they could not agree on sacramental doctrine. The name is, however, generally applied to the scheme issued in obedience to an order of the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg in A.D. 1548, which was composed by two bishops, Pflug and Helding, and John Agricola, Protestant chaplain to the Elector of Brandenburg; and which made some important concessions to the reforming party, including the marriage of the clergy and the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity. The document so drawn up contained twenty-six articles, and dealt with most of the questions in dispute, but it met with little approval on either side, was rejected by the Pope, and was repealed in 1552. [Sleidan, *De statu relig.*, &c.; Bieck, *Das dreyfache Interim*, Leipsic, 1721.]

INTERMEDIATE STATE, or the state between death and the resurrection. Its existence is clearly intimated in Scripture as in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, each of whom is represented immediately after death as being in a place of happiness or misery; also, in our Lord's words to the penitent thief [Luke xxiii. 43], and by St. Paul [2 Cor. v. 8], and St. John [Rev. vi. 9].

According to the teaching of the early Church, the soul after death was consigned to a place of happiness or misery in Hades, and there remained till the day of judgment.[1] St. Justin says "the souls of the good are consigned to a better place, and those of the evil and unjust to a worse, there to await the day of judgment."[2] Or according to St. Irenæus, "souls go to the place appointed for them by God, and there remain till the resurrection, awaiting it."[3] Tertullian alleges the example of the rich man and Lazarus, as proving that the soul is now in a state of happiness or misery, awaiting its union with the body, and the final award of judgment.[4] St. Cyprian also says "the just are called to refreshment (refrigerium), and the wicked hurried away to punishment."[5] Novatian speaks of Hades as "the place where the souls of the wicked and the righteous are brought, experiencing a foretaste of future judgment"[6] (futuri judicii præjudicia sentientes). And Lactantius, "let no one think that souls are judged immediately after death, all are detained in one and a common custody until the Supreme Judge shall examine their deservings"[7] (meritorum faciat examen).

An exception was believed to be made in the case of martyrs, who were supposed immediately after death to be admitted to the beatific vision.[8] All others were believed to remain in the intermediate state till the day of judgment.

The Church has always rejected an opinion, not unknown in an early age[9] and often maintained in modern times, that the soul after death

[1] Constituimus omnem animam apud Inferos sequestrari in diem Domini. [Tertullian, *de Anima*, c. 55.]

[2] *Dial. c. Tryp.* sec. 5.

[3] *Adv. Hæres.* lib. v. c. 31.

[4] Nam et nunc animas torqueri, foverique penes Inferos probavit Lazari exemplum . . . anima patitur apud Inferos, prior degustans judicium sicut prior induxit admissum; expectans tamen et carnem, ut per illam etiam facta compenset, cui cogitata mandavit. [*De Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 17.]

[5] *De Mortalitate.* [6] *De Trinitate*, c. 1.

[7] *Divin. Inst.* lib. vii. c. 21.

[8] Nemo enim peregrinatus a corpore statim immoratur penes Dominum, nisi ex martyrii prærogativa paradiso scilicet, non inferis, deversurus. [*De Resurr. Carnis*, c. 43.]

[9] Eusebius relates that about the middle of the third century there were certain persons in Arabia who held

remains in a state of sleep or unconsciousness till the resurrection; for though the Scripture speaks of the death of the righteous as a falling asleep [John xi. 11; Acts vii. 60; 1 Thess. iv. 13], the metaphor is not intended to intimate that the righteous are in a state of unconsciousness, but of refreshment or repose from the trials and sorrows of life; and it *especially* implies their assured hope of a reawakening—a resurrection to eternal life.

INTERPRETATION [*Hermeneutik*], speaking generally, is the theory of the art of expounding words. It is founded on the principle that every word has a meaning. [1.] Applied to ordinary cases, that meaning is, for the most part,[1] merely the grammatico-historical (or literal) sense—the sense, that is, which the common use of language renders, and which may be *proper* or *improper*. [2.] Applied to the Books of Scripture, as inspired, and therefore not proceeding from the sacred penmen as the sole authors, a further sense—a ὑπόνοια, a "sensus spiritualis"—is to be assumed. The interpretation of this *underlying* sense is either that which tends to edification—called indifferently *spiritual, figurative, mystical;* or *typico-allegorical.* The *spiritual* sense is commonly divided into the *moral* (or *tropological*), and the *anagogical.* The old Latin lines express these distinctions:—

> "Litera, gesta docet; quid credas, allegoria;
> Moralis, quid agas; quo tendas, anagogia."[2]

Thus the Sabbath may denote *tropologically* the ceasing to sin; *anagogically*, the rest in heaven of the people of God; *allegorically*, the repose of Christ's body in the grave. [See Ersch. u. Gruber, *Allg. Encyklop.;* art. "Hermeneutik;" Perrone, *Præl. Theol.* pars II. c. iii.; Bonfrerius, *Præloqu. in S.S.* 20.]

INTINCTION. A mode of administering the Holy Eucharist, by breaking the consecrated Bread into the consecrated Wine, and giving the two Elements together in a spoon. The laity, but not the clergy, communicate in this manner throughout the Eastern Church, the object being to prevent any accidental loss of either Element.

The practice of intinction is said by some Greek liturgical writers to have been introduced by St. Chrysostom, but the traditional evidence adduced is not strong enough to support the assertion: and there is much written evidence to shew that the two Elements were commonly administered by two separate persons, which makes it improbable that their admixture for communion was the ordinary practice. Bona says, however, that it was forbidden by Julius I. [A.D. 337-352], whose decree, as given by Gratian [*Distinct.* ii. c. 7], speaks of it as a practice not warranted by the Gospel, in which Christ is represented as giving first His Body, and then His Blood, to the Apostles; and if this decree is authentic, it shews that the practice was known in the time of St. Chrysostom. The third Council of Braga [A.D. 675] forbad it in their first Canon, the words used being identical with those attributed to Julius I., "Illud, quod pro complemento communionis intinctam tradunt eucharistiam populis, nec hoc probatum ex evangelio testimonium recipit, ubi apostolis corpus suum et sanguinem commendavit; seorsum enim panis et seorsum calicis commendatio memoratur. Nam intinctum panem aliis Christum non præbuisse legimus excepto illo tantum discipulo, quem proditorem ostenderet." Micrologus [c. xix.] declares that the practice contradicted the primitive canon of the Roman Liturgy, but this is no real evidence as to the time of its introduction into the Eastern Church. In the eleventh century it was forbidden by Urban II. [A.D. 1088-1099], except in cases of necessity; and Pascal II., his successor, forbad it even in these, directing that where difficulty of swallowing the solid Element arose, the fluid Element should be alone given. But Bona quotes from Ivo of Chartres about the same time a canon of a Council of Tours, in which it was ordered that priests should always keep the reserved oblation "intincta in sanguine Christi, ut veraciter Presbyter possit dicere infirmo, Corpus, et Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proficiat tibi in remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam." In A.D. 1175, the Convocation of Canterbury distinctly forbad the practice of intinction in the words, "Inhibemus ne quis quasi pro complemento communionis intinctam alicui Eucharistiam tradit." But the practice forbidden seems, from the word "complementum," to have been as much that of the consumption of the superabundant Elements by the laity (directed in one of our modern rubrics) as that of intinction. There can be no doubt, however, that the Western Church has always set its face against the practice. [Concomitance. Bona, *Rerum. Liturg.* II. xviii. 3.]

INTROIT. [Officium, *Sarum;* ἔισοδος, *Eastern;* Ingressa, *Ambrosian.*] A psalm or hymn, but more properly the former, sung immediately before the commencement of the office for Holy Communion. "Introitum autem vocamus antiphonam illam quam chorus cantat et sacerdos ut ascendit ad altare legit cum versu et Gloria" [Martene, *De Antiq. Monach. Rit.* II. iv. 9]. The name is from the Latin "introire," to enter,

false opinions, asserting that the soul died with the body, and with the body would be raised at the resurrection. They were refuted by Origen. [*Eccles. Hist.* bk. vi. c. 37.]

[1] An ordinary book may be a satire, or treat of mythological subjects, &c., and therefore it also may have a figurative interpretation.

[2] This, the usual distinction, is open to obvious objections: *E.g.* The *tropological* and *anagogical* senses can scarcely be regarded as different, and both may sometimes be included under the *literal.* Some refer the distinction to St. Augustine, who says [*Genes. ad. Lit.* i. 1] that in Scripture we must seek *æterna, facta, futura, agenda.* Origen [*In Levit.* Hom. v. c. 5] saw in Scripture a threefold sense—*historical, moral, mystical.* These senses he compared to *body, soul,* and *spirit.* This distinction was followed by many; *e.g.* St. Eucherius of Lyons [fifth century] writes: "Corpus Scripturæ S., sicut traditur, in *litera* sive *historia* est; anima in *morali* sensu, qui *tropicus* dicitur; spiritus in superiore intellectu, qui *anagoge* appellatur." [*Formulæ, seu phrases S.S.*, ap. *Bibl. Max. Patr.* Præf. vi. 8, 22.]

the priest entering the sanctuary while it is being sung, and preparing to begin the liturgy.

According to Freeman [*Princ. of Div. Service* ii. 316], the true introit consists of "the fine 'Hymn of the Only-Begotten Son' in the East, and the far nobler 'Gloria in Excelsis' of the further East and the whole West." Neale, too, remarks [*Introd.* p. 363] that "the *Introits* of the Liturgies of St. Mark and St. James, and the Armenian, consist of the Hymn 'Only-Begotten Son.'" The design of the Church is clearly to carry back our thoughts to the Incarnation, and from that to the Passion.

But connected with this true, or proper, introit, we find in the West a psalm, or hymn, with antiphon, varying according to the season; and in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, three antiphons: and this is what the name introit must be understood ordinarily to signify. In the West it is closely joined with the bringing in of the Elements, the Sarum rubric standing thus, "after the introit let him bring in the bread, wine, and water." This might be done until the end of the first Collect which followed the "Gloria in Excelsis." It is doubtful whether it has a similar connection with the "Great Entrance" of the East. But in both East and West we find some prelude to the great hymn of the Incarnation [Freeman, ii. 319.]

The origin of the introit is referred by Cardinal Bona [iii. 48] to Pope Celestine [A.D. 422-432]. Its structure is that of an antiphon, followed generally by a whole psalm or a portion of a psalm,[1] and the Gloria Patri, and then by a repetition of the whole or part of the commencing antiphon. In the old Gregorian introit the antiphon was repeated three times, a custom found also in the Sarum rite: this triple recitation being connected mystically with the three laws, viz., the Natural, the Mosaic, and the Evangelic.[2]

Part of the Prayer Book of 1549 was entitled "The *Introits*, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels to be used at the celebration of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion through the year." There was a distinct Introit for each Sunday printed with the Collect,[3] these being entire psalms, with the *Gloria Patri*, but without antiphons. [Martene—*De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, and *De Antiq. Monach. Ritibus;* Freeman's *Principles of Divine Service*, vol. ii. and (for various examples from different Liturgies) Neale's *Essays on Liturgiology.*]

[1] It is not *always* from the Psalms or even from Scripture [Neale, *Essays on Liturg.* p. 138, &c.]; and in the Ambrosian Liturgy the Introit (there called *Ingressa*) is "a simple consecutive clause, not an anthem broken by ℣ and ℟." [*Ibid.* p. 175.]

[2] "In præcipuis festivitatibus ter cantatur introitus propter tres leges, scilicet naturalem, Mosaicam, et legem Evangelicam, gratiæ quia in unaquaque Deus habet præcones suos." [Martene, *De Antiq. Monach. Rit.* lib. ii. iv. 9.] The same writer also mentions that "In Dominicis diebus ad majorem missam introitus post versum dimidius solet recantari—post Gloria Patri, totus."

[3] The Sarum Introits will be found translated in the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," as also a list of those enjoined in the First Prayer Book.

INTUITION. [Illumination.]

INVITATORY. A short antiphon, suitable to the season, sung before the *Venite*, and, in whole or in part, repeated after each verse, and after the Gloria Patri.[4]

The use of the 95th Psalm as an "invitation to praise" is of very great antiquity, and was probably adopted from the Temple service. In the East, the whole psalm is not used, but the following three clauses, without change:—

> "O come let us worship God our King.
> O come let us worship and fall down before Christ our King and God.
> O come let us worship before Christ Himself our King and God."

In the West, the whole psalm was always used, and with it, as a rule, the invitatory, which constantly varied according to place and season. It consists of two clauses: "both are said before the psalm, and at the end of the second, seventh, and last verses; the second clause only at the end of the fourth and ninth verses. The *Gloria Patri* is followed, first, by the second, and then by both clauses. The Breviary of Cardinal Quignonez restricted the Invitatory to the beginning and end of the Psalms." The ninefold repetition of the whole or a part of the Invitatory is very ancient, Durandus thus giving its mystical explanation: "The Invitatory is repeated six times at full length; because six is the first perfect number; and the sixfold repetition, therefore, sets forth the perfection with which we should endeavour to perform the service of God. Three is an imperfect number, and therefore the imperfect repetition takes place three times."

The only approach which we possess in our Prayer Book to the true Invitatory (unless the opening sentences of Mattins and Evensong be considered of a similar character), is in the fixed versicle "Praise ye the Lord" with its response, "The Lord's Name be praised." The singing of Alleluia after the *Gloria Patri* at the commencement of mattins was ordered in the Prayer Book of 1549. The response was inserted in 1661. [Alleluia.] The 95th Psalm, with this versicle and response, is to be considered as an unvarying Invitatory in the modern English rite, except on Easter-day, for which special provision is made. Bishop Cosin proposed to insert the following rubric before the Venite. "And upon any Sunday or Lord's day, this commemoration of His rising from the dead shall be said or sung. *Priest.* Christ is risen again, &c. And upon the feast of Easter, Christ, our Passover, is offered up for us. Therefore let us keep the feast, &c., *ut in die Pasch.* Then shall be said or sung the Venite." "The Invitatory pitches the key-note to the whole office: it directs the wor-

[4] The Rubric of the Sarum Breviary runs thus:—(after the Gloria and Alleluia), "*Sequatur invitatorium hoc modo.* Ecce Venit rex. Occurramus obviam Salvatori nostro. *Ps.* Venite. *Post.* i., iii., *et* v. *vers. psalmi repetatur totum invitatorium. Post.* ii. *vers.* iiii. *et* vi. *vers psalmi repetatur solum hæc pars,* Occurramus. *Et deinde reincipiatur totum invitatorium.*"

shippers in what light they are at that particular time called on to regard God: and stamps its own meaning on the whole series of Psalms" [Neale's *Liturgical Essays*, p. 7]. For examples of the Invitatory from most varied sources, the reader is referred to this work, as also to the Commentary on the Psalms, by the same writer [vol. i. p. 43-46].

INVOCATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE EUCHARIST. There is now apparently a difference in the teaching of the Eastern and Western Church on the consecration of the Holy Eucharist. According to the belief of the Western Church, consecration is effected by the words of Institution only; such is the teaching of the Roman Missal and also of the Anglican Prayer Book. But in all the Eastern Liturgies we find *after* the words of Institution, a prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit, that He would make the Bread the Body, and the Wine the Blood of Christ, which implies that the sacramental change had not yet taken place, or been completed. Thus, in the Liturgy of St. James, "Send down Thine Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Thy holy gifts here set before Thee . . . that He may sanctify and make this Bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ."[1]

Various explanations have been given of this apparent difference between the Eastern and Western Church. The Eastern Church, at the Council of Florence[2] [A.D. 1438], admitted with the Latins that consecration was really effected by the words of Christ's Institution, and explained the subsequent prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost, as referring to His gracious Presence to prepare the communicants to receive the sacramental gift.[3] This explanation is only partly true; the prayer before us, though often expressly mentioning, yet really goes beyond, and has no primary connexion with, the sanctification of the communicants. Thus in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the priest prays that the Holy Spirit will effectuate the sacramental change, will make the bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, and what is in the cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, "changing them by Thy Spirit." On examining the teaching of the Latin Fathers, we often find an emphatic statement that consecration is effected by the words of Institution. Thus, Tertullian speaks of Christ "calling bread His Body,"[4] and St. Cyprian that Christ taking the cup, blessed it, saying, "This is My Blood of the New Testament."[5] Extracts are elsewhere given from St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine in proof of the same point. [Eucharist.] Amongst early writers of the Eastern Church, we sometimes, though not universally, find different language. Thus St. Justin, it cannot be doubted, believed that the consecration was effected by the words of Institution;[6] though he afterwards says [sec. 67], "in all our oblations we bless the Maker of all things, through His Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Ghost;" and St. Irenæus, though, like St. Justin, attributing consecration to the words of Institution,[7] says in another place, "the bread receives the invocation (ἐπίκλησις) of God, and is no longer common bread." Other Greek Fathers are more explicit. Thus St. Cyril of Jerusalem says, "We call upon the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him, that He may make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched is sanctified and changed."[8] This prayer is very remarkable as being used after the words of Institution, considering that St. Cyril previously said: "Since Christ had declared and said of the bread, 'This is My Body,' who shall dare to doubt any longer; and since He has affirmed and said, 'This is My Blood,' who shall ever hesitate saying that it is not His Blood." St. Chrysostom also often speaks of the Holy Spirit as the Agent in the Eucharistic consecration. Thus, he says that the priest "invokes the Holy Spirit and consummates the most awful sacrifice,"[9] and speaks of the Spirit "hovering over the gifts set before us."[10]

In the liturgies of the Eastern Church, we always find this prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost inserted after the words of Institution. There are also some traces of the same doctrine in the Western Church, as in the Mozarabic[11] (or *Missale Mixtum*) and Gallican liturgies,[12] though the "Invocation" is sometimes omitted, and is rarely given in clear and express terms as in the Eastern liturgies. Paschasius Radbertus, a well-

[1] Brett's *Liturgies* [1720].

[2] See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, c. 56.

[3] An account of the Council is given in Brett's *Dissertation*. He quotes Arcadius, who says, "The Greek Fathers in the last session of the Council of Florence being asked by Pope Eugenius the Fourth, why they added those prayers after the words of Christ as if the consecration was not yet perfected, answered—That they made no doubt but the consecration was made by the words of Christ, but nevertheless they said those prayers, that benefit might accrue to us by that sacrifice." This interpretation, as Brett afterwards says, "was given by the Bishop of Nice only, without the knowledge or consent of the rest" (the Greek bishops). The Eastern Church has always rejected the authority of this council, nor can we suppose that its teaching is there fairly represented. Constantinople was at that time besieged by the Turks, and the Easterns could only obtain a promise of assistance from the West by consenting to a reconciliation and union with the Latin Church. Her delegates, with the exception of Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, were harassed or starved into submission—a feigned acquiescence, for it was no better, with the Latin teaching. On their return, their acts were disavowed by the Eastern Church, and themselves deposed or imprisoned.

[4] *Advers. Judæos*, c. x.

[5] *Epist.* lxiii. sec. 6.

[6] *Apol.* i. sec. 66.

[7] *Adv. Hæres.* iv. 17.

[8] *Lect.* xxiii. sec. 7 (Oxf. transl.).

[9] *De Sacerdotio*, lib. vi. sec. 519.

[10] *Homil.* xxiv. *in* 1 *Cor.* (Oxf. transl.).

[11] "Domine, sacrificia dependentes supplices flagitamus: ut effundas in his hostiis sancti Spiritus tui largitatem. Ut dum a Te benedicta sumimus: omni nos benedictione refectos: et a criminum vinculis liberatos: omnibus modis gaudiemus." In prima Dom. post Oct. Epiphaniæ Dom. *post pridie* oratio. "Recitatis, Domine, Unigeniti Tui sacramentorum præceptis . . . supplices rogamus ac petimus. Ut in his sacrificiis benedictionum tuarum plenitudo descendat; et infundas in eis imbrem Spiritus tui sancti de cœlis. Ut fiat hoc sacrificium secundum ordinem Melchisedech . . ." In Quinta Dom. Quadrigesimæ *st pridie*.

[12] Descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis benedictionis cœternus et co-operator Paraclitus Spiritus ut oblationem quam tibi de tua terra fructificante porregimus cœlesti permuneratione (*al.* permutatione) te sanctificante sumamus

known writer of the Western Church of the ninth century, very clearly states that the bread and wine are changed by the ineffable sanctification of the Holy Spirit.[1]

From what has been stated, it appears very probable that in all primitive liturgies there was, after the words of Institution, a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost. Why this prayer has been omitted, or very indistinctly stated, in the liturgies of the Western Church, cannot now be ascertained. It cannot, from the evidence before us, be deemed essential, as if without it consecration were invalid. By writers of the Eastern Church it is admitted, as we have seen, that the words of the Institution effect the sacramental change, of which fresh proof is added below from St. Chrysostom.[2] It cannot, therefore, be supposed that this prayer is indispensable, though undoubtedly the elements are consecrated by the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost; so that through *His* Divine Power, bread and wine become the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour. Christ who once on Calvary, through the Eternal Spirit, offered Himself without spot to God [Heb. ix. 14], is now through the same Spirit offered by the Church in an unbloody manner (ἄθυτως) in the Eucharistic Mysteries.

INVOCATION OF SAINTS. Asking the intercession of the saints departed for ourselves or for others still living in the Church Militant. The limits within which such requests may be lawfully made have been the subject of much controversy; but a great deal of needless difficulty has been thrown into the question through forgetting that "invoke" and "invocation," as also "pray" and "prayer," are generic words, and to be interpreted according to the nature of the person invoked. We may invoke God, we may invoke men. The former invocation is a prayer with worship, the latter a prayer without worship. But invocation of the saints is too often spoken of as if it necessarily implied worship.

I. With this caution, it is lawful to invoke the saints for those offices which we believe they can and do perform regarding us. They do not share (we have reason to believe) the angelic ministry on our behalf, and therefore we may not ask it. They do pray, and we have reason to believe they pray for us; their intercessions therefore we may ask. It is but a cold remark of Bull's [*Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, Works, vol. ii. p. 266, Burton's ed.], when having said that he denies not the intercession of the saints in general, he continues, "But this is no reason why we should pray to them to pray for us. Nay, on the contrary, if the deceased saints do of their own accord, and out of their perfect charity, pray for us, what need we be so solicitous to call upon them for their prayers, especially when our reason and Scripture also tells us, that we are out of their hearing, and that they do not, cannot know our particular wants and necessities?" Nor does he state what are the grounds of reason, or the places of Scripture to which he alludes. When we wind up the hymn Benedicite with "O ye spirits and souls of the righteous—O Ananias, Azarias and Misael, bless ye the Lord," we cannot bear to be asked what need to call on them to praise God when they do it of their own accord, or to be told "There is no certainty that they hear you." The mind has gone forth in praise, and is quickened by the thought that our praises are joined to the praises of the saints. And even so it is in prayer.

II. The question then arises,—In what light should we regard the holy saints with reference to this practice? The answer may be given in the words of the "Articles about religion set out by the Convocation, and published by the King's authority" in 1536 [*Formularies of Faith*, 1825, p. 14]. The article states that "saints now being with Christ in heaven be to be honoured of Christian people on earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are due only unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God: but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly life out of this transitory world, because they already do reign in glory with Christ: and most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues which be planted in them; . . . and finally to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ." The only questionable statement here is in the words, "they already do reign in glory with Christ." If any saints, being

ut translata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore, proficiat meritis quod obtulimus pro delictis." Missale Gothicum seu Gothigallicanum. Missa in Assumptione Sanctæ Mariæ. Post Mysterium. "Descendat, precamur omnipotens Deus, super hæc quæ tibi offerimus Verbum tuum sanctum: descendat inæstimabilis gloriæ tuæ Spiritus: descendat antiquæ indulgentiæ tuæ donum, ut fiat oblatio nostra hostia spiritalis in odorem suavitatis accepta . ." Vetus Missale Gallicanum. Missa S. Germani Episcop. Post secreta.

[1] "Verum etiam quotidie (Christus) tollit peccata mundi, lavatque nos a peccatis nostris quotidie in sanguine suo cum ejusdem beatæ passionis ad altare memoria replicatur, cum panis et vini creatura sacramentum carnis et sanguinis ejus ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur." [*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, c. ix.] "Non in merito consecrantis sed in verbo efficitur Creatoris et virtute Spiritus Sancti ut caro Christi et sanguis, non alia quam quæ de Spiritu Sancto creata est, vera fide credatur et spiritali intelligentia degustetur. Si enim in merito esset sacerdotis, non ad Christum pertineret; nunc autem sicut Ipse est qui baptisat, ita Ipse est qui per Spiritum Sanctum hanc suam efficit carnem et transfundit vinum in sanguinem. Quis enim alius in utero creare potuerit, ut Verbum caro fieret? Sic itaque in hoc mysterio credendum est quod eadem virtute Spiritus Sancti per Verbum Christi caro ipsius et sanguis efficiatur invisibili operatione." [*Ibid.* c. xii.]

[2] "For His Word cannot deceive, but our senses are easily beguiled. That hath never failed, but this in most things goeth wrong; since then the Word saith, 'This is My Body,' let us both be persuaded, and believe, and look at it with the eyes of the mind." [*Homil.* lxxxii. *of St. Matthew.* Oxf. transl.] The priest says: "This is My Body—that word changes the elements" (μεταρρυθμίζει τὰ προκείμενα). St. Chrysostom then contrasts the words of Institution spoken by our Lord, which are effectual until His coming again for Eucharistic consecration, with the words spoken by God at the Creation, "increase and multiply," which have been availing through all ages for the propagation of mankind. [*De Proditione Judæ.*]

martyrs, do already "reign," through being received into glory with Christ, they do not so reign that we in the Church on earth may dare to approach them as subjects, and pay them honour and reverence equivalent to worship.

III. The primitive practice of prayer for the dead was corrupted by the mediæval myth of a penal purgatory, and so the invocation of saints was corrupted by erroneous teaching regarding the intermediate state. The Council of Florence, A.D. 1439, declared that "those souls which having contracted the blemish of sin, being either in their bodies, or out of them, purged from it, are presently received into heaven, and there clearly behold God Himself, one God in Three Persons, as He is" [Carranza, *Summa Conc.* p. 863]. The error remains in the Tridentine decree, and mars its otherwise unexceptionable language. It teaches that "the saints reigning with Christ offer their prayers for men to God, and that it is good and useful to invoke them as suppliants; and for the sake of the obtaining of benefits from God through Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour, to have recourse to their prayers" [sess. xxv.]. The belief that the saints are already reigning with Christ naturally and logically leads to praying to them as protectors instead of invoking them as intercessors.

IV. The great liturgies which stand at the heads of their respective families scarcely recognize either the intercession or the invocation of saints. St. Mark has the AVE MARIA. St. James has it, but it is a later interpolation. St. Chrysostom recognises the intercession. The Malabar has "May Hormisdas keep you, may he pray for you" [see Neale's edit.]. It is a sufficient cause for this reticence that in the earliest times there was especial danger of "voluntary humility," as shewn regarding angels, and in the æons and emanations of heretics. When this especial danger was past the Church could more safely allow an expression of the Communion of Saints to enter into her worship. Against the errors of later times the true doctrine of the intermediate state is our safeguard.

V. Remembering that doctrine, we may conclude by again quoting the article of 1536, "Of praying to saints." "Albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient Mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to saints . . . whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us unto Almighty God after this manner: 'All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for His dear Son Jesus Christ's sake we may have grace of Him and remission of our sin' . . . so that it be done without any vain superstition as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same."

IRREGULARITY. The infraction of the rule laid down by St. Paul for the reception of orders: a canonical impediment precluding admission to holy orders, or the exercise of their office by clerks. The word is first used by Pope Innocent III., and only to be defined in its ramifications by a pope or general council. The usual division is into [1] irregularity "ex defectu," or involuntary, and [2] "ex delicto," that incurred by personal acts [Tit. i.; 1 Tim. c. iii.]. The Councils of Nicæa, Elvira, and IV. Toledo are precise against the admission of persons guilty of crime into holy orders.

The first class includes defects of [1] birth, illegitimate persons; of [2] mind, fools, ignorant, or clinics; [3] of body, in cases of grievous mutilation, defects in limb, leprosy, or constitutional infirmity—a restriction not earlier than the fifth century; [4] of age, when the Council of Neocæsarea in the fourth century laid down the canonical age; of [5] liberty, stewards, married menslaves, or sons of priests under certain restriction, [6] of reputation, when notorious offenders; [7] of merciful temper, as soldiers or officers of justice; or in case of [8] bigamy.

The second class includes the homicide, those who have been rebaptized or receive orders irregularly, *i.e.* by deceit, from a bishop who is heretical, simoniacal or under suspension; those married without their wives' consent, or without his own bishop's permission, or out of the canonical terms, or receiving two orders in one day; those who have unlawfully used their orders or usurped the exercise of the functions belonging to an order not yet attained, or ministered in places under censure. In the latter case, the Pope, if the violation was open, or the bishop, if it was in secret, can give dispensation. Or irregularity "ex delicto" may end with the termination of the sin or fault, and that "ex defectu" is sometimes condoned by entrance into a religious order. Heresy in parents, connivance with heretics, or acceptance of a benefice in the patronage of heretics, constitutes irregularity "ex delicto." Lyndwood includes advocates in cases of blood, simonists, &c., and reduces it to three heads—origin in defect or sin, as from bastardy, bigamy, or marriage with an adulteress; in disobedience to the precepts or censures of the Church; in a sin or fault which entails incapacity to discharge the duties of the ministry, or to receive a higher order without a dispensation. At present persons unable to pass their examination, or with serious bodily and physical defects, or notorious offenders, or of uncanonical age, are reputed irregular. Archbishop Winchelsea included stipendiary priests not taking the prescribed oath. Reynolds added those who received confirmation twice; and Chichele, the bigamous, a term including many special cases. [André; Ferraris; Lyndwood.] The 113th Canon of A.D. 1603, declares the "pain of irregularity" to be incurred by any minister revealing or making known to any person whatsoever "any crime or offence committed to his trust and secrecy" in Confession. Such a breach of spiritual trust, therefore, involves the clergyman in loss of his benefice, if he have one; or, whether he has or not, in incapacity for holding one.

ΙΧΘΥΣ. A mystic word used by the early Christians to set forth in a secret manner the principal articles of orthodox belief respecting the two Natures and the work of our Lord. It is found on the earliest monuments of Christianity, and in almost the earliest of uninspired Christian writings; and a full explanation of its meaning is given by Optatus in his treatise against the Donatists, written about A.D. 370. He writes, "This is the Fish, by which is meant Christ; which, by the invocation in baptism is introduced into the fontal waters, that what had been water might, from the word Fish, be called a fish-pool. The name of which Fish, in Greek, comprehends in one Name by each of its letters, a collection of holy names, Ἰχθύς, which in Latin is Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, Salvator" [Optat. *Contra Donat.* i. 1]. The Greek form of the acrostic is—

Ἰησοῦς
Χριστὸς
Θεοῦ
Υἱὸς
Σωτὴρ

This is the earliest explanation of the symbolic word, but it is evidently of quite primitive origin, for it is used by Tertullian [A.D. 150-220], as if familiar to those for whom he was writing his Treatise on Baptism. "We, little fishes, are born in water in conformity with ΙΧΘΥΣ, our Lord Jesus Christ, nor can we otherwise be saved than by remaining therein" [Tertull. *de Bapt.* i.]. St. Clement of Alexandria also refers to the symbol [*Pædag.* iii. 2], as do St. Augustine and many other of the Fathers.

The connection of the idea with the immersion and emersion which occurred in primitive baptism is sufficiently plain. It seems also to be associated with a scriptural idea not unfrequently used in the prophecies of the Old Testament, in which the work of the Gospel is represented under the idea of fishing, as in Jer. xvi. 16; Amos iv. 2; Habbak. i. 15. How this idea was taken up by our Lord, and how it was associated with the secular occupation of some of the Apostles, is sufficiently familiar to the reader, to make a reference to Matt. iv. 18, 19; Luke v. 2, 10, all that is necessary.

J

JACOBITES. [Monophysites.]

JANSENISM. The rise of Jansenism may be traced back to the Council of Trent, and to the suspicion of semi-Pelagianism that had always attached to the teaching of the Schools. Baius, a learned doctor in the University at Louvain, was the precursor of Jansen. In the year 1567, certain statements of his, referring to the Augustinian theory of grace, were condemned by Pope Pius V. in seventy-six propositions, yet without naming the author. In A.D. 1580, Gregory XIII. was persuaded by the Jesuit Tolet to renew the condemnation, in which Baius tacitly acquiesced.

In the first year of the seventeenth century, the Dominicans were taxed by the Jesuits with teaching reformed doctrines. "Even a Protestant might subscribe Dominican doctrine," were the words of Cardinal Du Perron to Clement VIII. The Dominicans retorted by accusing Molina of Pelagianism; and not without reason, for he taught that free-will without the aid of grace can produce morally good works; that it can withstand temptation; that it can urge itself to effectual acts of love, hope, faith, repentance, &c.

In 1588, the Inquisition charged Molina with heresy. Acquaviva, General of the Order of Jesuits, caused the question to be transferred to Rome, well knowing how useful the Order had made themselves as Janissaries of the Holy See. Clement VIII., though expressing himself as opposed to Molinist doctrine, withheld any formal judgment. The spirit of discord continued to smoulder till nearly the middle of the century, when it broke forth, A.D. 1640, at Port Royal. Jean Verger de Hauranne, afterwards the Abbé St. Cyran, had been appointed confessor to the institution at Port Royal, by Zamet, Bishop of Langrès. The youthful Abbess La Mère Angelique, of the Arnauld family, having brought her house under a high state of discipline, according to the severe Cistercian rule, the inmates increased rapidly; and in 1626 a house was purchased in the Faubourg St. Jacques, at Paris, called also Port Royal, to which the nuns removed. In 1638, Port Royal des Champs was tenanted by male recluses, who were bound by no vow, under Verger, now St. Cyran, as their superior. Among the names of note that were connected with this establishment, are Arnauld, Lancelot, De Sacy Le Maître, of the highest legal reputation in Paris, Nicole, Tillemont, Quesnel, Singlin, the eminent physician Hamon, and the Dukes of Liancourt and Lunnez. Blaise Pascal also was on intimate terms with the associated members, though not himself an associate. Life at Port Royal was of primitive simplicity and austere sanctity. Three o'clock A.M. was the hour for rising. After common prayer, all kissed the earth in token of spiritual abasement before Him who heareth prayer. A chapter from the Gospels and another from the Epistles were then read kneeling, and another prayer concluded the morning devotion. Church fasts were rigidly observed. Two hours in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon, were devoted to daily labour in the garden and farm, where dukes might be seen drawing the furrow, basket-weaving, or constructing cells for themselves and their successors. A well conducted seminary, under Lancelot, was a principal feature among the many good works of Port Royal. To the regular clergy and the monastic orders they gave deep offence, by a harsh cynicism, and ceaseless charges of lax discipline; and if their piety was of a higher order, it was less useful as an example, by being mingled with superstition and fanaticism. Hence they were branded from the first with the by-name of Rigorists. Such was the discipline at Port Royal des Champs, when, A.D. 1640, a posthumous work, by Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, was published, entitled *Augustinus*, a fellow-work to *Petrus Aurelius*, by his friend St. Cyran. In this, the doctrines of grace, free-will, original sin, and predestination, were set forth, as its name imports, in the spirit, and very often in the exact words of Augustine, the aim of the author being to represent, not his own views, but the exact teaching of the Father.[1] The introduction to the work exhibits the principal topics of fault found with the Scholastic theology, as being too highly dialectic, too little spiritual; and it contains the first exposure of that monstrous Jesuitical position "de probabili," which gave such scope for Pascal's wit; it being held by the casuists of the Order that any opinion with respect to the morality of an action that has been advanced by a learned and good man, may be accepted as *probably* correct and acted upon, however a man's own individual conscience may declare to him that it is wrong. Altogether the book appeared to be an express censure of the Jesuits. The whole weight of the Order, therefore,

[1] Jansen's *August.*; II. *Præm.* xxix. 65.

was brought into play to ensure its condemnation at Rome, which accordingly took place by bull of Urban VIII., A.D. 1642. The work continued to be the text-book in the Netherlands and at Port Royal des Champs. The clergy of France and the nobility sided with the Jesuits. The lower orders, always attracted by the ascetic spirit, and by anything like self-devotion on the part of the rich, took part with the Jansenists, whose following therefore was by far the most numerous. The hold of Jansenism upon the popular affection was riveted by liberality in politics, and by an intelligent zeal in conducting the work of instruction. Added to this, the Port Royal press poured forth accurate editions and useful abridgments of learned works, as well as elementary manuals for students. The Latin and Greek grammars by Lancelot for a long time were the best that could be placed in the hand of the student.

The following are the main points of Jansen's deductions from Augustine. Man, he taught, was created perfect and upright in his own nature, though capable of corruption. Righteousness was natural to him; and was no superadded gift of grace. His will was free, though subordinate to the will of God; yet only subordinate, as love is subordinate to its object. After the Fall his freedom became a mere lifeless form; he lacks all power of putting good resolve in execution; if he abstains from sin, it is from fear, or pride, or constitutional disposition—sin antagonizing sin. If he does good, it is in opposition to his will. This depraved condition can only be remedied by the grace of Christ, which infuses a Divine saving principle into the life of man, sets free the fettered will, and strengthens him for action. This grace acts with *irresistible energy*, and is always *effectual*. It supersedes that unreal freedom of will that came in with the Fall of Man, for grace alone is freedom, the converse of all external compulsion. When Scripture says that God "will have all men to be saved," it means, not every individual, but individuals of every class, Jew and Greek, high and low, rich and poor, who are predestined to salvation from all eternity; only for these did Christ die. This gift of grace manifests its inward presence by sensations of spiritual joy, as being the very indwelling of the Deity.

This being a matter of experience only to the few who are of the elect, it was assumed as a test of worthiness for sacramental communion, and all were repelled who fell short of it. "The sacrament is a feast for eagles, and not for crows."[1] It was in conformity with these principles of his friend Jansen that St. Cyran used to withhold the sacrament from those under his charge, that they might ascertain by the experience of their feelings whether they truly hungered for it. For this he was denounced to Richelieu, who had endeavoured in vain to make a political tool of St. Cyran. The Abbé was arrested and thrown into prison at Vincennes within eight days of the death of Jansen [A.D. 1638]. At the end of five years Richelieu died, and the Abbé was set at liberty, but he died in the same year, aged sixty-two, declaring that he left behind him twelve others stronger than himself. In the mean time, the *Augustinus* had been edited by Arnauld, and followed in A.D. 1644 by a defence of the *Augustinus* by the same hand, now Principal of Port Royal. Carnet, Syndic of the Theological Faculty at Paris, drew up a body of five articles condemning certain opinions said to be contained in the *Augustinus*, but without indicating the delinquent. These opinions were to the effect that,

1. There are precepts that are impossible for just men to observe with their present powers, however willing and earnest they may be, and grace is wanting to them whereby they might be possible.

2. No one of our fallen nature can resist the internal operations of grace.

3. In our fallen condition, freedom from inward necessity is not required to render actions meritorious or otherwise; it is sufficient if there be freedom from outward compulsion.

4. Semi-Pelagianism allowed that inward preventing grace was needful for the performance of particular acts, and even as the commencement of faith; but in this they were heretical, that they affirmed such grace might be thwarted or obeyed by the will of man.

5. It is semi-Pelagianism to affirm that Christ died for all men universally.

Jansen having embodied in his work a statement that had already been condemned by the Roman See in Baius, without perceiving that it was Augustinian, Innocent X., a weak illiterate pontiff, was easily persuaded by Cardinal Chigi that such contumacy was an impeachment of papal infallibility, and in the Bull "De occasione" condemned the first four propositions as heretical, and the last as rash, impious, and full of blasphemy [A.D. 1653]. Arnauld hit upon an expedient that for a time rendered the bull harmless. "True," he said, "the See of Rome has authority to decide with respect to doctrine, and every good Catholic must submit to its decree; but the Holy See may misapprehend *fact*,[2] whether a book contains certain statements or no: the meaning also of a writer may be misunderstood. Let the five propositions be heretical, yet, with the exception of the first, they are to be found neither in letter nor in spirit in the writings of Jansen." Hence arose the celebrated distinction of *de facto* and *de jure*. The elements of mischief were still smouldering, when the Duc de Liancourt was refused communion as a Jansenist, and Arnauld put forth two letters on the subject. From the second, two additional propositions were extracted and condemned by the Faculty of Theology, and the writer was expelled the Sorbonne. The work of business-like persecution now began, and two months after the expulsion of Arnauld, A.D. 1656, the civil authorities proceeded to enforce an order in

[1] These, however, are the words of Arnauld in his treatise *De la fréquente Communion*, with the motto "Sancta Sanctis."

[2] *E.g.*, as in the papal condemnation of Galileo's theory of planetary movement.

Council that every novice and scholar should be removed from Port Royal. It was at this juncture that the eighteen famous Provincial letters of Blaise Pascal appeared.[1] It is impossible to overrate their effect; though while we read them, it should be borne in mind that they are the pleadings of an advocate burning with a sense of injury done to a bosom friend. Every advantage given by the moral obliquity of Jesuitical casuistry was diligently turned to account and made the butt of witty scorn, while the Jansenists, by force of contrast, shone forth as saintly men of an uncompromising virtue, and graces that came out brightly under persecution. Voltaire has said of these letters that the best comedies of Molière contained nothing more witty than the earlier, and that there was nothing more eloquent in Bossuet than the latter; in fact that they constituted an epoch in French literature. These letters "did more to ruin the name of Jesuit than all the controversies of Protestantism or all the fulminations of the parliament of Paris."[2] "The spirit of Pascal," says Macaulay, "was the spirit of St. Bernard; but the delicacy of his wit, the purity, the energy, the simplicity of his rhetoric had never been equalled, except by the great masters of Attic eloquence. All Europe read and admired, laughed and wept."[3] Possibly Pascal had no very intimate knowledge of the principles of the Order, and was determined to be blind to everything but the great wrong suffered by his friend of Port Royal. The blow was felt severely by the Jesuits, who knew that the wit, and irony, and cruel sarcasm that sparkle throughout these letters had made them the laughingstock of Europe. Yet forty years elapsed before any regular answer was attempted by Father Daniel. As a set-off for this heavy blow, A.D. 1656, Cardinal Chigi, now Alexander VII., confirmed the condemnation of his predecessor, and declared specifically that the five propositions contained *de facto* Jansenist error. In the following year, the faculty of Paris prepared a formulary for signature avowing an unreserved acceptance of this last confirmatory bull, and which the clergy, and the inmates of every conventual establishment, were called upon to sign. The nuns of Port Royal refused to sign, and were thrown into prison and refused communion. Fontaine and De Sacy were confined in the Bastille, where the latter proceeded at his leisure with his translation of Holy Scripture [A.D. 1666]. Four of the bishops also refused to subscribe, and as it was deemed advisable to avoid imprisoning the heads of the Church, they were left unmolested, until Clement IX. succeeded, A.D. 1668, when a compromise was effected, the prison doors were opened, the captive nuns set free, and the proscribed Jansenists came forth from their hiding-places. The Mère Angelique having witnessed the removal by force of seventy-five inmates of her house, breathed her last, A.D. 1671, aged seventy-eight years. A portion of the nuns having subscribed to the articles of condemnation, Port Royal de Paris was made over to them with a considerable portion of the revenue belonging to Port Royal des Champs; here, however, the seminaries were again frequented; the learned Tillemont became an inmate as a recluse, and Racine as a student. De Sacy having completed his work, the members circulated the Scriptures in French. Louis XIV., "abhorring Jansenism quite as much as he abhorred Protestantism, and very much more than he abhorred Atheism,"[4] was restrained from any outward act of persecution by the influence of the good Duchess of Longueville; but she died in 1679, when a royal edict was obtained by the Jesuits forbidding the admission of fresh members to the Jansenist community. Their schools gradually died away. In this year the Benedictines of St. Maur in France published their edition of St. Augustine's works from original sources, when it was found that preceding editors had unscrupulously tampered with the text; the Father now spoke more clearly than ever the language of Jansen. In 1684 De Sacy Le Maître died, Arnauld in 1694, Nicole in 1695, and Lancelot, as a Benedictine monk, in the same year. The sun of Jansenism shone forth brightly once more in Quesnel before it finally set. The *Réflexions Morales* of this Father of the Oratory attracted much notice for its deep fervour and religious spirit; but it was thoroughly Jansenistic. He had never signed the five propositions, and his confessor put the question to the Sorbonne whether he might admit to communion a spiritual person who had done no more than maintain the "reverential silence" of the four bishops. The Bull of Clement XI., "Vineam Domini" [A.D. 1705] declared that this neutral position was not sufficient. The nuns of Port Royal still refused to sign, and their refusal ended this time in a final break-up of the establishment. All the revenues were transferred to the rival house in Paris, and the title-deeds were seized by a commissary. The nuns were apportioned among the convents of other dioceses, the buildings were pulled down, and even the graveyard desecrated by a removal of the remains to other cemeteries. It was the centenary year of the first reforms of the youthful Mère Angelique. Father Quesnel had been an unconscious cause of the suppression of Jansenism as an institution in France; he was equally so of the rise of the Jansenist archiepiscopal see of Utrecht that still exists. His *Réflexions Morales* had been condemned by the Bull "Unigenitus" [A.D. 1713]. Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, four prelates, and several doctors of the Sorbonne, appealed against the Papal judgment to a general council; hence they gained the name of "Appellants." By a fresh Bull, "Pastoralis Officii," subscription was enforced as a necessary act of canonical obedience. The Archbishop, in true keeping with his character, gave way. Others preferred exile to subscription. Holland gave an asylum; and, according to Ranke,[5] Jansenists were to be found at this period in Vienna and

[1] Entitled *Lettres écrites à un Provincial par un de ses Amis.*
[2] Hallam, 1650-1700, iv. sec. 1.
[3] Macaulay's *Hist.* II. vi.
[4] Macaulay.
[5] *Hist. of the Popes*, viii. 18.

Brussels, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, disseminating their doctrines throughout Christendom, either openly or by stealth. Utrecht had been raised in the time of Philip II. of Spain to the dignity of an archiepiscopal see [A.D. 1559]. The other United Provinces, on shaking off the Spanish yoke, became Calvinist, but Utrecht and Haarlem continued in the Roman communion. In 1702 Archbishop Codde, an intimate friend and pupil of Arnauld's, was denounced at the Court of Rome as a Jansenist, and suspended. A papal nominee, recommended by the Jesuits, was rejected by the chapters of Utrecht and Haarlem, though he was afterwards accepted by the latter. Hence a schism was the result, and Utrecht was the point for which Quesnel and the French refugees naturally made. The appellant bishops communicated without reserve with the Jansenists. In 1763 a synod was held by Archbishop Meinarts at Utrecht, and its acts were sent to Rome for confirmation, but no notice was taken of them. Newly elected bishops have in the same way notified their appointment, but with no other result. The suffragan sees of Haarlem, restored in 1742, and Deventer in 1752, still maintain their connection with Utrecht, but can scarcely have a long existence in their present condition, it being stated that there are only twenty-five congregations, with four thousand souls; a body of thirty clergy, and a seminary at Amersfoot with a very limited number of students [Wetzer u. Welte, *Kirchen Lexicon*].

If this be the germ of a national Episcopal Church, it may prove a source of blessing far and wide in Northern Europe. The doctrines of Jansen and Calvin are near enough to form a firm stepping-stone to something more Catholic and better.

[Jansenii *Augustinus; Dict. des livres Jansenistes;* Lancelot, *Mém. de St. Cyran;* Fontaine, *Mém. p. servir à l'H. de P. R.; Bibliothèque Universelle,* t. xiv.; Gerberon, *Hist. de Jansenism;* Leydeker, *Hist. de Jansenism;* Reuchlin, *Geschichte d. P. R.;* Wigger's *Kirchen Statistik;* Tregelles' *Jansenists;* Armand d'Andilly, *Recueil;* Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales;* Racine, *Abrégé de l'H. de P. R.;* Du Fosse, *Mém.;* Bayle's *Dict. Jansenius;* Du Mas, *Hist. d. Cinq Prop. d. Jans.;* Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* ii. 264; Ranke, *Gesch.* viii.; Macaulay's *Hist.* II. vi.; Hallam, *Introd.* 1650-1700.]

JEHOVAH. The Tetragrammaton, or Ineffable Name of God, as known by the Hebrews, or covenant people, is a word of the greatest importance, for it is not only that in this, as in other cases, the name given to God by a nation implies the character of its own moral development, but this Name being given to them as a Revelation from God Himself, involves, of course, elements of thought beyond what they had attained to, and in Holy Scripture the very giving of a name is, even in ordinary cases, understood to express the true idea of the person or thing so named, so that in the case of God the revelation of the Divine Name is really a revelation of the Divine Nature. The Name of God is thus distinct from the general title of His Godhead, which has been separately considered. [ELOHIM.] His Name is that which distinguishes Him as the true God from all the personages, whether imaginary or mythical, who claimed the title of Deity amongst the heathen. Besides these names, we find God spoken of as אֲדֹנָי, Adonai, my Lord, or Master; אֵל שַׁדַּי or אֵל, El or El Shaddai, the Almighty; אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת, the God of Sabaoth or Hosts; קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל, the Holy One of Israel. Such names express various attributes or relationships of God, but Elohim and Jehovah are His true names, the one expressing His Divine Nature, the other His essential character as distinct from all who are supposed to possess that Divine Nature. The antiquity of the knowledge of the actual name of Jehovah is therefore a matter of interesting inquiry, in addition to the real meaning of that name, for it supplies a criterion by which to determine the spiritual advancement of the Hebrew race in its earliest period.

[I.] DERIVATION OF THE NAME. There can scarcely be any doubt that the letters of this name are derived from the substantive verb [יְהוֹה, from הָוָה,] according to its most ancient spelling. The point is almost settled by the words of God Himself, in which He develops the meaning of His Name as the Self-existent, "I AM THAT I AM." The opinion of Luzzato, quoted in Rosenmüller's *Scholia*, from his *Animadversions on Isaiah*, only needs to be stated, viz. that the word is derived from the interjections הָ, an exclamation of sorrow, and יְהוּ, of joy; so that it should signify that God is the author of all joy and sorrow.

[II.] ITS PRONUNCIATION. It is literally certain that the ordinary pronunciation is not the true one. The vowels of Jehovah are derived from the Name of God, Adonai. The custom of the Jews was to read Adonai, wherever the sacred Name occurs alone, but when Adonai occurs in juxtaposition with it, then Elohim was read as the substitutional word. Accordingly, the vowel points are borrowed in the one case from Adonai, in the other case from Elohim. Accordingly, in the translation of the LXX. יהוה is ordinarily rendered by ὁ κύριος; in the Syrian Peshito ܡܪܝܐ; in St. Jerome, Dominus. In the English version we have the word LORD given as its rendering, which carries on the ancient traditional habit of reverence, while at the same time the practice of printing it in capitals when it stands as representing the τετραγράμματον, enables the reader to know the fact, which in the ancient translations was left undistinguished. St. Jerome even gives the word Adonai in Exod. vi. 3, shewing thus that his Jewish instructors were in the habit of making this substitution. Moreover, the prefixes מ כ ו ל ב would take chirik before י, whereas they take pathach or tsere before יהוה. This is another proof that אֲדֹנָי was intended to be pronounced instead of the written consonants. Also the ב ג ד כ פ ת letters take

dagesh lene after this word, whereas they should not do so after a quiescent consonant.

We must therefore look to some other source than the punctuation for the true pronunciation of these letters.

Some have looked to the paraphrase of St. John as supplying the clue. Since he writes, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος [Apoc. i. 4, 8], it has been thought that יהוה was compounded out of the future (whence י), the participle (whence הוֹ), and the preterite (whence וה); so that יְהוָה should mean *He Who is, and was, and is to come.* This is, however, untenable, for it was plainly unknown to the ancient Jews, nor does St. John always use the triple idea, whereas he could not but have done so had it been thus essential to the name. The LXX. would not have interpreted it by ὁ κύριος and ὁ ὢν if they had known of this derivation. All the passages quoted in its favour from the Targums merely express the eternity of God, and this unchangeable continuance of the Divine Nature is expressed by the mere fact of the noun being formed from the future. There is therefore no need to attribute to this word an origin so singularly composite, but it will rather take its place amongst the futurist substantives of the language, like Isaac, Jacob, Israel, Jabin.

We may therefore reject the usual vocalization, as belonging really to another set of consonants. What, then, should the vowels be? The variety of opinion on the subject is shewn by the fact that יְהוָה, יְהוָה, יְהוֹה, יְהוֹה, יְהוֹה, יְהוֹה, יְהוֹה, יְהוֹה, יְהוֹה, יְהוֹה, have all met with their supporters.

We cannot go to the Jews for the determination of this question, because they steadily refuse to pronounce this holy Name. Their saying is that whosoever pronounces it will have no share in eternal life [Talmud, *Tract. Sanhedrin*, fol. 90, col. 1]. This was grounded upon Levit. xxiv. 16, where the mention of the Name in way of blasphemy is forbidden, and this was extended by the Jews to all mention of it. It was only to be pronounced by the High Priest once a year, on the Day of Atonement. Simeon the Just, the last High Priest, is said to have been the last who pronounced it. The Jews, unable to deny our Blessed Lord's miracles, have asserted that He wrought them by being in possession of this secret respecting the pronunciation of the ineffable Name. It was, however, a solemn secret amongst them, and therefore we cannot expect to learn it from their authorities.

If we turn to ancient authors we find that it is variously represented in Greek. Ἰαώ, Jao, in Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Johannes Lydus, Macrobius, Origen, Irenæus, Epiphanius, Eusebius, the Abraxas gems of the Basilidians; Ἰενώ, Jeuo, in Porphyry; Ἰαού, Jaou, in Clemens Alexandrinus. These forms, however, seem to be intended as Greek equivalents for the consonants alone, without regard to the vowels, thus, $I^{\Delta}_{\Sigma}U^{\Delta}_{\Sigma}$. We do not then learn anything from these forms, even supposing them to be of Hebrew origin, but it is quite probable that some of them, at least, are traceable to another source, and have nothing to do with the Holy Name.

In Theodoret and Epiphanius we find the word Ἰαβέ. Theodoret says this was the Samaritan pronunciation of the word which the Hebrews call "ineffable," but the Jews pronounce it Aia. Grammatical analogy is in favour of this form יְהוָה, Jahveh. From this form also would naturally be derived the abbreviated and suffixed forms Jah, and Jah and Jahu, as in Isaiah, Isaiahu [יְהוָ for יְהוָה]; and Jeho-, Jo-, as in Jehonathan, Jonathan.

This form, Jahveh, is adopted by Ewald, Donsius, Gesenius, and Hengstenberg.

Analogies will be quoted for the form יְהֹוָה or יְהוֹה, Jahvah; but the abbreviations favour the termination in וָה, veh, and also the grammatical custom that the termination in ah should belong to feminine abstract nouns. Nor is it necessary to refute the forms יְהוָה or יְהֹוָה, Jehveh, proposed by Gussetius; יְהֹוָה, proposed by Mercer and à Lapide; יְהוֹה or יְהֹוֹה, Jahvo, proposed by Ludovicus Cappellus, for no sufficient reason can be suggested on their behalf. The form Jehveh is inconsistent with the suffixed form in the proper names, which would then require to be written Isaiehu. Jahvo is inconsistent with grammatical usage. Untenable, also, is the proposition of H. E. G. Paulus, that the word is of the Piel form, Jehova, *He who makes to be;* also, the idea of Reuss, approved by Gesenius, that Jahveh is not a future of the Kal but of the Hiphil form, meaning, *He who made to exist*, the Creator. The Hiphil form of היה does not occur. The Greek interpreter Venetus does indeed render it ὁ ὀντουργός, or ὁ ὀντώτης, perhaps with this meaning. In both Old and New Testaments the idea attaching to this Name is not that of creation but of self-existence, so that this notion may be entirely set aside.

[III.] Its Origin. Various learned men have maintained that this word has a foreign origin, generally supposed to be *Egyptian;* it being fancied that Moses learned it in Egypt, and introduced it amongst the Hebrews. So Gesner, Reinhard, Voltaire, Peter von Bohlen. It is a mistake to suppose with Gesner that the seven vowels with which the Egyptians are said in Eusebius [*Præp. Evang.* lib. vi. c. 6], to have praised God had any reference to the Name Jehovah. The vowels are merely used as a musical stave, ε η ω ο υ α. They are signs of the Moon, of Mercury, of the Sun, of Mars, of Jupiter, and of Saturn, and served thus the purposes of astrological worship-song. Eusebius was led astray by imagining that the Divine Name of the Hebrews consisted of vowels, but no author, Christian or Jewish, can be quoted to shew that the Egyptians made the word Jehovah out of their vowels.

Equally mistaken is the attempt to connect the Name with the inscription on the Temple of Isis [Plutarch, περὶ Ἴσ. καὶ Ὀσιρ. sect. 9], even if that inscription be genuine, for Isis represents at

best but the Pantheistic idea of Nature, and is quite distinct from the idea of absolute, eternal subjectivity, which constitutes the Hebrew theology.

Neither does Pharaoh's use of the Name, in that he called Eliakim Jehoiakim, prove anything on behalf of the Egyptian origin, any more than the name of Zedekiah, similarly given to a king of Jerusalem, would prove it to be Babylonian. A much earlier Pharaoh had said distinctly to Moses, Who is Jehovah? I know not Jehovah [Exod. v. 2]. Moses with equal distinctness asserts, in answer, that Jehovah is the God of the Hebrews. The narrative clearly supposes the Name to signify the self-existent God, in a sense quite unknown to the Egyptians, and it is even unlikely that Moses would have borrowed the name of a national god from the people who had oppressed the nation.

The work of Apollo Clarius [*apud* Macrob. lib. i. *Saturn*, c. 18], where the name Ἰαώ occurs, is probably spurious, as is generally allowed. Movers, who maintains its genuineness, connects it not with Jehovah, but with חַוָּה, the life, the Life-giving Sun.

A *Phœnician* origin has been asserted, because we find Sanchoniatho mentioning a priest of the God Jevo, from whom he derived the information which his fragmentary remains contain. We find here many points of agreement with the Old Testament; *e.g.* Βεελσαμην = בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם, Ἐλιοῦν = עֶלְיוֹן, Ἴλος = אֵל, Ἐλωεὶμ = אֱלֹהִים. Hartmann supposes that the Name may have been borrowed from the Phœnicians, because of this evidence of their intercourse with Palestine, but then not before David's time. This is of itself fatal to the idea, for the Old Testament writers plainly indicate the Name as existing long before David. Besides which the supposed fragments of Sanchoniatho are very probably the forgery of Philo Byblius, in the time of Nero. Also, Porphyry quotes the name Jevo, not as a Phœnician, but a Jewish name of God.

Hamaker [*Miscell. Phœn.* p. 174], tries to prove the Phœnician origin out of the words of Hiram to Solomon, "Blessed be Jehovah" [1 Kings v. 7], but this proves nothing. The name is evidently borrowed from Solomon's own words, "David my father could not build an house unto the name of Jehovah *his* God" [*ibid.* v. 3], and it is equally clear that according to habits of heathen thought, Jehovah is spoken of as being the God of David, in distinction from the God of Hiram. We find no mention of Jehovah amongst Phœnician gods, and even if any trace of it can be found, it may have passed to them from the Hebrews, or lingered on from early times, as we find אֲדֹנָי, Adonai in the Greek name of Adonis. The supposed traces are in the following names: [1] Abdæus, a Tyrian Suffete [Joseph. *cont. Ap.* i. 8], which is supposed to = Obadiah; [2] Uriah the Hittite; [3] Araunah [2 Sam. xxiv. 18] the Jebusite; [4] Tobiah the Ammonite; [5] Bizjothjah [Josh. xv. 28], an ancient town which fell to the lot of Judah. But then Uriah may very likely have taken the name upon his admission amongst the covenant people, and so with the rest. It is plain that Tobiah had become a proselyte. The city, too, may have been renamed by its conquerors, or the name of the true God may well have lingered on amongst the inhabitants of Canaan, as His worship did in the case of Melchisedec. The name Abdæus probably represents Abdai rather than Obadiah. The cosmogonic name Colpia (supposed to be "the voice of the mouth of Jehovah"), and the Punic name Bithias (supposed to be "Daughter of Jehovah"), are too uncertain to afford ground for argument. They may be traces of the name Ἰαώ, Jao, and this name itself be a relic of the primitive nomenclature. That the Name was widely spread is shewn by what Johannes Lydius says, that it was the name of Dionysus among the Chaldees. The Name apparently remained, but it no longer signified the one true God.

[3] The *Latin* "Jovis" has been regarded by others as a kindred word. So Morinus, Masius, Marianus Victorinus, Voltaire, Buttmann, Delville. It is strange that even more recent authorities sanction this view. Even St. Augustine rejects it [*De Civitate Dei*, vi. 6]. The very pronunciation is scarcely alike. The small similarity between Jehovah and Jovis disappears when the Sacred Name is pronounced, as we have seen it should be Jahveh. And then the Latin word was originally Diovis, [Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 10], coming from the root *div, to shine*, whence Deva in Sanscrit, and Deus, Δι͜Fὸς.

[4] The *Chinese* language has also been appealed to for the origin of this Name. In the teaching of Lao-tse, says Abel-Remusat, "That which ye gaze upon and see not is called Ji; that which ye listen to and hear not is called Hi; that which ye touch and feel not is called Wei. These three are unsearchable, and in their union make but one. The upper of them is not more shining, nor the lower darker. Formless Form! Shapeless and undefined Being! Run before Him and thou findest not His beginning. Follow Him and thou findest not His end." These three letters, I, H, V, are thus believed to represent the letters of the tetragrammaton. So Wiseman, who substantiates the foreign origin of this name of the Chinese Trinity, by the fact that the three syllables have no meaning in Chinese. Lao-tse, even if he did not learn this name in Palestine, may have heard it from Jews of the Captivity in Babylon. But here again the similarity vanishes into accident. Stanislaus Julien overthrows Remusat's assumption, and shews that Yi means without colour; Hi, without sound; Wei, without body. Missionaries have discovered no trace of the name Jehovah in China. It is true that amongst the Karens the name Jova does occur, and the missionary Plaisant gives an account of their faith containing various points of identity with truth, but perhaps these have originated in some wandering Israelites or Christians. At any rate, it is not likely that the Hebrews got the name of God from the Karens.

[5] The *ancestral* origin of the Name is therefore the most reasonable theory to rest on; and we have no reason for abandoning what we know upon the testimony of Scripture to be the case, that the Name of Jehovah or Jahveh was indeed handed down to the Hebrews from their own forefathers.

[IV.] Meaning of the Name. Since the origin of the Name is thus to be sought in the ancestral revelation of the Hebrew race, and its letters are plainly derived from the verbal root which signifies existence, let us now consider the exact character of its meaning. The Name Yahveh (which we have seen to be the pronunciation most approximating to truth), expresses continual unchangeable existence, and consequently eternity. Nouns formed from the future of the verb express the indefinitely continuing existence of that which they signify [Ewald, *Smaller Heb. Gram.* sec. 264]. Yahveh, therefore, is He to whom the attribute of existence constantly belongs, who at no time is not—"Yahveh, Thy Name is everlasting" [Psa. cxxxv. 13]—the Eternal, the Unchangeable, who remains what He is and was. So He says of Himself, "I Am that I Am" [Exod. iii. 14], and again, "I am Yahveh, I alter not" [Mal. iii. 6]. So is His title in the Apocalypse, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. But then, besides this, it implies the Sole-existent. He absorbs into Himself the very idea of existence [*cf.* Fürst, *Concord. Bibl.* under the word יהוה], the only true God, outside of Whom it is impossible even to conceive another God. "Jehovah our God is one Jehovah" [Deut. vi. 4]. The singularity of the Divine existence involved, as it is in the name Yahveh, is constantly expressed throughout the Old Testament. The Divine titles culminate therefore in this Name. "El Elohim Jehovah knoweth," say the two tribes and a half [Josh. xxii. 22], and again, "El Elohim Jehovah hath spoken," says the Son of Asaph [Psa. l. 1]. The three titles are in progression of intensity. It is not the God of Gods Jehovah, as many interpret—for the accents and phraseology would be different—but [1] El, *i.e.* God; [2] Elohim, *i.e.* He who sums up all the attributes of Godhead; [3] Jehovah, *i.e.* Eternal Self-existent One [*cf.* Hengstenberg and Vaihinger *in loc.*]. As He alone is the True, the Self-existent, He is the Creator of all. "In six days Jehovah created the heavens and the earth." He from Whom all existence comes, is Himself also necessarily the Lord or Ruler of all; and then in that He, the Creator and Lord of all, has called Israel to Himself to be His own more immediate covenanted people, He also makes Israel to know Himself in a way distinct from the knowledge which other nations have, and of which the Name Jehovah is the express symbol. Thus the Name expresses the One, Almighty, Eternal, True, Personal God, who has revealed Himself to Israel, giving the Law and the Covenant. It is generally the covenant, the commands, the sabbaths, the feasts, the altar, the priests, the prophets of Jehovah that are spoken of. Otherwise it is the "commands, &c. of *my* God," and the article or some other word is inserted, which shews that Jehovah is intended; but we have the covenant "of God" only once named [Psa. lxxviii. 10]. Of the utterance of the true God by one of the prophets, the phrase is "Jehovah saith," never merely "God saith," or if it be said, "I have a message from God unto thee" [Judg. iii. 20], it is to the Moabitish king, who, like Pharaoh, "knew not Jehovah, just as when Joseph speaks of "sinning against God" it is to Potiphar's wife, the alien; but the real aggravation of evil is when the children of the covenant "are wicked in the sight of Jehovah" [Gen. xxxviii. 7]. So is Jehovah the accepter of service, the avenger of evil, the witness of all actions, the author of all blessing, by whom the covenant people are to swear [Gen. xxiv. 3]. The day of retribution is the day of Jehovah [Isa. ii. 12]. The continuance of grace is "an acceptable day to Jehovah" [Isa. lviii. 5]. So that the idea which attaches itself to the name of Jehovah is no mere idea of abstract existence, a helpless omni-essence, but it is the idea of personal intervention by creation, providence, covenant, grace, judgment. When God is spoken of merely as known by the heathen, or merely in His abstract being, then Elohim suffices. But whenever God is appealed to in His truth, as He has revealed Himself, then the name Jehovah is demanded. The serpent says to Eve, "Hath God said?" but when Adam and Eve hear God's voice, it is said, "they heard the voice of Jehovah Elohim." Solomon, awaking to the sense of his sin, feels himself outcast from Israel, and ventures not to use the name Jehovah in the Book of Ecclesiastes. The people recovered from their idolatry in the days of Elijah, cry out "Jehovah, He is the God" [1 Kings xviii. 39]. If Daniel bewails his people's sin, it is "because we made not our prayer before Jehovah our God" [Dan. ix. 13]. The acceptance to which the faithful look forward, as taught by Malachi, is still gladdened by the knowledge of Jehovah Sabaoth. The Divine life communicated in the covenant of promised grace would have been represented by a meaningless juxtaposition of ideas, if it had been said God our Righteousness, but "this is the Name whereby He shall be called Jehovah our Righteousness," for the communication of the indwelling righteousness requires the previous revelation of the personal covenanting love of God. The revelation of God in the Old Testament is perfected by Him who dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, and hath come forth into the world to declare Him, to manifest His Son, to bear witness to the truth, and we are made the righteousness of God in Him.

It is well said by Dr. Kay, in "that oft-recurring phrase, 'I am Yahveh, your Elohim,' it is clear that we could no more transpose the two words than in the expression, 'I am Joseph your brother.' . . . Yahveh, though etymologically signifying self-existent, yet as being the *personal* Name, gathered up into association with itself whatever attributes were manifested in God's condescending intercourse with men, especially therefore His righteousness, faithfulness, and mercy" [*Crisis Hupfeldiana*, p. 9].

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[V.] Antiquity of the Name. It becomes then a matter of the highest interest to determine whether this Name, the foundation of so vast a system of ennobling sentiments of piety and religion, was in use amongst the Hebrews at an early period, or was first introduced by Moses.

[1.] It is altogether improbable that Moses would introduce a new Name of God, when appealing to it as he did to rouse the people from their slavery. A new Name of God they would have rejected with scorn. An old Name retained from their ancestors would, on the contrary, be the natural germ of the fuller revelation of that Personal Being with Whom their fathers had held close communion.

[2.] The form of the word is itself an evidence of its antiquity, for had the name been introduced by Moses, or subsequently, it would have been written with Yod instead of Vau—יהיה not יהוה. The form of the verb הוה was by the time of Moses become obsolete, as is seen by the very interpretation of the Name which God gives אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה. The old form remains in the other proper Name derived from it in the earliest times חַוָּה, Havva, or Eve, which in like manner Moses finds it needful to expound, because the Israelites of his own day would not recognise its appropriateness. The Name, therefore, which cannot have been learnt by Abraham from the polytheistic nations of Canaan, seems to belong to the Aramaic period of the language, and to have been brought by him out of Ur of the Chaldees.

[3.] In the narrative of Genesis, Jehovah occurs one hundred and sixty times, Elohim one hundred and ninety times. It is unnatural to conceive that this Name did not belong to those days. Even if it were used by the historian by anticipation, yet it is impossible to conceive that he would put it into the mouth of God Himself as, "I am Jehovah, who brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees" [Gen. xv. 7]. So the Patriarchs are habitually introduced, using it with emphasis; as Dr. Kay says, "Jacob, in the centre of his dying address, records in one brief sentence what was at the core of his spiritual life, 'I have waited for Thy Salvation, O Yahveh'" [*Cris. Hupf.* p. 17].

[4.] Accordingly, when God reveals Himself to the Israelites by Moses under this name, it is expressly as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who are thus represented as having worshipped Him under this name.

[5.] This is made the clearer by the occurrence of Proper Names compounded with the Sacred Name of God. Such is the name Moriah, *Shown by God*, Jochebed, *Jehovah is Glory*. True, such names are rare as compared with later times, but it is what we might have expected, for as the Mosaic dispensation brought to light the definite meaning of the Name, so it would raise it to a prominence of use before unknown.

[VI.] Alleged Reasons for denying a Pre-Mosaic knowledge of the Name. In Exod. vi. 3, God says, "I am Yahveh: And I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob in (quality of or as) God Almighty: and (in regard to) My Name Yahveh I made not Myself known to them" [Dr. Kay's translation]. This text has been the principal ground for denying that the Name was known before.

It is also supposed to be of later origin by some, because of their notion that the early Hebrews were polytheistic, and that the idea of Abstract Being, and of the Unity of the Godhead, were developed gradually in later times by the teaching of the Prophets. The plural form Elohim was regarded by these writers as a trace of the original, and the change to the double Name, passing over into the more fixed use of Jehovah, was taken as a gauge of the growth of the pure Hebrew theology [So Schwind, *Semitische Denkmäler*, 1792].

Such theories, however, refute themselves; while the real and only ground of the denial is the text quoted above.

But then God does not assert in this text that He had not made His name Jehovah known to the Patriarchs (this is what the LXX. erroneously makes Him to say, τὸ ὄνομά μου κύριος οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς). He only asserts that He Himself was not known to them in those aspects which this Name implies, that they had no experimental knowledge of His character as Jehovah. The word יָדַע is continually used of experimental knowledge, *e.g.* Cyrus shall know that He is Jehovah by his experience of the Divine assistance in his conquest of Babylon. So in many places God is said to make Himself known when it is not the intellectual manifestation of a truth, but the moral revelation of His Being which is intended.

The passage however, when it is rightly considered, does imply the knowledge of the mysterious word, by the very fact of asserting their ignorance of the mystery. Had God intended to reveal Himself in a form altogether new to Moses, He would have declared the mystery of which He might afterwards have given the name as a symbol. But He appeals to His Name, because Moses already knew that Name, and He expounds that ancient Name in order that Moses may understand that the present revelation of Himself is but a fulfilment of what had been given in the germ to the fathers long before.

So the narrative assumes that the Israelites would find no difficulty in the Name. Their only difficulty would be to realize that their fathers' God had kept them in remembrance. The ancient Name was therefore taken up by God from the treasury of their ancestral traditions, where its true value never had been known, and it became the basis of a moral theology. It was shewn to be no mere arbitrary appellation, like the names of demons or nonentities which the heathen worshipped, but the Name of a Being who is the very source of all Being, the pledge of His Eternal care as it was the expression of His Eternal Existence. The power of expounding this Name was in Moses a moral evidence to the Israelites of his having been commissioned to speak to them by Him Who bore it. The difficulty which

Moses at first felt was this, that the people would expect him if he had really spoken with God to tell them something about God. They would not look for a name, but they would look for a fuller knowledge of His Being, such as was consistent with the Name which they had long known. "They shall say to me, What is His Name?" *i.e.* what does His name imply, what do you know about Him more than we know already? [Exod. iii. 13.] His difficulty was not that they would not know Jehovah, but they would say "Jehovah hath not appeared unto thee" [Exod. iv. 1]. He was to convince them by a twofold evidence, by physical miracle and by a revelation of the moral character of their fathers' God, latent hitherto in the very Name by which their fathers had taught them to call Him.

The revelation of the Name of God by Moses was a step towards the fuller and grander revelation of God by the Greater than Moses. The revelation of the Name of God is the guarantee of personal communion with God: and so no one hath seen the Father at any time; the Only-begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him. And our Lord says this of Himself in His prayer to the Father: "I have declared unto them Thy Name, and will declare it; that the love wherewith Thou hast loved Me may be in them, and I in them" [John xvii. 26].

The fact that the real import of the Name was thus now for the first time revealed, is a sufficient explanation of the infrequent use of its form in human names previous to this time. If the moral purport of the Name was not understood, it was not likely that much stress would be laid upon it. Heathen nations would indeed take the special Name of their God as an element of their national nomenclature, because they believed in their gods as local gods, not having a true conception of the Unity of the Divine Nature. The Israelites who believed in God as God, would think more of the physical power of the Divine Being and of the Name which expressed it, than of the special personal Name of Jehovah, until that Name had been unfolded to them in its moral significance. As soon as they became aware of its special meaning, it rapidly assumed a position of importance in their affections.

[VII.] Elohistic and Jehovistic Writers of the Pentateuch. The endeavour to break up the Pentateuch into various portions according to the use of the two Divine Names, Jehovah and Elohim, rests simply upon the supposition that the first Name is of recent introduction. If then it is recognised as the original Patriarchal Name of God, the whole purpose of the endeavour falls to the ground. As a mere matter of criticism, however, the attempt to distinguish the Pentateuch upon such a hypothesis as that alluded to is utterly futile. More than one Elohistic writer is assumed and more than one Jehovistic writer also, and then Dr. Colenso after all finds himself bound to assume (which is indeed a step backwards towards the truth) that one of the Elohistic writers is also to be reckoned on the Jehovistic side, or as he expresses it, $J^1 = E_2$. The distinction is purely arbitrary, so much so that at times it becomes necessary even to break up a single verse in order to assign half of it to one class of writers, and half of it to another. For an exposure of the utter worthlessness of the so-called criticism by which the unity of the Pentateuch has been recently assailed, the reader may be referred to Dr. Kay's small but valuable work entitled *Crisis Hupfeldiana*.

We must not omit our acknowledgments to the well-nigh exhaustive treatise upon the Name Jehovah in Dr. Reinke's *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Alten Testamentes*.

JEJUNIA QUATUOR TEMPORUM. "The fasts of the four seasons." This expression is thus used and explained in the thirty-first Canon of 1604: "We do constitute and decree that no deacons or ministers be made and ordained, but only upon the Sundays immediately following 'Jejunia quatuor temporum,' commonly called Ember Weeks, appointed in ancient times for prayer and fasting (purposely for this cause at their first institution), and so continued at this day in the Church of England." The phrase thus comes to signify the Ember Days at the four seasons of the Calendar, though Bingham shews [xxi. c. ii.] that originally "the fasts of the four seasons" were designed "not to be the seasons of ordination, but to beg a blessing of God upon the several seasons of the year, or to return thanks for the benefits received in each of them; or to exercise and purify both body and soul, in a more particular manner, at the return of these certain terms of stricter discipline and more extraordinary devotion." In support of this view, he cites St. Leo [*Serm.* viii. *De Jejunio Decimi Mensis*], who speaks of the spring fast in Lent, the summer fast in Pentecost, the autumn in the seventh, and the winter in the tenth month.

St. Gelasius is one of the first to mention the four solemn times of ordination [*Epist.* ix. *Ad Episc. Lucaniæ*, c. xi.], and may probably have himself instituted them. Rabanus Maurus bears testimony to them thus: "Sacras ordinationes *quatuor temporum* diebus oportere fieri, decreta Gelasii papæ testantur" [*De Instit. Cleric.* lib. ii. c. 24]. The Council of Mentz [A.D. 752] names the "quatuor tempora" as observed with fasting, but does not say whether or not they were times of ordination. It was during the Pontificate of Gregory VII. [A.D. 1073-1085] that fixed regulations about the Ember Weeks were made [Muratori, *Diss. de Jej. IV. Temp.* c. vii.]; and the precise days at present kept were settled by the Council of Placentia [A.D. 1095]. These are thus given in the old couplet—

> "Fasting days and Emberings be
> Lent, Whitsun, Holyrood, and Lucie."

i.e. the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, after the first Sunday in Lent, Whitsunday, Holy Cross Day [September 14], and St. Lucy [December 13]. These days the Church of England has enjoined very strictly; and ordinations at

other seasons, unless from plain necessity, are a breach of her law. The committee for the revision of the Ordinal in 1661 resolved, "quod *nullæ* ordinationes clericorum per *aliquos* episcopos fierent *nisi intra quatuor tempora pro ordinationibus assignata*" [Cardw. *Synodal.* ii. 670].

The phrase is considered by some to explain the etymology of the word "Ember"—"quatuor tempora" becoming in German Quatember, and in English Ember. In French and Italian the Latin name remains: in Spanish and Portuguese the seasons are called simply "Temporas."

JESUITS. Inigo (Ignatius) Loyola, born A.D. 1491, in the chivalrous period of Spanish history, passed his early years at the court of Ferdinand V. Having chosen the military profession, he served in the army of Charles V. against the French. A severe wound drove his thoughts back upon himself, and in his hours of solitude he developed the scheme of his order. He imagined to himself the Saviour as General, with the Church militant for His host, every one of whom was bound to render implicit obedience to the commands of His captain. He determined to collect a band of kindred spirits, and on their banner should be emblazoned the letters A. M. D. G. "ad majorem Dei gloriam." In a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he made a vow before the Holy Sepulchre of perpetual chastity, poverty, and devotion to the service of the Lord, A.D. 1523. On his return he found the men he sought at Paris in Francis Xavier, Lainez, Dalmeron, Rodriguez, Alphonso, and Lefevre, and with them, after solemn mass in a chapel under Montmartre, renewed the same vow, which was their future bond of union, A.D. 1534. It was on the Feast of the Assumption, that, as Loyola said, the infant institution might be laid in the bosom of the glorified Virgin. In 1538, the Society is first found at Rome, where to the previous vows was added another of complete obedience to the Pope. In 1540, the papal bull, "Regimini militantis Ecclesiæ," established the new order as the "Societas Jesu," with Loyola for its first general. He died A.D. 1556, and was canonized A.D. 1622.

Though the constitution of the order, in its general features, was the idea of Loyola, its development and general character was entirely the work of Lainez. It was he who infused into it the peculiar spirit of Jesuitism [Ribadeneira, *v. Jacobi Lainis Col.* 1604].

The society is under the sole rule of the General, but is corporate rather than monarchical in its constitution. The General is chosen by an electoral body, constituted by the votes of every grade. He is compelled to reside at Rome, and render a thorough obedience to the Pope. A council assists the General with its advice, but in no way controls his action. The power of the General is limited by the constitution of the Society, which for any temporary purpose he may suspend, but not alter. The course of study and training is extended over several years. The novice having renounced all family ties, remains in a state of probation for two years, in which he learns the first lessons of that passive obedience that is to render him as devoid of will as a corpse or a stone [Bartoli, *de Vita et Morib. Ign. Loyolæ*, Lugd. 1565, iii. p. 234]. For this period study is wholly suspended, and the novice gives himself up entirely to devout meditation and prayer; no vow as yet has been taken, and he is free to return to the world if he should so determine. Then his studies begin; two years being devoted to rhetoric and literature, and three more to mathematics, with moral and natural philosophy. After this the student assists in the tuition of classes, from lowest to highest, for five or six years. At length, at about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, the student is allowed to commence theology, to which he devotes from four to six years, and in his thirty-second year, at the earliest, he receives ordination. Every successive step is only attained after rigid examination, and the final ordeal in the subjects of the entire course determines the destination of the candidate. Yet even so, as if the spirit of the natural man were not sufficiently broken in, another year must be passed like the first in seclusion from the outer world. It is the schooling of the heart, "schola affectus" [Ravignan, *Const. d. Jesuites*]. The end of the protracted course is now reached, and the last vow is taken as [*a*] professed or [*b*] assistants. The professed take the vow of obedience to the Pope, and from this order alone the general and principals are eligible. The assistants act as subordinates to the preceding; either discharging spiritual duties, such as teaching and preaching, or menial service as lay brothers; [*c*] are students; [*d*] novices. [*Corpus Institut. Soc. Jesu*, Antwerp, 1709; *Constitutiones*, &c., Pragæ, 1753.]

That the Jesuits should have been a learned body is not surprising, though of real genius not many traces are to be noted. Indeed, it is scarcely possible that intellect of the highest order should submit itself to the cramping influences of the Jesuit noviciate. But there was no waste of power. No talent was misapplied by them; every member was placed at his proper post. If the plodding student was declared suited for the seminary, to the seminary he devoted himself; if the resolute and strong willed could do good battle with the world, he attacked it with an indomitable courage; if there were fears for the enthusiastic, that he would be dangerous at home, and would do less mischief at Canton or Goa, he left Europe without looking back. The sagacious and imaginative were allowed to pursue the various paths of literature, and dignify the Society with their labours.

A literary glory encircled the institution. The praises of the Collegium Romanum were sounded as early as 1563, by Aldus Manutius, in the preface to his *Sallust.*[1] "Consule scholas Jesuitarum," Lord Bacon writes, sixty years later, "nihil enim, quod in usum venit, his melius;[2] and addressing their institution, he says, "Talis

[1] Tiraboschi, *Stor. d. Lit. It.* vii. p. 119, ed. Ven. 1796.

[2] Bacon, *De Augm. Sc.* i. p. 35, ed. Lond. 1730.

cum sis utinam nostra esses." It is £60,000 that the Jesuits gave an immense impulse to sound learning in the seventeenth century, trusting to other principles of their order to hold in check the intellect in its yearning for self-emancipation through the humanizing influence of liberal knowledge. Their contributions to the exegesis of Scripture have been most important, and the scriptural commentaries of Cornelius à Lapide, too voluminous for general use, are still invaluable to the student. No lectures were ever more thronged than those of Maldonati at Paris, A.D. 1564. The labours of Hardouin and Labbe on the Councils are beyond all praise. The painful calculations of Petavius form the groundwork of scientific chronology; and other members of the order have done good service in mathematics, classical studies, inscriptions, numismatics, and natural history.

The discoveries of Galileo were witnessed by Jesuit eyes almost as soon as made.[1] When his theory of comets was impugned by the Jesuit Grassi, the Father had the best of the argument. No Latin verse has been written in modern times by any body of men to equal that of the Jesuits,[2] and no praise can be desired by any religious order higher than that which Macaulay has awarded, when he paints the zealous Jesuit in his last ministrations on the plague-smitten patient:—"Even then the Jesuit was found by the pallet, which bishop and curate, physician and nurse, father and mother, had deserted; bending over infected lips to catch the faint accents of confession, and holding up to the last before the expiring patient the image of the expiring Redeemer."[3]

But, on the other hand, the dangerous principles that were the very pulse of life to the Jesuit system were detected from the first by keen-sighted men, and the fears of Melchior Canus,[4] avowed as soon as the bull of Paul III. was published, A.D. 1540, were fully justified by the event. The theory of Jesuitism was the theory of an enthusiast, determined to go straight to his point, and to make everything else subservient to his purpose. Lainez and his followers carried out in cold reason the high-wrought musings of Loyola, and set aside every feeling of the heart and every dictate of morality that interfered with the continuous onward march of the Society and its principles. Those principles were non-human as the working of any lifeless piece of machinery; cold, calculating, and cruel in their severance from all kindliness of feeling; inexorable as fate in their rigid application. Neither had the Church any power to humanize the stern rule; with the Jesuit Church authority was virtually a nullity. The Pope was sole and supreme, and the bishops of the Church had no authority excepting[5] as derived from him. He could deprive them, and also depose princes; all human authority emanated from the Pope, and might be revoked by him at pleasure. "As they grew bolder," says Hallam,[6] "some went on to pronounce even the Divine laws subject to his control." The assumption of such high prerogative offended the universal sense of mankind. The stream of civilization appeared to be flowing back to its source, and even good was refused from hands that helped to sow confusion. Kings began to doubt where these things should end, when in the last year of the sixteenth century, the book of Mariana was published, in which it was boldly asserted that bad kings might be put to death by their subjects, and the deed would be praiseworthy and glorious.[7] The book came out as the work of a Jesuit, and stamped with the "imprimatur" of a Jesuit censor; and from that moment the Society has been held justly responsible for the regicidal crimes that darken the page of the two next centuries.

But it was in the confessional that the power of the Jesuit was most fully exercised; and secrets of state policy, as well as the internal history of every family of consequence, were laid bare before the eye of the Society. The numerous issue of books of casuistical divinity betrays that peculiar cast of unprincipled obliquity and equivocation known as Jesuitism. The same "vitium originis" is perceptible throughout; a great object, the maintenance of the faith, was to be worked out, the means for effecting it were only tools in the workman's hand, and might be bent and twisted and variously combined to suit his purpose. The subjective nature of moral obligation was of no moment, as compared with the objective importance of a step made good in the right direction. If casuistical teaching had been confined to books, the mischief would have been less palpable. But such books are the guide of the confessional; and the Jesuits, from the supple manipulation of the conscience, varying their tactics with the varying individual, were always the favourite confessors; penitents of every grade sought them out, from the king on his throne to the peasant girl from the market. The power wielded by the order was so great that it made the members first an object of dread, then of hate, until every country almost in turn has cast out the name of Jesuit as evil.

The Spanish Jesuits who were compelled to leave France on the outbreak of the Spanish war settled in Antwerp, and in other towns of the

[1] Tiraboschi, *Stor. d. L. It.* viii. 159, note. The orthodox friar's text hit friends as well as foes, "Viri Galilæi quid statis aspicientes in cœlum." [*Ibid.*]

[2] Hallam, *Introd. to L. E.* iv. 442 and 104, and a sample from René Rapin there quoted.

[3] *Hist. E.* ii. 55, 10th ed.

[4] Orlandin, *Hist. Inst. Jes* viii. 1.

[5] So Lainez declared, as the Pope's assessor at the Council of Trent, "Il Papa e solo Vicario Generale di Dio; egli solo ha la giurisdizione immediatamente da Dio, egli (cioè, gli evescovi) da esso" [Pallavicino, *C. Tr.* xviii. 15]. The assertion of Cyprian was forgotten: "Nemo nostrum se dicit Episcopum Episcoporum;" and of Gregory the Great to John of Constantinople, "Si unus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur" [iv. *Ep.* 36].

[6] *Intr. Lit. E.* ii. 123-4.

[7] "Est salutaris cognitio, ut sit principibus persuasum, si rempublicam oppresserint, si vitiis et fœditate intolerandi erunt, ea conditione vivere, ut non jure tantum, sed cum laude et gloria perire possunt." [*Mariana*, p. 77].

Netherlands, and their great college was established at Louvain within seven years of the death of Loyola; the college at Coimbra in Portugal was opened A.D. 1546. It was in the Netherlands that the untoward character of Jesuit teaching first made it an object of suspicion.

The assassination of the Prince of Orange, A.D. 1584, was ascribed to the vengeance of the order of Jesuits, and the unsuccessful attempt on Prince Maurice of Nassau, A.D. 1595, was also laid to their charge. The murder of Henry III. of France by Clement, a Dominican monk, A.D. 1589, was the act of a fanatic, but the enemies of the order pretended to trace his frenzy to the principles of Loyola. The attempt made by Châtel on the life of Henry IV. of France, A.D. 1594, was by a Jesuit pupil; and his tutor, the Frère Guignard, was executed with horrible cruelty for having expressed the regicidal tenets that led to the pupil's crime. [Bayle, arts. *Guignard* and *Châtel.*] In A.D. 1610, Henry IV. fell beneath the knife of Ravaillac, and his crime was in like manner referred, whether justly or not, to the book of the Jesuit Mariana. The assassin, it appeared, was unable to read his own language, much less Latin, but evil principles assail the heart through other approaches than the sight of eyes, and he who teaches anything wrong can never be certain to what extent of evil his principles may reach, or where they may produce their crop.

In France, the Jesuits with difficulty had gained a footing. The Spanish war at first, and then the jealousy of the Sorbonne, that tolerated no rival teaching, prevented their rapid increase in the capital, though they had better success in the provinces. They were expelled, and their property confiscated, after Châtel's attempt, A.D. 1595, but restored again by royal edict of Henry IV., A.D. 1603.

The conflict with Jansenism [*q. v.*] helped to gain credit for the Jesuit cause with the Ultramontane party, it being considered that Jansenism was an approach towards the doctrines of the Reformation, and more especially of Geneva. But as a set-off on the popular side, the infidel philosophy of Voltaire worked far more powerfully to their prejudice.

Even in Italy the Jesuits had no secure home. A question having risen between the Council of Venice and the Pope with respect to ecclesiastical rights and privileges, the Pope threatened to lay the State under an interdict; to this the Doge and Council responded by ordering every Jesuit to quit the Venetian territory *instanter*, A.D. 1606, and half a century elapsed before they were permitted to return. A serious blow prostrated the order in Portugal, when Joseph I. occupied the throne, a weak voluptuary, moody, indolent, and heartless. His minister, the Count Pombal, had risen from a low origin, or if there were any gentility attaching to his family, he was, as St. Priest says, "tout au plus très mince gentilhomme." Repulsed in an attempt to ally himself by the marriage of his son with one of the proudest families of the "blue blood," he vowed a vengeance that should be more cruel than history could shew. The Jesuits also were doomed to expulsion, not that they were obnoxious to him personally, for they had helped his rise to power, and looked for a return of good offices. But he took a public spirited view; they were dangerous to the welfare of the community, and therefore they must be suppressed. The Jesuit confessors were dismissed from court, and replaced by the regular clergy; and one of the last orders of Pope Benedict XIV. was obtained by Pombal, directing that the Jesuit establishments of Lisbon should submit to the visitation of the patriarch. An event occurred at this critical time that enabled the minister to carry out with one blow both his cherished plans of vengeance and of state policy. The king, returning in his carriage to his palace, was shot at and wounded in the arm on the night of September 3, 1758. The matter was kept quiet as long as possible, while an intricate "coup d'état" was in preparation; and nothing was neglected by Pombal to lull his victims under a sense of security. When the chain of evidence was complete and strong enough in all its links, the Duke d'Aveiro, and the highest dame of the aristocracy, La Marchese di Tavora, were seized in their palaces in the dead of night, under a charge of complicity in the regicidal attempt; the Jesuits being placed in the head and front of offence as chief instigators of the crime. The sequel is soon told. A commission was appointed to try the accused, and a speedy sentence was obtained against one and all. On January 12, 1759, a scaffold eighteen feet high was erected by night in an open space by the Tagus, the Belem, and the enclosure was lined with troops. Here in the morning the Marchese di Tavora, to whom Pombal had owed his humiliation, was beheaded, the Duke d'Aveiro broken on the wheel, the wretched domestics of either house tied to their stakes, and when death had secured the noblest of the prey, fire was set to the scaffold, and the mingled ashes were eventually thrown into the Tagus and swept away by the current. The order of Jesuits was proscribed in Portugal and throughout the dependencies by royal edict; and the members of the order having been put on board ship, were landed in Italy, while an edict of confiscation declared the whole property of the Jesuits to be forfeited to the crown. The patience with which the order submitted to this reverse encouraged their enemies in France. The philosophers and friends of the dispersed Jansenists saw their opportunity; the former acted upon the instinct of deadly enmity for religion; the latter had suffered so severely at the hands of the Jesuits, that it was only human nature to use the weapon that the course of events, as a true Nemesis, had placed in their hands. Fortune soon gave ample opportunity for its exercise. Father Lavalette, in the island of Martinique, observing, as he thought, an opportunity for driving a lucrative business, engaged in trading speculations that were directly opposed to the spirit and letter of Loyola's foundation. His plans resulted in bankruptcy. The whole order was held to be chargeable, and was condemned by

Jesuits

legal process to pay a sum exceeding £60,000, with costs. The rules and laws of the order, shrouded as they had hitherto been in mystery, were brought under the cognizance of a court of justice, and matters of historical fact that had died away were again raked up by its enemies. The parliament of Paris decided, August 6, 1761, that no Frenchman for the future should enter the order of Jesuits; that their colleges should be closed, and that any person who sought instruction from them should be incapable of entering the service of the State. The king, under the influence of a Jesuit confessor, and with the warnings of history before his eyes, hesitated to confirm this severe sentence; and the Duc de Choiseul proposed, as a compromise, that the order, instead of being ruled by the general at Rome, should be under the control of a vicar-general residing in Paris, and amenable to the laws of the country. The proposal met with the characteristic reply from Ricci, the general, "Sint ut sunt, aut non sint;" on which followed an order for their instant departure from France, A.D. 1764. In the following year Clement XIII. marked his approval of the Jesuits by confirming once more the constitution and privileges of the order by the bull "Apostolicum."

The scene of trouble next shifted to Spain. The lion seemed dead, and might be kicked with impunity. In an obscure riot at Madrid, cheers had been given for the Jesuits, which were noted and not forgotten. The minister having made himself obnoxious, he was besieged in his palace, which was destroyed, the owner barely escaping with his life, March 27, 1766. Neither a regiment of the Walloon guards, nor the king's presence, greatly as he was respected, could restore quiet; but the Jesuits effected this with so much ease, that it became fresh matter of suspicion. A year passed, and the "émeute" had ceased to give matter for talk, when April 2, 1767, a royal decree appeared, abolishing the order of Jesuits, and expelling them from the kingdom and from the colonies. The blow was the heaviest that the Society had yet received, for it was no pusillanimous, enervated monarch who had dealt it, but one who was frankness and loyalty itself in his dealings with his people. The cause for this severity was declared by the king to the French ambassador, affirming that there was proof that the Jesuits had scattered money among the people in the riot of 1766; that they were in the habit of encouraging seditious language in the disaffected; and that a design had been formed at their instigation to surprise the king at his public devotions in the Holy Week, and extort from him popular concessions. It took a year to mature plans for striking the blow, of which the king, Aranda the chief minister, and three others, were the silent contrivers. It was a masterpiece of Spanish taciturnity. The deportation of the Jesuits was immediate, more than six thousand men of high birth, of venerable age, and of profound learning, were hurried on board slavers, March 31, 1767, and landed on the island of Corsica. Sicily and Naples were cleared in like manner before the close of the year, and Parma in the following February. Before the year came round, Pope Clement XIII., having died of apoplexy, was succeeded by Cardinal Ganganelli, as Clement XIV., through the joint influence of France and Spain. Morino, one of the trio, who had given a zealous and discreet aid in expelling the Jesuits from Spain, was now ambassador at the Court of Rome, and wrung from the reluctant Pope a promise that the order should be suppressed. Indication of the coming storm was prepared. Their old liabilities under Lavalette were pressed home, and Jesuits, like other citizens, were made to feel that they were amenable to the law. Their debts and maladministration were exposed to the eye of day, and their property in the Collegio Romano confiscated for the benefit of the creditors. The same was done in their establishments at Frascati and Tivoli, and in all other towns of Italy. The fatal hour at length struck, and the Bull "Dominus ac Redemptor Noster" was signed for the suppression of the Jesuits; though with the pen still in hand, the Pope uttered the prophetic words, "Questa suppressione mi darà la morte." The sibylline warning of a peasant woman at Valentano, named Bernardina, may also be noted, who, under the mystic letters P. S. S. V., declared "presto sarà sede vacante." The bull was put in force July 21, 1773; a seal was placed on the Jesuit establishments; their schools were closed; Capuchins took charge of their churches, and Ricci was confined in the castle of St. Angelo. In acknowledgment of the papal acquiescence, Avignon was restored to the Holy See by France, and Benevento by Naples. But the prophetess of Valentano continued her ill-omened vaticination, and the Pope, though of a robust constitution, was seized at table with a convulsion, followed by shivering fits, March 1774; loss of voice followed from inflammation of the throat; painful sicknesses ensued, and prostration of strength, whereby he became so much reduced, that when the ministers of the principal powers were admitted to an audience in August, they scarcely recognised the hale and hearty ecclesiastic in the skeleton form before them. At length death put an end to his sufferings, September 22, 1774, and the appearance of the body after death confirmed Clement's suspicion that he had been long under the action of some cumulative poison.[1]

The order of Jesuits has never again recovered its former position. If, however, they were proscribed by their natural allies, an asylum was found for them in countries that might have been thought the most hostile to their principles. Frederick of Prussia declared that they were the best clergy in his dominion, and retained them in favour; as did Catherine of Russia. Elsewhere, forbidden the name of Jesuits, they continued to exist as the fraternity of the "Sacred Heart and Faith of Jesus." In 1801, Pope Pius VII. revoked the bull of Clement XIV., and restored the order to all its privileges, as far as Russia was concerned,

[1] St. Priest, *Chûte des Jesuites*.

with the power of electing a new general. But within a dozen years they were expelled again from St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1813, and from the Russian empire generally in 1822, because they were opposed to the union of Russians and Poles in one Greek Church. Three years later Ferdinand IV., who had rejected them in his younger days from Naples, prayed for their restoration, which was accorded by bull dated 31st July 1804; and at length the same Pope in 1814 by the bull "Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum," restored the Jesuits to all their former privileges and immunities throughout Christendom. But theirs was still to be a chequered fortune. They were driven from Spain in 1820, and only restored in 1823 to be expelled again in 1835. In France they were tolerated for a time, and fully restored in 1822, but they were "de malo suspecti," disliked by the chambers, and finally abolished in 1845. In 1833 they were banished from Portugal and its foreign dependencies, Brazil, &c. Admitted in Austria, with the exception of Bohemia, and in Bavaria, the rest of Germany was closed against them. In England, the formation of any Jesuit college is forbidden by law, though the working of the order may be felt; but they are established in Malta, the East Indies, and Canada; as also in America. The present census would show about five thousand members spread over sixteen provincial districts, with three hundred establishments, and not less than seventy thousand pupils. The Collegium Romanum at Rome is still the headquarters. [See Crétineau-Joly, *Hist. de la Cie. de Jesus;* L'Abbé Georgel, *Mémoires; Institut. Soc. Jesu,* Pragæ, 1762; Ribadeneira, *Vita Ign. L.*, Neap.; Cahour, *Les Jesuites par un Jesuit;* Dallas *on the Order of Jesuits;* Mattheius; Orlandin, *H. Soc. Jes.*, Rom. 1615; Dupleix, *Hist. de Henri Gr.;* Riffel, *die Aufhebung d. Jes. Ord.;* Ranke, *Hist. of Popes;* Wetzer, *Kirchen Lexicon,* art. *Jesuit;* Herzog, *Real Encyklopädie,* art. *Jesuit;* Hallam's *Introd. to Lit. of Eup.* 1650-1700; Macaulay's *Hist.* 1686; Bishop Taylor's *Serm. on Gunpowder Plot;* Guizot, *Hist. de la Civilisation,* Lec. xii.; Pascal, *Lettres Provinciales;* Ripert de Montclar, *Compte-Rendu de la Const. d. Jesuites;* Voltaire, *Siècle de L. XV.;* St. Priest, *Chûte d. Jes.;* Coxe's *Spain under the Bourbons;* Bayle's *Dict.*, arts. *Guignard, Ravaillac.*]

The society of Jesus has been indefatigable in pouring forth its publications. Backer [*Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Cie. de Jesus*] has given a long series of its authors as a "catalogue raisonnée" in seven octavo volumes. The Jesuit press, so severely taxed, has poured forth copious streams of vapidity; but there are also many names that are redeemed from mediocrity; while others are an honour to their Society, their country, and their age. The writings of these may be classed under the heads of [1] theology; [2] homiletics; [3] spiritual and devotional works; [4] controversy; [5] biography; [6] poetry; [7] learned editions; [8] general literature; [9] history; [10] mathematics; [11] astronomy; [12] chronology; [13] archæology; [14] numismatics; [15] physical science; [16] fine arts. The representatives of these various sections are:—

[1] Bellarmine, Gretser, Suarez, and Sanchez, memorable for his unfortunate treatment of the subject of matrimony; Turrianus, the papal theologian at the Council of Trent; Vasquez, the Augustine of Spain; Cornelius à Lapide, the prince of Biblical annotators; Cajetanus, and others of minor note.

[2] Bourdaloue and Segneri, second only to Savonarola in the pulpit oratory of Italy.

[3] Arias, Drechselius, Rodriguez.

[4] The writers against Jansenism and Port Royal, of whom Annat was the soul, Le Tellier, Nouet, de Vos, and many others, his subordinate agents. Controversial writers also against the principles of the Reformation abound.

[5] Feller and Backer.

[6] A shoal of Latin poets; versification being the only direction in which the Jesuit imagination was allowed to run wild; Sarbievius was the modern Horace, and René Rapin the Virgil; Vanière also, the author of the *Gradus ad Parnassum,* may here have a place; and Arevolo, the hymnologist of Spain.

[7] Canisius, Fronto Ducæus, Garnier, Hardouin, Petavius, Sirmond, the Bollandists, Glasquière, Papebroch, Henschenius, Angelo Mai, "instar omnium;" Berthier, who as editor of the *Journal de Trevoux,* engaged on the one side with the Encyclopédist infidelity of France, and on the other with offending brothers of his own community, such as Hardouin and Berruyer.

[8] Brumoz, Cellarius, Possevin, Weitenauer, the oriental scholar.

[9] The historians of the order, Ribadeneira, Alegambe, Southwell, Maffei, Oudin; and in various sections of general history, Barruel, Bougeant, Daniel, Labbe, Strada, Tiraboschi, Pallavicino, Mariana, Le Comte, to whom may be added Menestrier, famed for his heraldic lore.

[10] Clavius, the Euclid of his time.

[11] Le Comte, Kell, Stepling.

[12] Petavius.

[13] Hardouin, Kircher, Secchi, Tournemine, Martin, Morcelli, and Lecnis the bibliographer.

[14] Frœlich, Khell, Oderico.

[15] Schott, who opened the way for many valuable discoveries in medical science.

[16] Lanzi, author of the *Storia Pittorica.*

The missionary spirit of the Jesuits has been its great redeeming point, although a distinction must always be drawn between the voluntary self-sacrificing spirit of our missionaries and the work of the Jesuit, whose vow of implicit obedience compelled him to go whithersoever the General of the Order gave him his direction. "If he was wanted at Lima, he was on the Atlantic with the next fleet; if he was wanted at Bagdad, he was toiling through the desert with the next caravan" [Macaulay, *H. E.* 1686]. "They were to be found in the garb of mandarins superintending the observatory at Pekin. They were to be found spade in hand teaching the rudiments

of agriculture to the savages of Paraguay" [*ibid.*]. The most honourable names under this head are those of Andrada, Irigault, Amyot, Beschi, Cibot, Gaubil, Fromage, De Nobilibus, Ricci, founder of the Chinese missions, Schall, Vieyra, Vindelon, Fontenay, Tachard, Gerbillon, Le Comte, Bouvet. Maffei the historian, and Vieyra, the organizer of Jesuit missions [see *Collection of Missionary Letters*, Paris, 1838, and German by Stöcklein, *Annales de la Profession de la Foi*, Paris, 1853]. Others have literally laid down their life for the brethren in nursing fever patients, exemplifying the spirit-stirring description of Manzoni (I promessi Sposi), and the eloquent panegyric of Macaulay. Such were Rosweyde, Giustinelli, Gonzague, Rémond. In England Campion and Parsons were the two first Jesuit emissaries sent "in messem Britannicam," A.D. 1580 [Sanderus, *de Sch. Angl.* p. 377], with a band of associates from the English college at Rome. The first gained admittance into families of every grade in society, often in disguise, often under a feigned name "Habitu dementissimo [demissicio] sum, quem sæpe commuto, itemque nomina" [*Ep. Camp. ad Ordinis Ducem.*]. After a service of two years he was arrested as a teacher of sedition, and put to death in the Tower, December 1, 1581. His comrade was confessor to the King of Spain, to whom he sent regular information from England [Sanderus, *Append.* 80]; but he appears to have kept himself out of danger. Father Garnet, for receiving the confession of the conspirators in the Popish plot while it was in process of formation, was hung, drawn, and quartered as an accessory. Osborne, in his *Secret History of the Court of James I.* [p. 448], says that information of this plot was communicated to James by Henry IV. of France, who had gained knowledge of it from the Jesuits; the sagacious monarch at once turned it into capital. Archbishop Laud's conference with Fisher the Jesuit is a valuable piece of controversial divinity. Father Petre was an especial favourite with James II., who made him clerk of the closet; "of all the evil counsellors who had access to the royal ear, he bore perhaps the largest part in the ruin of the house of Stuart" [Macaulay].

JESUS. The name assumed by our Lord when He assumed human nature. The Greek form Ἰησοῦς represents the Hebrew Joshua, Jeshua, or Jehoshua [יְהוֹשֻׁעַ], which is a contraction of Jehovah Jeshua, *i.e.* Jehovah Salvation. It was given typically [1] to Joshua the son of Nun, whose original name was Oshea, "Salvation" [Numb. xiii. 16], but who received the Divine Name for a prefix when appointed to lead Israel into the Promised Land: and [2] to "Joshua the High Priest," who, with Zerubbabel, led Israel back from the Captivity, and restored the Temple at Jerusalem [Ecclus. xlix. 12]. The name may also have been borne typically by others who are mentioned in Holy Scripture, and seems to be identical with that of Jason, the Greek legend respecting whom is not without significancy as a parable of the work of Jesus our Saviour.

This name was twice given as that of our Lord by special revelation. The first time was when the angel Gabriel announced the coming Conception of Christ to the Blessed Virgin: "Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Son, and shalt call His Name Jesus" [Luke i. 31]. The second designation of the name was made to Joseph some months afterwards, when it was also accompanied by a reason for its being given, "Thou shalt call His Name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins" [Matt. i. 21]. It is also identified by the Evangelist with "Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us" [*ibid.* 23]: and the combination of this interpretation with the reason assigned by the angel of the Lord appears to fix the Christian sense of the name as that of "God the Saviour." So Mary said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour" [Luke i. 46, 47]: and so St. Paul writes, "After that the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared" [Titus iii. 4].

The sanctity and majesty associated with this holy Name are clearly set forth by the same Apostle in Phil. ii. 9, 10, "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a Name which is above every name: that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." In literal obedience to the implied injunction contained in these words, it has always been the habit of thoughtful and reverent Christians to make a genuflexion, or else to bow the head, whenever the Name of Jesus is spoken; and the latter gesture is specially enjoined in the Church of England by the eighteenth canon. The English calendar also contains a festival dedicated to "The Name of Jesus" on August 7th, which has been celebrated on that or some other day of the year from very ancient times.

A symbol of the holy Name, IHC, formed from its first three letters in old Greek characters, I H C, is well known, though some confusion has arisen from the substitution of the English or Latin S for the Greek C or Σ, and from the Jesuits' assumption of these modern letters for their badge and motto, in the form, I.H.S. Iesus Hominum Salvator.

JUDAISM. From the time of its inauguration amid the terrors of Mount Sinai, Judaism was marked as a temporary system, "brought in because of transgressions," and engrafted on the wide promise made to Abraham, that in him "all the nations of the earth should be blessed." The sacrifices that the Law prescribed, to be offered in the place which Jehovah should choose "to put His Name there;" the pilgrimages enforced upon every adult Israelite, three times in the year, to the national altar of his race; the definition of those holy times by the natural climate of Judæa; and numberless other particulars, showed that the Law *could* only be for a time. For if at some

Judaism

future period the knowledge of the Lord should cover the earth as the waters cover the sea, the local sacrifices must come to an end; the solemn pilgrimage must fall into desuetude; the thanksgiving feasts for the first ripened grain at Passover, for the corn crop gathered in at Pentecost, and for the oil and wine duly secured at the Feast of Tabernacles, must be ruled according to the peculiarities of other climates, and vary with the varying degrees of the ecliptic. The festal occupation of booths "sub dio," pleasant enough in a Syrian climate, would be of impossible observance in northern latitudes.

But such a false position ought never to have been taken up by the ancient people of God, for the terminable character of their religion was everywhere impressed upon it. The Sion to which all nations should flow [Mic. iv. 1, 2, 7; Joel ii. 28, iii. 16], as the Jews did to their high festivals, could only be understood in a figurative sense; as the creation of a new heaven and a new earth is manifestly symbolical, meaning that the narrower dispensation should be indefinitely widened out. The same sure word of prophecy at every step makes revelations that are incompatible with the maintenance of the Law. To invade the office of the priesthood was a capital offence [Numb. xvi. 40, xviii. 7]; yet prophecy speaks of a future dispensation, when priests and Levites should be taken out of every nation [Isa. lxvi. 21], with a high priest after the order of Melchisedek, who should bestow spiritual benedictions, and no longer offer the blood of bulls and goats. Prophecy itself should be enlarged out into a world-wide institution; and when the older vision and prophecy should have been sealed [Dan. ix. 24], its spirit should be poured out upon all flesh [Joel ii. 28, 29], so that the bond-servants and handmaids should be filled with it. The case is that Judaism such as Moses established is now nowhere to be found; an universal religion has succeeded it; and he that is not wilfully blind may see that such was God's good pleasure from the beginning.

And it might have been determined also by "à priori" reasoning that Judaism could only have a temporary character. It was in its institution adapted only to a small nation, "the fewest of all people" [Deut. vii. 7]; so small that a seal was perpetuated in their flesh, that they might not be lost among the nations of the world; so small that Herodotus, who gives minute details of the policy of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, and other nations with which the Jews had been been brought into closest relations, says absolutely nothing of them. Everything in Judaism was cramped and limited, and by its very narrowness showed that it was only for a time. "God did not by it speak His mind to all, and so did He not in it speak out all His mind." [Barrow, *Serm. on Creed*, xv. 2.] Duties were enjoined that could only be discharged by the Jews; promises were made that were bounded by the limits of an earthly Canaan; they were dealt with as children, and led on to the hope of present reward, while rebellion was threatened with a withdrawal of the promised blessing. But nothing was openly revealed with respect to a future state of rewards and punishments, and that very defect shewed that some better covenant yet lay hid in the womb of time. The religion of Judaism was a mere system of fleshly justification, consisting wholly in matters of external observance, in washings and purifyings, in a costly ritual, and burdensome observances of times and places; their Passover was a thanksgiving feast in which the world at large could never be called to share. The Levitical tithe to be offered at the national sanctuary could never be a matter of œcumenic observance. The whole code had a private character, and could no more apply universally than any municipal law can be made a matter of imperial or international obligation. In its ordinances moral duties are sparingly enforced; the devotion of the heart barely indicated; the building up of the inner man as a temple of God wholly ignored; while such things as even heathenism knew to be non-natural to man, polygamy, divorce for any trifling cause, a morose spirit of retaliation and of bloodthirsty revenge, were connived at for the hardness of the Jewish heart, if not sanctioned by positive enactment, "concessa apud illos quæ nobis incesta" [Tac. *H.* v. 4].

The whole system also seemed to have been framed on a divine forecast of the peculiarities of the Jewish nation, as a people to whom the partial glimmering of dawn, and not the noontide light, was best adapted. Its mental attributes are as marked as its physiognomy; the first historian who mentions the Jew has photographed him with unerring fidelity, and describes him as one fitted only to live by himself apart from the rest of the world, with no active sympathies ranging beyond those of his own race; "apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus alios hostile odium, separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, projectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent. . . . Judæorum mos absurdus sordidusque" [Tac. *H.* v. 5]. In a similar spirit Barrow has summed up the plea of humanity against the Jews: "Such are the obvious characters of them, such were their humours noted to be; humours, not only implausible but really blameable, deserved offensive and odious, being contrary to the common sense, to the natural ingenuity of man. They have been long, as we see them now to be, partly for the vanity of their conceits, partly for the baseness of their mind and manners, and partly also for the wretchedness of their condition, the scorn and obloquy of all nations. Now the tree which hath borne such fruits, so unsavoury, so unwholesome, we have no reason to admire, to esteem excellent and perfect. It might be good for those times, when men willingly did feed on acorns, on crabs, on brambleberries; but cannot so well serve now, when higher improvements of reason, when philosophy and learning by a general influence upon the world have prepared the palates of men to relish, the stomachs to digest more

Judaism

delicate and more wholesome fare" [*Serm. on Creed*, xv. 2].

The insufficiency of the Law has been so completely felt by the Jews that they have been compelled to supplement its defects. It did well enough for the time for which it was intended, but after that time it became obsolete, a law "à main morte."

It was not possible that the whole world should be brought within the pale of the Law, therefore a general return to spiritual religion was needed, if all the world was to have its blessing in the seed of faithful Abraham. The Law was given to Israel for the purpose of fencing him in from the idolatry of the surrounding nations; hence if those who were without the Law renounced their idolatry, and adopted the worship of Jehovah, the Law would no longer be needed as a fence. Irrespectively therefore of Revelation, it might have been determined by "à priori" reasoning that the Law must come to an end; both because its demands could not possibly meet with universal observance; and because its use as a pale of separation would be no more needed, when its own forecast of the future had been realized, and nothing remained to be fenced out of the sacred precinct. Again, if the Law was an excrescence engrafted on to the free unfettered form of patriarchal religion, the restoration of that free form might be expected under a better dispensation. And Revelation confirms the reasoning; for Moses claimed no exclusive allegiance. It should be extended at some future time, as he said, to the prophet like unto himself, whom the Lord should raise up; "unto him shall ye hearken" [Deut. xviii. 15, 19]. The Law also given in Horeb should make way for a better dispensation, and one "not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt" [Jer. xxxi. 31-34]. The Law should continue to exist as a moral code; but its carnal ordinances should be spiritualized; the light that shone from the face of Moses [Exod. xxxiv. 29] should pale beneath the "bright cloud" of the Transfiguration [Matt. xvii. 5]. This temporary and local character of the Law compelled those who still clung to it, when its mission had been accomplished, to supplement its teaching, and adapt it by various glosses to the altered condition of Judaism. The vineyard fence had been thrown down as had been foretold [Isa. v. 5], and rubbish of whatever kind was used to repair the breach. Hence the false position of Judaism from the day of Christ to the present.

These glosses on the Law are scattered up and down the Talmud as various Halacoth, or constitutions framed from time to time by eminent rabbis, and preserved by oral tradition. So long as it was unlawful to commit them to writing, they accumulated daily, and the latest of them when duly accepted obtained the same authority with the earliest; for all came to be regarded as contemporaneous expositions of the Law derived from Mount Sinai. In the tract *Pesachim* [lxvi. 71] it is said of the second of Rabbi Ishmael's exegetical rules [A.D. 121], "No one may rest his decision on 'Gezere Shave,' textual analogy, unless he have learned it from his teacher, who must have received it from his teacher, and so back from Moses and Sinai." But who was to prove the negative proposition, that the enouncer of an original exposition had not derived it from his predecessors, and yet carried it to the Sinaitic account? The Law in Talmudic parlance is not simply the Mosaic law, but also the oral law; ת"ש שבעל פה as well as ת"ש שבכתב; and the two together make up the law of which it is said, "The Law of the Lord is perfect converting the soul." Both are of co-ordinate authority as one Torah.

It was by means of the unwritten Law they say that the "Lex scripta" was explained to the people after the Captivity; for "they read in the Law of God [מפרש] explained" (not "distinctly," as the English Version, nor "interpreted," which would be מתרגם), "and gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading" [Neh. viii. 8]. *Pace Rabbinorum*, however, this passage is much more rationally interpreted of the origin of the Targums, or paraphrases of the sacred text, delivered at first orally, and eventually in the written forms that have come down to us. The Jews, however, hold that it applies to those exegetical glosses and interpretations of the Law that came down to Ezra from the time when Moses began to "declare the Law" to the people in the desert [Deut. i. 5]; that the same were handed on to after generations, and were eventually stereotyped in the Talmud.

But the Talmud, from the date of its completion, has by no means commanded universal loyalty. In the middle of the eighth century, the Karaite sect arose; so called from its reception of the text of Scripture alone, such as had always been read in the synagogue, while it rejected the traditional glossemata of the Talmud. This sect, therefore, is wholly separate from Talmudic Judaism. The Cabbalists also in their mysticism were always more or less at variance with the teaching of the Talmud; though in old days the two systems marched hand in hand. Akiba and Simon ben Jochai, Tanaim (traditionists) of renown, were the reputed fathers of the Cabbala; and many of the most learned rabbin were adepts in this Jewish form of Zoroastrian lore. [Cabbala.] In the middle of the twelfth century, Maimonides, the "second Moses," the "eagle" of Rabbinism, declared that the obedience required by the Law was not an observance of the letter, but conformity with its spirit. Hitherto a blind faith in the Talmud had been demanded of the Jew. He might ask "what" was commanded, but the "why" never. Before Maimonides was twenty-three years of age, he commenced his commentary on the Mishna in Arabic. The law of Moses and the philosophy of Aristotle, obtained through Arabic translations, were to him the sources of all knowledge and wisdom. His work betrayed as yet a rather nervous anxiety to find a deep meaning in the various puerilities of the Talmud. The "eaglet" had not yet gained his pinion

feathers. The *Mishneh Torah* and *Moreh Nevochim* followed, works of Titanic grasp. In the first of these, the subjects of the Talmud are worked up in a spirit of rational exegesis, and the chaotic salvage of the Mishna and Gemara are brought into something like order. The work, as a commentary on the Talmud, was well received; though afterwards Talmudists attacked it for its rationalism, while the Averroist Jew found fault with it as not sufficiently Aristotelian. The *Moreh Nevochim*, a more important work than either of the preceding, was then taken in hand, but written in Arabic, with the Arabic title *Dalila al Haïrin* (guide for the perplexed). In this work, the Anthropomorphia of the Talmud is set right, and the same views of prophecy reappear that were condemned four centuries previously in the Karaites. The fullest freedom is claimed for man; and the reasoning power, now almost for the first time shewn by a Jew, caused Scaliger to say of him "primus inter Hebræos nugari desivit." Such are the principles of Judaism; such also is the direct opposition, or the loyalty with a difference, that they have encountered within the families of Israel. We proceed to consider Judaism as it presents itself in contact with the external world; and Judaism in the modes of thought that are now rapidly qualifying its first principles.

Judaism in history is as marked in its character as the Jew is in his features among the human brotherhood. Both have their one type of humiliation, as outcasts amid the nationalities of the world. Their admission in later days to social and municipal privileges may have softened down something of the extreme bitterness of their hate for Christianity, but the core of infidelity remains unchanged. The Jew, expectant of political existence, may have asserted, like Maimonides, that the world is greatly indebted to the Christian religion for reclaiming the wilder races of men from their idolatry and its accompanying horrors [Dr. Raphall, Rabbi of Birmingham]; but the deep feeling of Judaism still betrays itself in the assertion of Geiger [*Lectures on Judaism*], which any one who knows ever so little of the Talmud may prove to be false, viz., that our Lord never uttered anything new, all the good of His teaching having been derived from the rabbinate of His day. The same untruthfulness also lurks in the article on the Talmud in the *Quarterly Review* [October 1867], that has met with so much inconsiderate praise from Christian journalists.

The external history of Judaism in Europe presents much sameness. Usury and oppression, oppression and usury, are its tale. The first connection of the Jews with Britain within the limits of history, shows them as dealers in the slaves that Danes and Norsemen made from the coast population before the Conquest. Under the Normans they figured alternately as money-lenders and as the victims of their lordly clients. Risk of confiscation prevented Jews from embarking their capital in fixed occupations, such as manufactures and agriculture; they have been traffickers rather in the precious metals and jewels, property that is either easy of concealment, or light of transport. The Jews of Amsterdam have always been the lapidaries of the world. The most precious brilliants of Europe have been cut and split by them, the purest pearls are of their piercing. And as an accompanying circumstance, their trade as money-lenders has been a thriving one. In the old smuggling business, one successful run was found to cover a multitude of losses; so Jewish usury, seeing that repayment was a matter of expectation rather than certainty, has always been grinding to a proverb.

The rate of interest of two shillings per week, demanded on a loan of twenty shillings, or five hundred and twenty per cent. per annum, caused a massacre of seven hundred Jews in London [Stowe, A.D. 1262]. Shortly after every money-lending Jew was compelled to wear a plate of metal on the front of his dress, or to quit the realm. A.D. 1278, two hundred and sixty-seven Jews were hanged and quartered for clipping coin; and twelve years later, sixteen thousand Jews were banished the kingdom [Rapin]. This edict remained in force for three hundred and seventy years, till it was reversed by Cromwell, who, as a set-off for ancient hard-usage, granted a state pension to Manasseh ben Israel.

The individual servility of the Jew contrasts strongly with the collective spirit and "thorough" quality that has distinguished the people in one or two passages of their history.

As in the siege of Jerusalem, thousands of families perished by self-immolation rather than encounter the brutalities of a Roman soldiery; so history tells us of the Rhenish Jews in the twelfth century putting to death first their wives and families, and then themselves, rather than fall into the hands of crusaders, whose plea for pillage and ill-usage was the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by the Saracens [A.D. 1009]. Similarly five hundred Jews [A.D. 1189], in the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, took refuge from a massacre in York Castle, where, rather than fall into the power of their persecutors, they slew their women and children, threw their bodies from the battlements among the besiegers, and then killed themselves; when, as usual, a general burning of bonds and securities followed.

Alternate proscription and recall mark the course of the history of Judaism throughout Europe; cupidity of rulers being in either case the moving impulse. The marks of degradation also were various. Louis IX. of France compelled every Jew, man, woman, and child, to wear a "rouelle," or wheel of conspicuously-coloured stuff on the breast and back of the dress, that the Hebrew might be known at a distance. Most German towns of importance had their "Juden Gasse" [Jew lane]; and some of these have still at either extremity the massive hooks on which the gates were hung that secured the inmates by night. So late as the time of Mendelssohn [A.D. 1729-1786], any Jew who journeyed from Amsterdam to Frankfort was compelled to make a detour of several miles at Cologne, it being forbidden for him to enter within the municipal boundary.

Judaism

Down to the present day, on the last Saturday before the Carnival, the Jews at Rome are compelled to proceed "en masse" to the Capitol, and ask permission to remain in the sacred city for another year. At the foot of the hill the petition is refused, but, after much entreaty, granted on the summit, and the Ghetto is assigned to them. Elsewhere a reaction has long since set in. In France, one of the first acts of the Revolution was to declare the banished Jews of Spain, Portugal and Avignon to be citizens of the Republic. In 1806, the Emperor Napoleon summoned the Great Sanhedrim at Paris, and conferred upon the Jews of France a constitution which every succeeding government has recognised, while Belgium and Holland have also adopted it.

Moses Mendelssohn, the original of Lessing's Nathan der Weise, grandfather of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, may be regarded as the regenerator of Judaism in the present day. In his time, Rabbinism had sunk to its lowest ebb, the people had gravitated with their teachers deep in the slough of ignorance and superstition. It was the great work of the "third Moses" to build up the people; first to educate them, and then to lead them into position among the nations of Europe. As the bosom friend of Lessing, he was a pronounced rationalist; this only brought him into closer anology with Maimonides, whom he also resembled in his faint liking for Rabbinism, though he lived in all "faithful" Talmudic observance. His philosophy had points of similarity with Spinoza's system, but they were only such as both had derived from the philosophizing Rabbi of Cordova. He had more in common with Kant, of whom he was the immediate precursor. Mendelssohn did very much to kindle up something like thought among the most unintellectual of all religious communities, and brought the learning of Kimchi and Iarchi to bear once more upon the language and exegesis of Scripture. With him, as with every other Jew, religion was not a matter of faith but of practice. The law did not say, "this believe," but "this do." He considered the Talmud to be overrated; but it was not to be set aside on that account; it is hazardous to discard anything that is of established use until there is something better to supply its place. There can be no doubt but that, if he could have had his own way, he would have sifted out with a wide mesh all that is puerile and objectionable in the Talmud, and have given to the residue a more spiritual application, after the manner of the *Moreh Nevochim* of Maimonides.

In our own country, the strongly marked repugnance of Christianity for Judaism has been shown clearly in the history of the *Removal of Jewish Disabilities*. That which the people in its inmost heart has felt to be wrong, has been carried into execution, as will sometimes be the case, by the persistent efforts of politicians. The history of this political movement is briefly as follows:—On the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts [9 Geo. IV. 17 and 10 Geo. IV. 7], the Abjuration Oath and the Declaration substituted for the sacramental test being affirmed "upon the true faith of a Christian," debarred Jews from sitting in Parliament. This oath also, tendered at the hustings, deprived them of the franchise, while it wholly prevented them from practising at the bar, and from entering upon any corporate office or Crown appointment. The words in question were originally enacted in the beginning of the eighteenth century in order to secure the House of Hanover from the designs of the Pretender; they were no substantial part of the modern oath, but simply an emphatic form of asseveration. Various abortive efforts were made to remove this disability by bills introduced into Parliament; though in the meantime the annual Indemnity Act enabled Jews to pursue the profession of the law, and to fill such offices as sheriff, magistrate, and deputy-lieutenant. The Act 5 & 6, Will. IV. 36, for shortening the duration of polls, put an end to the unnecessary oath at the hustings, and in this indirect way the Jew became enfranchised. A Government bill in 1845 under Sir R. Peel enabled Jews to hold municipal offices; ten years later, Alderman Salomons was the first Jewish Lord Mayor; and it became only a question of time when the Jew should be admitted to a seat in Parliament. This was at length effected by a resolution of the House of Commons, July 1858; though it was not till 1860 that the disqualifying words were struck out from the oath that had hitherto prevented the Jew member from taking his seat.

The Jews of the present day have a literature of their own, which has brought them into closer relation with European thought of the liberal cast. The principal issue from the press, whether in point of date or of importance, has been Geiger's *Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theol.* [1835-1842]. It aroused opposition at once to what was thought a factious demand for reform; at the head of which was Raphael Samson Hirsch, Rabbi at Oldenburg. While the party of progress insisted upon a continued intellectual development, he maintained the perfectness of the Law, as that which, properly understood and worked into the inner life and being of Judaism, would secure the practical fulfilment of all social and civil duties [Hirsch, *Horeb.* 1837]. The worship of God, he said, was the highest act of piety, and all the more effective if united with a rigid self-denial. The cry for reform was pretentious, self-interested and reckless, and every faithful Jew should set his face against it. Civil equality would be dearly bought by the sacrifice of religious principle. Man's natural rights are of this world, his soul of religion is for the next. Regard for worldly advantage shews a want of self-discipline, and is therefore demoralizing, &c. The determination with which he defended the ground of prescription against the advocates of progress encouraged resistance to Geigerism. This war of opinion has led the younger Rabbin to introduce various reforms into the synagogal services, and greater attention has been paid to the education of the rising generation. But it

is evident that the two schools can never be reconciled; the one must supersede the other; "Serpens nisi serpentem vorat non fit draco;" which is to be the rod of Aaron?

The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* was started in 1837, by Ludwig Philippson, a well-known Jewish author [A.D. 1830-1860], who has contributed more than any one else to make Judaism intellectually respectable. His twelve lectures are worthy of attention. The *Voice of Jacob* and the *Hebrew Observer*, of the last generation, have given place to the *Jewish Observer* and the *Jewish Chronicle*, the present organs of Judaism in England. The *Jewish Intelligence*, published by the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, records carefully the various phases of Jewish opinion as they unfold themselves. *L'Univers Israélite* is published in Paris; and in Italy, *L'Educatore Israelita*. In Germany, *Der Israelit* was preceded by Stein's *Volkslehrer* in the reformed, and Hirsch's *Jeshurun* in the orthodox interest. A Jewish literature also has sprung up, to which the principal contributors have been the historian Jost, and the careful exponent of Rabbinism Zunz, Steinheim [*Die Offenbarung*, &c.], Formstecher [*Rel. d. Geistes*], S. Hirsch [*d. Religionsphil. d. Juden*], Hirschfeld, Creizenach, Hildesheim, Johlson, Herzfeld, Luzzatto, Grätz, Löwenstein, Sachs, Dukes, Schultz, Frankel, [*Vorstudien zu d. Septuaginta* and *Intr. to Mishna*], Fassel, Jellinek, Rapoport, and Steinschneider. Under this influence, Jewish liberalism has run wild, and has taken up the Pantheistic views of German Rationalism, while, as a matter of course, the hope of all antecedent Judaism has been discarded by many. Cassell's *History of the Jews*, in Ersch and Gruber [*Encycl.* vol. xxvii.], traces out the fortunes of the people in different countries in a fragmentary yet instructive manner.

In 1840 an association was formed at Frankfort, whose object was the abjuration of Talmudism. The three propositions that it adopted were: [1] That unlimited religious development is not inconsistent with the law of Moses; [2] that the compilation called the Talmud has no authority over the associated, either in a doctrinal or a social point of view; [3] a Messiah who is to lead back the Israelites to Palestine is neither expected nor desired by the associated; and they acknowledge that alone to be their country to which they belong by birth or civil relation. The movement was short-lived, but the avowal of these principles has had a permanent effect, and they are held by an increasing number of Jews at the present day.

Thus, in the summer of 1869, a meeting of Jews was held at Leipsic, at which eighty-four members of different Jewish congregations, including twenty-five rabbis, attended. The great object proposed was to get rid of the peculiarities of Judaism. The meeting pronounced for [1] individual authority in religious matters; [2] the primary importance of free scientific investigation; [3] rejection of a belief in Israel's restoration. The following resolution also was adopted: "Those portions of our prayers which refer to the re-establishment of annual sacrifices at the Messianic period, or to the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, must be modified." Orthodox Judaism has stood aghast at this enunciation of opinion; but has consoled itself with observing that the congregations represented but a very small percentage of German Judaism, and that no great significance attached to the meeting. Yet it would be difficult to produce eighty names from the orthodox party of greater learning in Hebrew matters. As to Messianic hope the *Jewish Chronicle* [July 30, 1869] says: "Although every Jew is bound to believe in a Messiah, the question whether that expression indicates a person or a time, and whether He or it has arrived or not is, according to the Talmud, an open question."

Judaism, as it now shows itself, may be devided into extreme right, extreme left, and centre. [1] Represents orthodox Talmudism subdivided into literal and modified observance; [2] embraces the reforming party, who would sweep away Talmudism and the ceremonial law; claiming to take their stand on "prophetism," *i.e.* a complete emancipation from religious thraldom, as their indefeasible right; and [3] is the more moderate party, which hopes to develope a higher spirituality from the old historic form of Judaism. With them the ceremonial law is valuable only as a hedge to keep the people apart from other forms of religion till the times are fulfilled. For Judaism, moving with Christianity and Mohammedanism in converging lines, is destined in the end, as they say, to lead to one form of transcendental truth, divested of external ritual; the sum and substance of which will be the national Shema, "Hear, O Israel; the Lord thy God is one Lord; the Eternal is one."

Such is the Jew of the nineteenth century, "semper idem," hardened in his infidelity, bigoted in his self-regard, and inveterate in his hate for the Christian name. [Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenthums;* Milman, *H. of Jews;* Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel;* Fürst, *die Juden in Asien*, and his *Orient;* Zunz, *Gottes-Dienstliche Vorträge d. Juden;* Ersch and Gruber, various articles on *Judaism, Literature*, &c.; Munk, *Maimonides* and *Dict. des Sc. Phil.*, art. *Juifs;* Geiger, *das Judenthum und seine Geschichte;* Kaiserling's *Mendelssohn;* Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem;* Philippson, *Vorlesungen;* Hirsch, *Horeb; Allgem. Z. Judenthums; Voice of Jacob*, and *Hebrew Observer;* Articles on Talmud in *Quarterly Rev.*, Oct. 1867, and *Chr. Remembrancer*, Oct. 1868.]

JURISDICTION, ECCLESIASTICAL. Some of the functions of the Crown of England are closely connected with the external government of the Church, and these constitutional functions are often called "the Ecclesiatical Jurisdiction of the Crown." What it is necessary to say respecting this jurisdiction will be found under the head of SUPREMACY, ROYAL: and it is only necessary here to warn the reader against confusing this with the more truly "ecclesiastical" jurisdiction, which is treated of in the next article. Such a confusion is expressly guarded against,

however, by the Thirty-seventh Article of Religion.

JURISDICTION, SPIRITUAL. This term is usually understood to mean the lawful authority and power exercised by the clergy, under a commission received from some competent source. But "jurisdiction" rather expresses the extent and the limits within which any functions of authority, legislative or executive, may be lawfully exercised.[1] Spiritual jurisdiction is, therefore, the definition of such extent and limits in respect to those functions which belong to "spiritual persons," that is, to the clergy; just as judicial jurisdiction would be a definition of those limits as regards the executive authority of magistrates and judges, or parliamentary jurisdiction a similar definition as to the legislative functions of Parliament.

Spiritual jurisdiction consists of two elements, the one essential, the other accidental. The essential element is usually termed "Habitual jurisdiction," the accidental element being called "Actual jurisdiction." These will be considered separately.

I. HABITUAL JURISDICTION belongs to the bishops and priests of the Church as the deputies of our Lord, the Supreme Head of the Church, and the ultimate source of all spiritual authority. It relates to the spiritual discipline of the clergy and laity, to the administration, or the withholding, of sacraments and sacramental ordinances, and to the general affairs of the Church as a spiritual body. Habitual jurisdiction is, thus, a result of ordination or consecration, an authority derived from Christ, the Supreme Head of the Church, by successive delegation through apostles and bishops [APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION]; and is not, in reality, to be distinguished from the "power of order."[2] It extends the power and authority of one human being over others, so far as the supernatural power, and the disciplinary authority, of Christ is delegated to bishops and priests; it limits that authority and power strictly within those bounds: but it has, in itself, no local associations. It relates only to spiritual qualifications such as, *e.g.*, enable a bishop to turn a layman into a priest, or a priest to turn bread and wine into the sacramental media of spiritual substance. But such spiritual qualifications belong to bishops and priests wherever they may be; and are neither annihilated nor diminished by any local circumstances or legislative limitations. So that whatever acts may be done by any bishop or priest, in any part of the world, by virtue of such qualifications, those acts are valid through the "habitual jurisdiction" which accompanies his ordination to the priesthood, or his consecration to the episcopate.

Thus, habitual jurisdiction is so associated with "order" that so far as Holy Orders are indelible so far also is this form of jurisdiction. Neither the civil nor the ecclesiastical power can extinguish it, though one may *prevent* it from being exercised by compulsory measures, and the other may *forbid* its exercise by a solemn judicial act. [DEGRADATION.]

II. ACTUAL JURISDICTION is the local limitation of habitual jurisdiction. It defines the boundaries within which bishops and priests are to exercise their functions, and so far regulates that exercise as to organize the work of the clergy for the common good. The different modes in which this has been carried out may be classified under four systems, the Apostolic, the sub-Apostolic, the Patriarchal, and the Papal: and, since priests are generally allowed to receive all the authority they possess by delegation from bishops, these four systems need only be considered here as they relate to the higher order. [PARISH.]

[1.] *Apostolic system of jurisdiction.* The Apostles derived their authority from our Blessed Lord, Who claimed the right to give it to them on the ground of His own universal authority, prefacing their commission with His own in the words, "All power is given unto Me in heaven and earth, Go ye therefore . . ." [Matt. xxviii. 18, 19]. In the commission thus given there is no reference to any local restrictions or divisions; nor to any distinction between the Apostles, as if one had received a jurisdiction of greater extent than another. It was, on the contrary, a commission of the same universal character in its degree as that which Christ Himself had received, a fact which is strongly illustrated by the form in which He put it on a previous occasion, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you" [John xx. 21]; and also by the form in which it is given by St. Mark, "Go ye into all the world" [Mark xvi. 15]. Thus the kingdom of Christ which extended throughout the whole world was constituted into an Apostolic diocese, over which not one but all of the Apostles, individually and collectively, had spiritual authority given them. It does not appear, indeed, that our Lord intended the whole twelve Apostles to keep together during all the time of their ministry; and as He had sent them forth "two and two" during the time of His own ministry, so doubtless He meant them to go forth afterwards in small companies or separately, one Apostle to one part of the world, and another to another part. But whatever such subdivisions of the kingdom of Christ and the universal Apostolic diocese might seem expedient, the arrangement of their several fields of labour was left to the Apostles themselves, and was not ordained by our Lord; though, no doubt, special men were sometimes specially designated by the Holy Ghost to work in special localities, as was the case with St. Paul and St. Barnabas [Acts xiii. 2]. Thus the Head of the Church gave an universal mission and jurisdiction to the Apostles, leaving them to arrange among themselves any rules, boundaries, or limitations, that might be necessary for the sake of orderly labour; and to divide that labour so as to take in "the whole

[1] Aulus Gellius, x. 16, xx. 10.

[2] Such distinction is made for the sake of supporting the theory that priests and bishops are the same as regards all points except jurisdiction: and that, hence, the former may confer orders. [See Field, *On the Church*, iii. 39].

world." How their respective limits of jurisdiction were mapped out, or whether such limits were adhered to with strictness, we do not know enough of their fields of labour to determine. Yet traditions of some weight point out the different parts of the world in which the Apostles respectively carried on their work [APOSTLE]; and St. Paul uses language which seems to imply that he, at least, scrupulously abstained from intruding within the jurisdiction of any other Apostle [2 Cor. x. 13-16], where the word "rule" [κανὼν] points to a definite, mapped out, territory. We may thus conclude that the universal jurisdiction given to the Apostles individually and collectively by our Lord, was so exercised that each Apostle had his own particular jurisdiction, within which he laboured as in a territory appropriated to himself, and which no other Apostle would, ordinarily, work in. As their number was gradually diminished by death, the jurisdiction of the remainder would naturally expand, until, at last, St. John was left for many years as the sole living Apostle of the Church, when all Apostolic jurisdiction would, of course, be centred in him, for the remainder of his life on earth.

[2.] *Sub-Apostolic system of jurisdiction.* It seems to have been during the time of St. John's sole Apostolate that the Episcopal system of the Church was finally organised, so as to become the permanent system of the Church after the temporary office of apostle had ceased to exist. It is in this sense, doubtless, that Tertullian says "the order of bishops, if traced back to its origin, will rest upon John as its author" [Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 5]. Bishops had been ordained by St. Paul, and by the other Apostles; and they had been exercising their functions in all parts of the Church for many years before St. John became its sole Apostle. But the orderly rules by which a definite field of labour should be mapped out for each probably originated with St. John, who thus extended the apostolic system of jurisdiction into the diocesan system of jurisdiction. In the latter each bishop had his παροικία assigned to him, within which he had authority and beyond which he had no authority. He owned no superior except a council of bishops, and was looked upon as the temporal fountain of all spiritual authority within the boundaries of the territory placed under his charge.

This jurisdiction within the particular limits of his mapped out district was defined and settled by the act of consecration, in which the person consecrated received authority for ordinary ministration in a particular see, he who was consecrated for ministration in the See of Carthage having no jurisdiction in the See of Rome; he who was consecrated for ministration in the See of Rome having no jurisdiction in the See of Carthage. Thus the limits of a bishop's ordinary ministrations, or his actual jurisdiction, were formally assigned to him by the consecrating bishops; and jurisdiction being sometimes spoken of as an authority, instead of a limitation of authority, it may be said to have been "conferred" by the act of consecration, though this is not a strictly correct form of language. The boundaries of dioceses were arranged under the influence of geographical features, divisions made for purposes of civil government, and circumstances of mutual convenience,—more often the second than any other influence,—but when once arranged they were called by certain names, and the consecration of a bishop to the See of Rome, or the See of Carthage, was as well understood in respect to its jurisdictional force as is the appointment of a governor to the Cape of Good Hope, or to New Zealand. As the jurisdiction of the latter is fixed by the formal document which confers the governor's commission, so the jurisdiction of the former was fixed by the act of consecration which conferred the bishop's commission. No further commission was needed for "conferring" jurisdiction, and no further commission was given. A bishop was only consecrated at all because a particular see, that is a particular sphere of episcopal jurisdiction, was vacant; and when he was consecrated, he was consecrated to that particular see, that is to that particular sphere of jurisdiction. Thus his "habitual" jurisdiction was limited to "actual" jurisdiction in the very moment of its birth; and his "power of order" could be lawfully exercised beyond his own sphere of actual jurisdiction, only by the permission of any brother bishop within whose diocese he wished to exercise it; to act otherwise being to act schismatically. Within the bounds of his see each bishop had full authority, independent of all other bishops, for conferring orders, for calling synods, for exercising discipline, and for doing every other authoritative act that belongs to the office of a bishop. But all acts so done must be done with relation to his own diocese; no Bishop of Carthage ordaining priests for the diocese of Rome, nor a Bishop of Rome calling a synod for the diocese of Carthage.

That jurisdiction was thus settled by the act of consecration, and not by any separate or subsequent mode of "conferring" it, is clear from the disputes between those who opposed each other in their claims to particular sees, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Cornelius and Novatian, who each claimed to be bishop of Rome. The point universally understood to be in question was not On which had jurisdiction been conferred? but Which had been lawfully appointed and consecrated [Cypr. *ad Cornel.* ep. xliv. *al.* xl.; *ad Antonian.* lv. *al.* li. sec. 24]. Further confirmation is given by the Canons of the Primitive Church, in which it is decreed that "If any one who has been ordained bishop does not undertake the ministry and care of the people which is committed to him [τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ], let him be suspended until he undertakes it" [*Canon. Apost.* xxxv.; *Canon. Antioch.* xvii.]. Similar evidence is also afforded by the primitive office for consecrating bishops, in which the idea of full authority accompanying the reception of the episcopate is evident throughout [Gelas. *Sacram., in* Murator. i. 625, 626; Leon. *Sacram., ibid.* ii. 431].

The sub-Apostolic system of jurisdiction was,

Jurisdiction, Spiritual

therefore, essentially a "diocesan" system. Every bishop was ordained to a particular see; and thus, in the act of ordination, his jurisdiction was defined and limited within the bounds of that see. His "power of order" as bishop he received from the bishops who ordained him to his episcopal office; and from the same hands he received authority to exercise his office in all things pertaining to it, within the sphere of jurisdiction marked out for him as his diocese.

[3.] *Patriarchal system of jurisdiction.* As the number of dioceses increased by the subdivision necessary on the extension of the Church, it was found desirable to organize them in groups of larger or smaller number, under some one of their body, to whom a certain authority over the rest was assigned, who received the title of Patriarch in the case of the five principal divisions of the Church [PATRIARCH], and Archbishop or Metropolitan in subordinate divisions [ARCHBISHOP]. In the patriarchates or provinces so formed, the bishop placed above the rest has no more *episcopal* authority than any other bishop; he cannot do more than they in conferring on others the power and authority of the episcopal office: nor does actual jurisdiction—the ordination to a particular see—proceed more from his hands than from theirs. The "speciality" of an archbishop's authority above that of other bishops is that he can suspend the jurisdiction of any bishop within his province for a time, and act as its bishop himself; that he has a disciplinary authority over the bishops within his province; and that appeals can be made from them to him in some matters. In a higher degree the same remarks apply to the Eastern system of Patriarchs, a number of archbishops or metropolitans being included within a patriarchate.

This addition to the sub-Apostolic system was, therefore, a further organization of the diocesan system, and established a new jurisdiction, that of a chief bishop over ordinary bishops. But it made no change in the older system as regarded the reception of jurisdiction within a particular see by the rite of ordination or consecration to it. Because of the *new* and supplemental jurisdiction given to the chief bishop, he had the privilege given to him of taking part in the consecration of every bishop consecrated to sees within his province [*Can. Nic.* vi.; *Can. Chalced.* xxviii.]; and his assent thus became necessary: but this neither added to nor took away from the *old* jurisdiction belonging to every bishop. For even when an archbishop joins with other bishops in consecrating to a see within his province, the authority which he conveys is precisely the same—neither less nor more—as that which is conveyed by them, the authority which belongs to an episcopal consecrator.[1]

[1] It is observable that the Council of Chalcedon, when raising Constantinople to the dignity of a patriarchate, on account of its being the seat of government, expressly stated that the new jurisdiction was not for the sake of adding anything to that see, but for that of maintaining order in the dioceses placed under its rule, during vacancies by death, when clergy and laity were without a leader. [*Ep. ad Leon.*, Labbe's *Concil.* iv. 837.]

The Patriarchal system of jurisdiction leaves the elder system untouched, therefore, so far as the authority by which a bishop is sent to exercise his office within his diocese is concerned; that authority being still given by the collective act of all the consecrating bishops.

[4.] *The Papal system of jurisdiction.* The modern theory of Roman theologians is that all spiritual authority whatever flows from the fountain of the See of Rome, the Pope being universal bishop, and other bishops having no true jurisdiction unless they receive it mediately or immediately from him. Great as the pretensions of the Roman bishops have been, almost from primitive times, this theory was never heard of before the twelfth century, and is a mere invention of Italian theologians, whose interest it has always been to exaggerate the importance of the See of Rome, and who have resorted to this and equally discreditable fictions for the purpose of doing so. However strongly such a theory may be maintained in the present day, or whatever strong language may be found in support of it in Roman writers of the last few centuries, it is utterly condemned by the fact that not a trace of such a principle is to be found for more than a thousand years. And especially, as regards the Church of England, it may be observed that during the whole of that thousand years, only one bishop, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury [A.D. 668], was consecrated by a pope, that particular consecration being also the result of entirely accidental circumstances.[2]

The only historical support for any such theory of jurisdiction as that maintained by Ultramontane divines, is the fact that archbishops were presented with the pall (an ornamental vestment still figuring in the armorial bearings of English archbishops) by the Pope. The voluntary acceptance of this honorary decoration was gradually turned into a compulsory one, and the Roman theory became that it conferred authority from the Pope, and that if it was withheld, then the alleged archbishop (however duly consecrated) had no jurisdiction. But ecclesiastical history shews that this was one of those gradual encroachments which culminated in the extravagant claims of the Hildebrandine period, and that the reception of the pall was for many ages merely regarded as a brotherly recognition given by the see which was always held in high respect, and from which such a recognition would always be considered a mark of honour.

There is no true historical ground whatever for the papal system of jurisdiction: and, although it is of course one that the collective episcopate of any other church can accept, and act upon, if it should seem expedient to do so, there is abundant reason why it should be rejected, if such rejection should be thought expedient and right, as is the case with the Episcopate of the Church of England.

[2] It may be noticed that the succession of the English Episcopate is chiefly derived from Archbishop Berthwald [A.D. 693-731], that of Theodore having almost, if not quite, died out within his own lifetime.

III. Jurisdiction of English Bishops. The archiepiscopal system has been in use in the Church of England at least since the time of St. Augustine [A.D. 595-606]; but it is probable there were metropolitan bishops in the more ancient episcopate, even if they had not the title that was assumed by him for the See of Canterbury. Advantage was taken of disputes about elections, and consequent appeals to Rome, to introduce the papal system, the first occasion on which the Pope gave any actual confirmation to an election, being in the case of Richard, successor to St. Thomas in the See of Canterbury, A.D. 1174.

The manner in which he interfered with the jurisdiction of English bishops during the next three centuries is matter of history; as is also the final rejection of papal jurisdiction by the Church of England in A.D. 1534. During the last three hundred and thirty-six years (with the exception of Queen Mary's reign), the ancient system of jurisdiction alone has been in force, that of which the substantial part has been here called "sub-Apostolic," and with the supplementary addition of the provincial, or "archiepiscopal system." During the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., letters patent were issued by the Crown, confirming the inherent jurisdiction of the bishops: but these "commissions," as they have sometimes been called, were dropped as an unnecessary surplusage when the papal system had been thoroughly eradicated, and none have been issued for the last three hundred and twenty years.

The actual jurisdiction of English bishops is therefore defined by their consecration to the sees to which they have been elected and confirmed; and in the case of translations, the election, confirmation, and enthronization are a formal transference of jurisdiction from one diocese to another. From the mission thus given to bishops, is derived that given to priests by institution; and, in a lesser degree, by license to a curacy. [Diocese. Parish. Cure of Souls.]

JUSTIFICATION. Two senses have been assigned to this word, both of which are sanctioned by the usage of Holy Scripture. *First*, to declare righteous by acquitting or absolving in a legal sense from the charge of sin, which is called imputative or forensic justification. This use of the word is found in Rom. iii. 22-25, iv. 3, 6, 8; Phil. iii. 9. *Secondly*, to pronounce a man righteous as designating his real state or condition, when so made by the gifts of grace, which is termed inherent righteousness. The following passages clearly prove this sense: Luke xviii. 14; 1 Cor. iv. 4; Rev. xxii. 11; being declarative of a real, though imperfect righteousness in the persons justified. It is frequently used in the same sense in the Old Testament [LXX.] Psa. cvi. 31 (ἐλογίσθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην); Dan. xii. 3; Ezek. xviii. 9.[1]

[1] Grotius, in his prologue to the Epistle to the Romans [*Commentary on the New Testament*], proves that such is frequently the scriptural meaning of the word, and shows that Rabbinical writers generally understand it in the same sense. See also Bellarmine, *De Justificatione*, lib. ii. c. 3.

The proper meaning of the word λογίζομαι, to impute, used by St. Paul, is to reckon, or put something to the account of another. Christ's atoning merits are thus in a certain sense placed to our account, and become, as it were, our own: *we* are debtors to God's justice: the debt is paid by our Lord, and thus we are acquitted from the charge or obligation. "Through this man," says St. Paul, "is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by Him all who believe are justified from all things, by which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses" [Acts xiii. 38, 39].

But the dispute respecting the proper meaning of δικαίω in Scripture, whether forensic, or as declaring and founded on a real fact or truth, becomes, on looking at its general teaching, a mere logomachy, since we are expressly told that God will not "justify the wicked" [Exod. xxiii. 7], and that "he that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as He is righteous" [1 John iii. 7], "not the hearers of the law," says St. Paul, "shall be justified before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified" [Rom. ii. 13].[2]

In illustrating this doctrine, we have [1] to inquire into the conditions of justification, [2] the instrumental cause, [3] the means by which we continue in a justified state and attain eternal life: and a few remarks will be added on the apparently contradictory teaching of St. Paul and St. James on the subject.

[1.] The Apostle St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans [iii. 4], dwells at length on the fallen and lost condition of mankind before the coming of Christ, and shews the impossibility of justification by the law of nature or of Moses. He says: "We have before proved both Jews and

[2] Knox, in his *Remarks on Justification* [*Letter to D. Parkin, Esq.; Remains*, vol. i. p. 256], shews that the Fathers, even according to the admission of Milner, the Calvinistic historian, held the doctrine of inherent righteousness. They generally, says Milner, from the first century to the Reformation, confounded justification with sanctification. Faber, in reply to the *Remarks* of Knox, wrote a work entitled *The Primitive Doctrine of Justification* [1837], in defence of the forensic view—that God first, through faith, acquits us from guilt, or declares us righteous, and *afterwards* makes us such. He attempts to prove that both Knox and Milner have mistaken or misrepresented the teaching of the Fathers, who really, he says, from the Apostolic age, held the doctrine of forensic and imputative justification. Faber—who quotes numerous extracts from the Fathers for the first five centuries, laying especial stress on the testimony of the Apostolic age—fails to prove his theory, as Dr. Newman shews from an examination of a passage which Faber quotes as very important and conclusive from St. Clement's *Epistle to the Corinthians*, which he misunderstood, and mistranslated. Nor, as Dr Newman says, are his subsequent quotations more satisfactory [*Lectures on Justification, app.* p. 434, &c.]

The teaching of the Fathers on the subject is given by Bishop Bull, in his defence of his *Treatise on Justification*. He quotes passages from St. Irenæus, Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Basil, Tertullian, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine. His quotations generally may be considered as shewing that when the Fathers speak of faith, or faith only, justifying, they speak of it in a complex sense, or in union with good works (repentance and love). Also in some extracts given, the connection of faith with baptism is implied, for "faith," as St. Basil says, "is perfected by baptism, and baptism is founded on faith" [*Apol. pro Harmonia*, sect. IV.].

Gentiles that they are all under sin, . . . that every mouth may be stopped, and the whole world may become guilty before God." He then reveals the Gospel mode of justification: "But now the righteousness (or justification) of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets, even the righteousness of God which is by faith in Jesus Christ unto and upon all them that believe."

Faith in Jesus Christ is thus the preparation for, and condition of, justification: "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ," says the same Apostle, "and thou shalt be saved." Faith is here set before us as the foundation of all Gospel righteousness; we must, ere we can become members of Christ's Church, rely upon His word and teaching, and thus faith is necessarily the first step to the kingdom of God: he that cometh unto God must believe "that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." Whatever might be the prejudices of education, or of a corrupt state of heart and life, which prevented the Jew or heathen from embracing the Christian religion, it was only through faith they could be overcome; and such faith then, besides a mere intellectual assent, must also have been a persuasion of heart which enabled him to submit unreservedly to the teaching and requirements of the Gospel—the *obedience* of faith. Faith thus implied a preparation of heart, the most difficult though indispensable condition ere the sinner could come to Christ. The healing by our Lord of bodily disease typified the healing of the soul. "Believe ye that I am able to do this?—according to your faith be it unto you" [Matt. ix. 28, 29]. And St. Paul, looking on the cripple at Lystra, saw that he had "faith to be healed" [Acts xiv. 9].

Hence we find that, although justification is always represented as a free gift, not to be purchased by man's deservings, yet that faith is the indispensable condition for our receiving it; it would be impossible to imagine how this divine gift could otherwise be bestowed or received. It was faith only which could open a sinner's eyes to perceive his need of the blessings of redemption, which could enable him to feel his fallen and lost condition by nature, and realize the greatness of a Saviour's love; and could also teach him the need of a change of heart and life, his only means of shewing forth gratitude for the mercies of redemption, and his love to Him Who had thus loved him and given Himself for his salvation. Hence repentance is also brought before us as a condition of justification. St. John the Baptist said, "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand" [Matt. iii. 2]. Our Lord preached, "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel" [Mark i. 15]. His disciples also "preached that men should repent" [Mark vi. 12]. Before His Ascension, He commanded that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His Name among all nations" [Luke xxiv. 47]. "Repent," says St. Peter to the Jews, on the day of Pentecost, "and be baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins" [Acts ii. 38]. Thus repentance is mentioned as one of the conditions of justification, sometimes alone, though elsewhere joined with faith. Without repentance, no less than without faith, men were unfit to receive the Gospel gift of grace; and as regards those who were notorious sinners, as the Jews after the Crucifixion of our Lord, the duty of repentance is *prominently* urged. The mission of the Baptist was especially to preach this doctrine, to warn a sinful generation of God's terrible judgments—the axe laid to the root of the tree, and the unquenchable fire. The sinner was fighting against God; he *must*, therefore, lay down the arms of rebellion ere the offer of pardon and mercy could possibly be made or accepted. Repentance, like faith, was thus an indispensable preliminary to the pardon of sin and reconciliation with God. Nay, further, the two conditions may be said to interpenetrate and depend on each other. Hence we sometimes read of repentance, and sometimes of faith, "only," as the condition of justification. This is partly to be explained, as said before, by a reference to individual cases, that is, when either faith or repentance is especially required; but besides, the two conditions never are nor can be wholly separated. The sinner believing in Jesus Christ—in His atonement for sin and His promises of pardon to the penitent—has a motive most powerful and all-availing to repentance, which leads him to contrition for past sins as displeasing to God and injurious to his own soul. How can he indeed repent unless faith shews him the heinousness of sin in the sight of God, and assures him of His willingness to pardon it? The inseparability of the two conditions is also implied in the absolute and unreserved promise of salvation either to one or the other: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved" [Acts xvi. 31]; whilst elsewhere we read, "God hath granted to the Gentiles repentance unto life" [Acts xi. 18], as if repentance were the only condition for the attainment of salvation. Faith and repentance are not to be viewed singly and separately, and as not really connected with each other, but in a greater or less degree are always united together as the conditions of justification.

II. The instrumental cause of justification is now to be considered. Justification is always spoken of in the New Testament in connexion with the gift of the Holy Spirit in baptism and our adoption into the family of God; sin is pardoned in the laver of baptism, and a new and regenerate nature given by the operation and infused gifts of the Holy Spirit; we are not only declared righteous forensically, or absolved from the charge of guilt through the atoning Blood, but are sanctified or made righteous by the infused gifts of grace. Hence justification is often viewed in connexion with the conditions of faith and repentance, and the baptismal gift of the Holy Spirit. Thus St. Paul speaks of the Gentiles receiving the promise of the Spirit through faith [Gal. iii. 2]. "Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts" [Gal. iv. 6]. "Ye are justified in the Name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of

our God" [1 Cor. vi. 11]. "In whom, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise" [Ephes. i. 13]. "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins" [Acts xxii. 16]. "According to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost; that being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life" [Tit. iii. 5-7]. "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ" [Gal. iii. 26-27]. Thus Christians are washed, justified, and sanctified in the laver of baptism [1 Cor. vi. 11]; are "the workmanship of God created in Christ Jesus unto good works" [Ephes. ii. 10]; "dead unto sin," "free from sin," "alive unto God" [Rom. vi.]; "transformed by the renewing of their mind" [Rom. xii. 2]. "As by one man's disobedience," says St. Paul, "many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous" [Rom. v. 19]. Here, as Bellarmine argues,[1] the antithesis of the Apostle between Adam's sin and Christ's righteousness obviously implies, that as we really, and not by a mere figure, sinned in and through Adam, so we become really, through the gift and possession of holiness, righteous through Christ; the *real* righteousness of the baptized Christian corresponds with his *real* sinfulness in Adam.

From the passages quoted it is clear the gift of justification in baptism is not merely extrinsic, or the imputed righteousness of another, but the real bestowment of righteousness through the gifts of grace. Being engrafted into Christ, we are made new creatures in Him [2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15]. Thus, when God justifies, He sanctifies; the two gifts are inseparable and coincident. We were by nature enemies to God, in baptism we became sons—not assuredly without an inward or moral change—God sending forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts. The gift of regeneration thus necessarily implies our sanctification or renewal unto holiness.

III. The next inquiry is, by what means we continue in a state of justification. The reply is, by faith and good works. "The just," says St. Paul, "shall live by faith" [Heb. x. 38]; "the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God" [Gal. ii. 20]; "that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith" [Ephes. iii. 17]; and he speaks to the Thessalonians of God "fulfilling the work of faith with power" [2 Thess. i. 11]. But we must carefully notice what is often meant in Scripture, and especially in St. Paul's writings, by faith. The word properly or originally means belief, or an intellectual assent to the truths of the Gospel—a sense found in Scripture: thus the devils believe and tremble, and Simon Magus, hearing the preaching of Philip, believed. But the word is used in a widely different sense, when faith is spoken of as justifying or preserving us in a state of justification. Its true and primary meaning of an assent of the understanding is not lost, but transformed into a loving and confiding affection of the heart: we believe as before, but we now also love and trust in our Redeemer. [Faith.] "With the heart," says St. Paul, "man believeth unto righteousness:" the work of faith, he teaches, is to realize the indwelling presence of our Lord; hence we love and rely upon Him, look to Him for the supply of every want, and strive to please and obey Him, and by this blessed union and communion are transformed as it were into His very likeness. "I live not," says the Apostle, —as if personal identity could no longer be recognised—"but Christ liveth in me." This is the faith which preserves us in a state of acceptance with God—a realizing the privileges of our regenerate state—"dwelling in Christ and Christ in us." It is that faith, as the Apostle says, which "worketh by love" [Gal. v. 22]; is quickened and made fruit-bearing by love. Belief and love are thus intimately and indissolubly united in justifying faith, and mutually strengthen and increase each other. The Apostle speaks to the Ephesians of Christ dwelling in their hearts by *faith* [Ephes. iii. 17], and then, as if the words were interchangeable, or at least intimately connected—one suggesting and bringing before him the other—he adds, "that ye, being rooted and grounded in *love*, may be able to comprehend with all saints," &c. Thus faith is viewed by St. Paul as living or fruit-bearing. St. John also says, that "whosoever *believeth* that Jesus is the Christ is born of God; and he that *loveth* Him that begat"—believing and loving, being inseparable—"loveth him also that is begotten of Him."

But the Scriptures also expressly declare that good works are required as a condition for our continuance in a state of justification and the attainment of eternal life. Good works are necessarily the fruits of a true and living faith, but lest we should deceive ourselves by a mere notional or imaginary faith, they are expressly stated to be indispensable to our justification and salvation. Our Lord's declaration is most emphatic: "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire" [Matt. vii. 19]. The man who heareth His sayings and doeth them is compared to one who built his house upon a rock, against which the floods and storms beat in vain: but he who heareth his sayings and doeth them not, is compared to a man who, without a foundation, built his house on the sand, which was overthrown, and great was the fall thereof [Matt. vii. 24-27]. And from His account of the Day of Judgment, we know that they who have done certain good works—cited in illustration of Christian duties generally—will go into life everlasting; and they who have left them undone, will be cast into everlasting fire [Matt. xxv. 31-46]. "If a man loves Me," He says, "he will keep My words: he that loveth Me not keepeth not My sayings." "Herein is My Father glorified that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be My disciples" [John xiv. xv.]. St. Paul also declares that to them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, honour and immor-

[1] *De Justificatione*, lib. ii. c. 2.

tality, God will render eternal life; and that not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified [Rom. ii. 7, 13]. "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but keeping the commandments of God" [1 Cor. vii. 19]. "Be not deceived, God is not mocked, for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap" [Gal. vi. 7]. Justification by works, either as preserving us in a state of acceptance with God, or as the title to an eternal reward, has been supposed to imply, in an unscriptural sense, the *merit* attached to good works, as if the faithful Christian had thus a strict claim or title to eternal happiness; but this inference is a mistaken one. The Christian is only *entitled* to future happiness on account of God's promises; for we know that He is faithful Who hath promised. The term "merit" applied to good works is unobjectionable if rightly understood, and is often used by the Fathers:[1] we are rewarded according to the merit of good works, that is as they deserve. They can only be done, let us remember, through grace and faith in Christ; and God accounts the fruits of His gifts of grace as being *our own* merit or deserving. Thus justification by works, whilst assuring us of the absolute necessity of a holy and obedient life for our acceptance before God, neither teaches us to rely upon them in disparagement of His grace, nor, strictly speaking, as claiming a reward from God.[2]

[1] "Quomodo multæ mansiones apud Patrem, nisi pro varietate meritorum" [Tertull. *advers. Gnosticos Scorpiacum*, c. vi.]. "Credimus quidem posse apud Judicem plurimum martyrum merita et opera justorum" [St. Cyprian, *de Lapsis*]. "Misericordia et gratia convertit hominem . . . ut justificetur impius, hoc est ex impio fiat justus, et incipiat habere meritum bonum quod Dominus coronabit quando judicabitur mundus" [St. Augustine, Epist. 204, *Valentino*].

[2] The formal cause of justification, that which constitutes or makes it what it is, has been a subject of dispute: whether we are justified through Christ's merits imputed to us, or through the believer's own imperfect righteousness. Strictly speaking, the formal cause cannot be man's righteousness as being defective and imperfect, and thus needing pardon, and which can only be meritorious in any sense through God's power and gift, and through the atonement and righteousness of Christ. The believer's righteousness indeed is real and inherent, but cannot, for the reason given, considered *per se*, be the cause of justification. The formal cause is twofold: our Lord's merits and the Christian's imperfect works or obedience. There has been, as Holy Scripture teaches, a mysterious transference of the sins of the guilty to the Innocent One, typified by the scape-goat, upon which the sins of the Israelites were laid, and also as expressly stated by Isaiah, "the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all: He hath borne our sins in His own body on the tree: by His stripes we were healed" [Isa. liii.; 1 Pet. ii. 24]. The teaching of Scripture on this subject we cannot fully understand in all its bearings, nor must we attempt, by our own comment or inferences, to represent it as being clearer or more definite than it really is: as it must also be received in connection with, or explained in accordance with, other declarations of the Word of God with which it is in intimate union. Hence must be rejected the Calvinistic theory of imputed righteousness, *apparently* sanctioned by passages referred to, but *really* setting aside the fundamental teaching of Scripture [IMPUTED RIGHTEOUSNESS]. Our sins have been laid on Christ, and it is only through His stripes that we were healed; but this is not the whole teaching of Scripture on the subject: certain conditions are required on our part ere the gift of pardon can be obtained, and even forgiveness, though granted through the atoning Blood, may afterwards be cancelled or finally withheld, as in the case of the unforgiving debtor [Matt. xviii. 34]. But, whilst protesting against a modern perversion of scriptural teaching, it is allowed that this mysterious truth of our Lord's bearing our sins on the Cross, affords to the faithful Christian an assured ground of comfort and confidence. Even saints, when looking at God's infinite holiness and the imperfection and worthlessness of their best services, have felt that the only assured source of hope and comfort is the precious blood-shedding on the Cross. Thus Hooker, after saying that he had served God in his youth and after life, adds: "If Thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it—for I plead, not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of mine unrighteousness, for His merit who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners."

But attention must also be called to another view of the subject before us, which sets aside the teaching of Scripture that faith and repentance are required as the conditions of justification in baptism. According to this theory, faith at all times, and *per se*, is the only condition of justification. Thus a baptized person falling into sin, can always, by an act of faith, apprehend or appropriate to himself the righteousness of the Redeemer, and is hereby justified before God. This theory, probably invented by Luther, is thus set forth in his *Commentary on the Galatians*. He speaks of Christ "upon whose shoulders lie all the evils and miseries of mankind, the law, sin, death, the devil, and hell; and all these do die in Him, for by His death He hath killed them. But we must receive this benefit of Christ with a sure faith. For like as neither the Law nor any other work is offered unto us but Christ alone, so nothing is required of us but faith alone, whereby we apprehend Christ, and believe that our sins and our death are condemned and abolished in the sin and death of Christ." He then censures the "blind sophisters" who say that faith justifieth not except it do the works of charity (fides formata charitate). "To be brief, all the enemies which before did torment and oppress me, Christ Jesus hath brought to nought, 'hath spoiled them and made a show of them openly, triumphing over them' [Col. ii. 15]. By this we may plainly see that there is nothing here for us to do, only it belongeth to us to hear that these things have been wrought and done in us in this wise, and by faith to apprehend the same; and this is the true formed and furnished faith indeed."[3] Luther's theory may be thus stated in a few words: that there is an apprehensive power in faith which enables us to realize and appropriate to ourselves Christ's all-atoning merits—that when we feel the guilt of sin, we can triumphantly look to Christ crucified, Who by His Cross has taken it away. Thus by believing that our sins were pardoned, being borne in our stead by Christ, we become really, and can know and feel ourselves to be justified.

Perhaps a more unscriptural theory has seldom been devised: this is clear from the inference obviously to be derived from it, that it wholly sets aside the duty of repentance. If a sinner, by faith, can thus know and feel himself justified, it follows that repentance is unnecessary—we

[3] *Commentary on Gal.* ii. 19 [transl. 1830].

really may "continue in sin," and "grace will abound." Besides, the theory before us is destitute of all scriptural proof: the Christian fallen into sin, is not told to apprehend Christ's righteousness for its pardon; nor do we there find any similar or synonymous expression. St. Peter says to Simon Magus, the first of whom we read as falling from, or unfaithful to, baptismal grace, "Repent, if haply the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee" [Acts viii. 22]: St. Paul fears that the Corinthians, who had committed gross sins, had not repented of their wickedness [2 Cor. xii. 21]; and in the same Epistle speaks of "godly sorrow working repentance unto salvation not to be repented of" [2 Cor. vii. 10].

As regards this subject, we must carefully bear in mind the essential difference between the unregenerate state and that of baptized Christians. Throughout the Apostolic Epistles, the Christian state and its obligations are clearly designated by various, though accordant, phrases. The members of the Church, that is the baptized, had been, St. Paul teaches, justified "by faith," by "Christ's Blood" "reconciled" to Him, and "had received the atonement" [Rom. v. 1, 9-11]; "their old man was crucified with Him;" they "were saved by grace through faith" [Eph. ii. 8]; had been "enlightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift," and "received the knowledge of the truth" [Heb. vi. 4, x. 26]. Such is the usual phraseology of the Epistles addressed to all the baptized, clearly implying that they had received the grace of regeneration, and also the duties and obligations of their new and Christian state; and it must be remembered that Christians (*i.e.*, the baptized), are now in the same position as those to whom the Epistles were addressed, and to them only the Apostle's exhortations are appropriate, or have any reference whatever. To view St Paul's teaching, when referring to the unregenerate Jew, or heathen, promising free and entire pardon through the all-atoning Blood, *as if* it were applicable to baptized Christians, is not only obviously unallowable, but has been the especial cause of Lutheran error on faith.

Nor is the need of repentance only, but that also of holiness or Christian obedience, is *really* set aside by this theory; since it represents justification as taking place *before* the works of faith are, or can be performed. We are said to be justified independently of them. Thus the inference is unavoidable, that good works are *not* indispensable to a state of justification or acceptance with God. On the contrary, it may be asserted, that man is never justified by the mere act of faith, even when preparatory to, and the condition of, holy baptism, since even before regeneration, repentance must accompany faith, and also, in some degree, love. Thus justification by a mere act of faith is impossible. After baptism, we are justified by faith and works, by a righteousness, that is, which is really our own and inherent in us, though wrought out by God's grace. The doctrine of justification by inherent righteousness, held by Bellarmine and Bishop Bull,[1] in opposing the theory before us, shews the absolute necessity of a life of Christian obedience: that we must abound in the fruits of righteousness to the praise and glory of God, ere we can now be in a state of acceptance with Him, or be fit for the happiness of His eternal kingdom.

A few remarks may be added on the apparent contradiction between the teaching of St. Paul and St. James on justification. St. Paul says that we are justified by faith without works [Rom. iv. 5], or the deeds of the law [Rom. iii. 28], and St. James, that we are not justified by faith only [James ii. 24]. Various theories have been proposed to reconcile the seeming discordance between the teaching of the Apostles: such as, that St. James speaks of justification before men, and St. Paul of justification before God; but this is irreconcilable with the manifest teaching of St. James. He and St. Paul both quote the same example of Abraham, and also speak of his justification *before God;* and both cite the same passage from Genesis, that faith was imputed to him for righteousness [xv. 6]. No doubt, if we consider faith according to the Lutheran or Solifidian sense, the Apostles *do* contradict each other, but viewing the word in its true sense, their teaching can easily be reconciled. St. Paul says that Abraham was justified by faith, by a fruit-bearing faith; and St. James, that he was not justified by a faith which was dead or without fruits. St. James does *not* deny that Abraham was justified by faith, though he says, "not by faith *only;*" nor does St. Paul deny that he was justified by works, since works are really comprised as necessarily accompanying, or produced from it, in St. Paul's meaning of faith. St. Paul, indeed, does not mention Abraham's works, as the subject did not then come before him: he was arguing in proof of the excellency of faith, which he shews had been witnessed by the Law and the Prophets—"the righteousness which is by faith of Jesus Christ." But St. James, with another object in view, does especially mention Abraham's works, and tells us that faith wrought with his works, and that by works was faith made perfect [iii. 22]—in other words, that his faith was fruitful, and *thus* justifying; was what the "blind sophisters," in Luther's phrase, called "formed faith" (fides formata charitate). No wonder the Reformer termed the Epistle of St. James "straminea Epistola"—an epistle of straw! As was observed, St. James had not the same object in view as St. Paul: his epistle was written after that of St. Paul, and there can be no doubt it was intended to oppose Solifidian errors which had arisen in consequence of, or endeavoured to gain a support from, the teaching of St. Paul.[2] He selects the instance of Abraham, which St. Paul had quoted,

[1] *Examen Censuræ, Responsio* xi. sec. 9.

[2] See Bishop Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*, in which the apparent discordance of the teaching of St. Paul and St. James is examined and explained. Dr. Cave says: "That the Apostle (St. Paul) by justification by faith meant no more than either we are justified in an evangelical way, or more particularly by faith intended a practical belief, including evangelical obedience; and seeing, on the other hand, St. James, in affirming 'that we are justified by

and guards his readers against a misapprehension of St. Paul's meaning. Hence also it is clear, as Bishop Bull and others have remarked,[2] that the

works, and not by faith only'; by works means no more than evangelical obedience, in opposition to a naked and an empty faith; these two, so far from quarrelling, mutually embrace each other, and both, in the main, pursue the same design; and, indeed, if any disagreement seem between them, it is most reasonable that St. Paul should be expounded by St. James, not only because his propositions are so express and positive, and not justly liable to ambiguity, but because he wrote some competent time after the other; and consequently as he perfectly understood his meaning, so he was capable to countermine those ill principles which some men had built upon St. Paul's assertions. For it is evident from several passages in St. Paul's Epistles that even then many began to mistake his doctrine, and from his assertions about justification by faith, and not by works, to infer propositions that might serve the purpose of a bad life [see Rom. iii. 8, vi. 1] . . . Against these men it is beyond all question plain that St. James levels his Epistle to batter down

obscure language or reasonings of St. Paul on this subject, should be interpreted by the plainer and more distinct teaching of St. James.

the growing doctrines of libertinism and profaneness; to shew the insufficiency of a naked faith, and an empty profession of religion, that it is not enough to recommend us to the Divine acceptance, and to justify us in the sight of heaven, barely to believe the Gospel, unless we really obey and practise it; that a faith destitute of this evangelical obedience is fruitless and unprofitable to salvation; that it is by these works that faith must appear to be vital and sincere." After quoting the examples of Rahab and Abraham, as a proof that faith is not of itself sufficient to justify us unless a proportionable obedience be joined to it, he concludes: "His meaning (St. James'), in short, being nothing else than that good works, or evangelical obedience, is, according to the divine appointment, the condition of the Gospel covenant, without which it is in vain for any to hope for that pardon which Christ hath purchased, and the favour of God, which is necessary for eternal life." [*Life of St. Paul*, secs. 15, 16.]

K

KEYS, POWER OF THE. This is a symbolical form of expression used by our Lord respecting Himself, and also when promising His commission to the Apostles for the exercise of authority in the Church.

[1.] Our Lord says of Himself, "I am He that liveth and was dead: and behold I am alive for evermore, Amen: and have the keys of hades and of death" [Rev. i. 18]. And again, also, in sending the message to the Church of Philadelphia, He speaks of Himself as "He that hath the key of David, He that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth" [*ibid.* iii. 7; *cf.* Isa. xxii. 22]. A similar use of the expression is also found with regard to an angel descending from heaven with a delegated authority, who is said to have "the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand" [*ibid.* xx. 1]. In these cases "the keys" are plainly symbolical of supreme power and authority. The first and last quotations refer to the power of our Lord, and of one sent as His deputy, over the bodies of those in the grave, the souls of those in hades, and the evil one in Gehenna. The second quotation is explained in the subsequent words, "I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it" [*ibid.* iii. 8], which are spoken to a Church respecting its probation, and imply that the way of salvation is opened, and is still kept open by the mercy of Him "that is holy, . . . that is true, . . . and that hath the key of David."

[2.] It is in a sense analogous to that immediately preceding that our Lord uses the same form of expression in the Gospels. On St. Peter's confession of our Lord's Supremacy and Divinity in the words, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Jesus replied with the memorable saying, "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven" [Matt. xvi. 18, 19; *cf.* xviii. 18; and John xx. 23]. In this case our Lord uses several figures which have each their distinct place in His words: and there is no good reason for making the figure of "the keys," and that of "binding and loosing" identical, as is mostly done by those interpreters who refer one as well as the other, to the absolving power of the Christian ministry. While "binding and loosing" undoubtedly bear that sense, "the keys" seem rather to refer to the general ministry and government of the Church, in the same manner as when our Lord uses the expression with reference to Himself in the message to the Philadelphian Church. Such is the sense in which Hooker interprets the words. "Our Lord and Saviour, in the sixteenth of St. Matthew's Gospel, giveth His Apostles regiment in general over God's Church. For they that have the keys of the kingdom of heaven are thereby signified to be stewards of the house of God, under whom they guide, command, judge, and correct His family. . . . Their office herein consisteth of sundry functions, some belonging to doctrine, some to discipline, all contained in the name of keys" [Hooker's *Ecc. Polit.* vi. 4].

Roman divines maintain that the power of the keys was given to St. Peter alone, and not as the representative of the apostolate in general. If the passage in which the words respecting the keys are included had stood by itself this might have seemed reasonable; but "the power of binding and loosing" is also given in the same form of expression, "*thou*" shalt bind, "*thou*" shalt loose. When these latter words are repeated, however, they are used in the plural form, "Whatsoever *ye* shall bind . . . and whatsoever *ye* shall loose" [Matt. xviii. 18]; and it is most reasonable to assume that the plural form has a similar application to the former words, though it is not expressed. Some interpreters, however, consider that the promise was fulfilled to St. Peter individually, when he was, first of all the Apostles, privileged "to open the door of faith to the Gentiles" [Acts xiv. 27] by the baptism of Cornelius and his household; as he had opened the door to the Jews by his preaching at Pentecost.

KISS OF PEACE. [*Osculum Pacis.*; *φίλημα εἰρήνης*; *signaculum orationis* (Tertullian); and sometimes *Pax.*] A ritual usage symbolical of Christian love.

[I.] A ceremony connected with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and clearly of Apostolic origin. In 1 Thess. v. 26 (probably the first written of the Epistles of St. Paul), we find the command, "Greet all the brethren with an holy kiss" (*ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ*). This command is repeated in 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; Rom. xvi. 16; and by the Apostle St. Peter, who, in

1 Pet. v. 14, uses the expression, φίλημα ἀγάπης. As the early Christians were accustomed to "come together to break bread" [Acts xx. 7], so at this greatest service was given the kiss of peace as a symbol and pledge of unity among the "partakers of that One Bread" [1 Cor. x. 17]. It was a sign that they were "reconciled to their brother, before they offered the gift" at the altar[1] [St. Matt. v. 23, 24].

One of the earliest references to the custom is in St. Justin Martyr [Apol. i.]. "When prayers are ended," he says, "we salute one another with a kiss (ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα); then bread, and a cup of (mingled) wine and water, is brought to the president of the brethren," &c. So also the Apostolic Constitutions [ii. 57] enjoin: "Let the men salute one another, and the women salute one another, with the kiss in the Lord."[2]

The position of the kiss of peace in the Liturgy varied in East and West. In the East it was before the oblation, as St. Chrysostom testifies (μέλλοντος τοῦ ὧρου προσφέρεσθαι) [*De Comp. Cordis.* I. iii.; *Bened.* 1718, vol. i. p. 127]. In the Liturgy of St. James it follows the Creed, in that of St. Mark it precedes it.

In the West it follows the act of consecration [Aug. *Hom.* lxxxiii. *de Diversis*, also *Cont. Lit. Petil.* ii. c. 23], whence probably Tertullian's name for it of "signaculum orationis," or "seal of prayer;" "osculum pacis quod est signaculum orationis," &c. [*De Orat.* c. xiv.] Tertullian condemns the refusal of the kiss upon private fast-days, and especially because, "whatever reason might be given for it, that reason could not override the observance of the command by which they were bidden to conceal their fasts." And the abstaining from the kiss, as he shews, at once revealed that they were fasting. On public and solemn fasts the kiss was authoritatively omitted, and especially on Good Friday, in remembrance of the kiss of the traitor.

One of the best examples of the rite is in the Mozarabic Liturgy [Neale, *Essays*, p. 155].

"*Priest.* As ye stand, give the peace.

"℟. Peace I leave you; My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you.

"℣. A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another.

"℟. Peace I leave, &c.

"℣. Glory and honour be to the Father, &c.

"℟. Peace I leave," &c.

While this is sung, the Priest says: "Receive the kiss of peace and love, that ye may be fit for the holy mysteries of God." The people then gave the kiss.

In the Liturgy of Sarum (according to the general use of the West), the kiss of peace followed the prayer of consecration, coming after the triple repetition of the "Agnus Dei," and the commixture of the elements. The rubric is, "Diaconus a dextris sacerdotis ab eo pacem recipiat et subdiacono porrigat. Deinde ad gradum chori ipse diaconus pacem portet rectoribus chori: et ipsi pacem choro portent, uterque suæ parti, incipiens a majoribus," &c. The "pax" here referred to was a small tablet, often of silver, kissed first by the celebrant, and then by the deacon and people, this practice gradually superseding the primitive custom [*Archæol. Journal.* 1845, ii. 144]. In the rites of Sarum and Bangor, and in these only, there was also a kiss of peace, almost at the beginning of the office. After saying the "Confiteor," "Misereatur," and Absolution, the celebrant kissed the deacon and subdeacon with the words, "Habete osculum pacis et dilectionis ut apti sitis sacrosancto altari ad perficiendum officia divina." It was continued for a time in the Reformed Church of England by the Injunctions of A.D. 1548.

[II.] The kiss of peace was also one of the ceremonies which followed baptism. The neophyte, whether adult or infant, was received with this token of love on being admitted into the fellowship of the Church, a custom which is mentioned by St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and others.

KNEELING. The ordinary posture of the body at prayer. It has not only plain scriptural authority, but may be said to have its origin in the natural feelings of a reverent heart. When we approach "the majesty of the Great King," reason itself tells us that our position should be a humble one, that as suppliants we may be heard and answered. "O come let us worship," says the Psalmist, "and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker. For He is the Lord our God, and we are the people of His pasture and the sheep of His hand" [Psa. xcv. 6]. At the dedication of the Temple Solomon "kneeled down upon His knees before all the congregation of Israel" [2 Chron. vi. 13]. At its re-building Ezra "fell upon his knees" [Ezra ix. 5]. Daniel "kneeled upon his knees three times a day" [Dan. vi. 10]. Our Blessed Lord Himself, in His agony, "kneeled down and prayed" [Luke xxii. 41]. The first martyr, St. Stephen [Acts vii. 60], St. Peter [Acts ix. 40], and St. Paul [Acts xxi. 5], also knelt in prayer.

In harmony with these examples, we find kneeling to have been, in early Christian times, "the most common and ordinary posture of devotion." Eusebius mentions how St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, "was wont to go into the Temple alone, and there pray with such constancy upon his knees, making intercession for the sins of the people, that his knees were grown hard

[1] An illustration of its use will be found in the beautiful "Prayer of the Kiss of Peace" of the Coptic St. Basil (a modification of the Liturgy of St. Mark), as given by Neale [*Introd. Hist. East. Chur.*, 455]. ". . . fill, O Lord, according to thy good pleasure, our hearts with thy peace, and cleanse us from all guilt and hatred, and deceit, and ill, and *all mortal recollection of injuries.* Make us worthy, O Lord, of *saluting each other with a holy kiss*, and of so partaking of it, that Thou mayest not repel us in judgment from Thy immortal and celestial gift. Through," &c.

[2] So also in the Liturgy of St. Clement (which closely follows the Constitutions), "Let the clergy kiss the bishop; and of the laity, the men the men, and the women the women" [Neale's transl. p. 76]. And the same injunction is found in the 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicæa; and the custom is also noticed by St. Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechetical Lectures.

and callous as those of camels" [*Ecc. Hist.* ii. 23]. Other illustrations of the practice are extant in the Shepherd of Hermas, St. Clement, the passion of St. Ignatius, and St. Cyprian, and they might be multiplied in great number.

We must notice, however, that there were exceptions to this, which was the ordinary posture of devotion. On each Lord's day, and during the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost inclusive, prayer was offered *standing*, in memory of our Lord's Resurrection. "Die Dominica jejunium nefas ducimus, vel geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus" [Tertull. *de Coron. Milit.* iii.]. The custom is also mentioned by St. Irenæus, who derives it from apostolic authority. And the twentieth canon of the Council of Nicæa, in order to bring about uniformity of practice, orders that, during the season above-mentioned, and on the Lord's day, "prayers be offered to God standing." From this rule only penitents were excepted, and they "etiam diebus remissionis genua flectant" [Conc. Carth. iv. c. lxxxii.].

The eighteenth Canon of A.D. 1604 directs all to "reverently kneel upon their knees when the general confession, litany, and other prayers are read, . . . testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures their inward humility."

KYRIE ELEËSON. Κύριε ἐλέησον—"Lord have mercy." A scriptural supplication of most frequent occurrence in the services of the Church; which, among some other liturgical formulæ, retained its Greek shape even in the Latin rite.

Its most frequent use is in the opening portions of the ancient liturgies. In that of St. Mark, we find three long prayers, each preceded by the threefold repetition of the Kyrie. In that of St. Chrysostom, the deacon offers ten petitions, and each is followed by the answering Kyrie of the choir. In the Apostolic Constitutions [lib. viii. c. 6], when the deacon bids the catechumens to pray, then all the faithful add for them this supplication. The deacon then says the prayer, and it is ordered "for each of those whom he addresses, let the people, *and, before all, the children*, say, 'Lord have mercy.'" [Neale's *Prim. Lit.* p. 88.]

In the West the Kyrie Eleëson and Christe Eleëson[1] were known as the lesser litany, and formed a part of the "Preces Feriales" of the Salisbury Portiforium, as they do now of our daily offices of prayer. "This," as Freeman observes [*Princ. of Div. Serv.* i. 363], "is to the *prayer* what the Gloria Patri is to the *praise* of the whole office; a prayer setting forth the tone and fixing the object of all the rest, and being addressed to the Holy Trinity. It was triple, as with us, at its first occurrence in the old Eastern offices; in our own it was threefold before the Lord's Prayer at Lauds, though ninefold at Prime."

To that prayer, it may be added, it is an almost universal introduction, being so used in our daily offices, in the litany, in the offices for matrimony, churching, visitation of sick, and burial of the dead, and in the commination office.

As it is used after the decalogue, at the beginning of the communion office, it, to some extent, represents the Litany or Ectene of the Eastern Liturgies.[2] In the Sarum rite, after the Introibo there followed the Kyrie Eleëson, Christe Eleëson, Kyrie Eleëson, and then the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. These were said in the vestry whilst the celebrant and his assistants were preparing for the office, the Officium or Introit commencing the more public portion of the Liturgy. In the Prayer Book of 1549 the Kyrie occupied a similar position, but following instead of preceding the Introit.

[1] The suffrage Christe Eleëson is not used in the East. "De hac voce" (*i.e.* Kyrie Eleëson), says Martene, "notanda sunt maxime. Kyrie Eleëson autem nos neque diximus neque dicimus sicut a Græcis dicitur: quia in Græcis simul omnes dicunt, apud nos autem a clericis dicitur, a populo respondetur: et totidem vicibus etiam *Christe Eleëson* dicitur, *quod apud Græcos nullo modo dicitur*" [*De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. iv. art. 3].

[2] On "double festivals" it was sung in an expanded form. For examples of this see Maskell's *Anc. Liturg.* p. 23. Two are given in Blunt's *Ann. Book of Com. Prayer*, p. 167, from a missal of 1514.

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LABARUM. The name applied to the banner or military standard of the Roman Emperors from the time of Constantine. Sozomen [*Hist. Ecc.* i. 4] calls it λάβωρον; Prudentius and other Latin writers, *Labărum*. Its etymology is very obscure; and various guesses about it may be seen in Gretser [*De Cruce*, lib. ii.], Ducange, &c. The earliest form of standard is said to have been a bundle of straw on the top of a spear or pole, to which succeeded such devices as the eagle, the wolf, &c. The cavalry standard (*vexillum*) was a square piece of cloth attached to a cross-bar, and perhaps surmounted by, or itself bearing, some device. From the minute description of Eusebius, who writes from personal inspection, we learn that the Labarum of Constantine was a gilt staff, with a crown of gold and jewels on the top; that on the crown or within it was the monogram , and that beneath it was attached a transverse bar, so as to form with the staff the sign of the Cross. From this bar hung a square banner-cloth of royal purple, richly adorned with gold and gems, and terminating in a fringe. Immediately below this there were attached to the staff busts of Constantine and his sons [*Vit. Const.* i. 26]. Socrates mentions this splendid banner as being preserved in the royal palace in his time [lib. i. cap. i.]. Prudentius [lib. i. *Contr. Symmach.*] refers to the name of Christ as being inscribed on the cloth itself, and it is so represented on coins, which shew various forms of the monogram. There can be no doubt that the standard itself assumed various forms. The origin of the Labarum is to be referred to the vision and dream of Constantine, as related by Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers. The story is, that as he was marching against Rome, A.D. 312, and feeling doubtful as to what course he should pursue, having often experienced too the powerlessness of the heathen gods to help in time of need, he betook himself to the God of the Christians; and having implored from Him some token for good, he and his soldiers saw, shortly after noon, a luminous cross in the sky bearing the inscription, ΕΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ. Christ appeared to him in his sleep the same night, and shewing him again the sign he had seen in the sky, directed him to make a standard after the same pattern, and use it in battle as a defence against his enemies. Constantine at once obeyed, and sending for skilled workmen, had the Labarum made as above described. Eusebius states that he received the story from Constantine himself, who confirmed it with an oath, but he does not mention the place where the event occurred, nor does he appear to speak of it as a well-known matter of fact. It is strange that the account, if true, should rest solely on the credit of Constantine, and it may after all be a mythical mode of describing how the Emperor determined to support Christianity, and accordingly adopted the Standard of the Cross, which, when carried in battle, was defended by fifty youths appointed for the purpose. Julian the Apostate abolished the Christian Labarum and made use of heathen symbols instead.

It is perhaps worth noticing here that three crosses are the device upon the national flag of Great Britain and Ireland.

LAITY. This is one of the terms by which the body of Christian people has been constantly distinguished from those who are called to any office of the ministry as Christian clergy: and is equivalent to the other Scriptural names, "Faithful," "Saints," and "Idiotæ." The word is derived from λαός, *plebs*, the adjective form of which, λαϊκὸς, is found represented in the Latin *laicus*, and the English "lay." Λαὸς itself is used throughout the Septuagint as the equivalent of the Hebrew word עַם, Am.

The old Testament use of this word, in the sense of Jews who were not either priests or Levites, may be abundantly illustrated. Thus the priest is to receive a due from the laity that come to offer sacrifice [Deut. xviii. 3]: the "ministers of the house" [οἱ λειτουργοῦντες], in Ezekiel's vision of the new temple, are to boil the sacrifices of the laity [Ezek. xlvi. 24]. In time of joy, as when Asaph and his brethren had finished the psalm given to them by David, "all the laity said Amen, and praised the Lord" [1 Chron. xvi. 36]. In days of penitence, as when the law was to be restored by King Josiah, the priests, and the prophets, and the laity, small and great, went up with Josiah to the renewal of the covenant [2 Kings xxiii. 2, 3]: or as when there was unreasonable mourning on a holy day, at Ezra's similar restoration of the law, "the Levites stilled all the laity" and bade

them feast and be joyful [Neh. viii. 11]. So also Isaiah recognised the distinction in the words, "As with the laity, so with the priest" [Isa. xxiv. 2]; and Hosea, when he wrote, "And there shall be, like laity, like priest" [Hos. iv. 9].

In the New Testament the same verbal form of distinction between the Jewish priests and the Jewish laity is found, as, *e.g.*, when it is said that while the Apostles "spake to the laity, the priests . . . came upon them" [Acts iv. 1]: but the distinctive New Testament names for the Christian laity are FAITHFUL, SAINTS, and IDIOTÆ or unlearned, as will be seen under those words respectively. The term itself is, however, found in use for the Christian laity before the close of the Apostolic age; for when St. Clement of Rome, the friend of St. Paul, writes to the Corinthians respecting the order of the Church, after saying that the bishops, priests, and deacons each had their respective positions and duties, he adds, ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται, "the layman is bound by the laws which belong to laymen" [Clem. Rom. *ad Corinth.* i. 40]. A little later, St. Cyprian uses the words "clerus" and "plebs" as designating the two bodies which constitute the Christian community [Cypr. *Ep.* lx.]; Tertullian condemns the heretics who confuse the different offices of the clergy, and allow even the laity to minister as if they were priests [Tertull. *de Præscript.* xli.]; and the Apostolic Canons speak of the clergy and the laity as a familiar distinction [Canon. Apost. lxiv. lxv.]. The same designation of the laity as the non-clerical part of the Christian body is very frequently found, indeed, in the two early Fathers quoted, and in all others, the above quotations being given only as illustrations of a form of speech which was as common in their day as it is in our own. [LAY CO-OPERATION. LAY PRIESTHOOD.]

LAMBETH ARTICLES. Nine "theses" or "propositions" arranged at a private conclave of Calvinistic divines held at Lambeth Palace in November 1595, and intended (under the sanction of Archbishop Whitgift) as a means of quieting theological discussions which were then disturbing the peace of Cambridge University. Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Fletcher were the only members of the Episcopal body who had anything to do with these "articles;" they were not brought before Convocation, they were not accepted by the University for which they were intended, nor by any other public body, and as soon as they became known beyond Lambeth Palace and Cambridge, they were suppressed by the Archbishop himself at the command of the Crown. The temporary sanction of an archbishop gave, however, a fictitious importance to these nine propositions, so that in after years it was the custom of the Calvinistic party to speak of them as if they had at one time been an authorized formulary of the Church of England, and as if they still possessed a quasi-authority which entitled them to regard. On this account, and because they shew in a small compass what are the leading tenets of Calvinism, some notice of them is here necessary.

The Cambridge controversy out of which the Lambeth Articles arose may be stated in a few words. During the greater part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the University had been in the hands of ultra-Calvinist Divines, who were so tenacious of their peculiar tenets respecting Election and Predestination, that they actually obtained authority from Archbishop Whitgift for making an inquisitorial search in all private studies for books and papers supporting opposite opinions [Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, 438]. When the reaction came, as come it always must in any such cases of tyranny, the Calvinistic leaders, headed by Dr. Whitaker, the Regius Professor of Divinity, made a fierce and ungenerous attack upon Dr. Baron, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, for maintaining that God created man for eternal life, that Christ died for all men, and that any who fail to be finally saved fail through their own sin, and not from being predestined for eternal damnation by an eternal decree of their Maker and Redeemer. Baron was driven from his professorship, but his opinions spread among the younger Cambridge men; and an appeal was made to Whitgift by both parties in the case of a fellow of Caius, named Barrett, who had defended those opinions from the University pulpit. After much correspondence between the Archbishop and the University, a conference between them was determined upon, and several Calvinistic heads of houses accompanied Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal, Dean of Ely, to Lambeth for the purpose of consultation with Whitgift.

Here they were met by Dr. Vaughan, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, and Dr. Fletcher, recently translated to the See of London; and after a few days, certain propositions offered by Whitaker were modified into the form in which they have been subsequently known as the Lambeth Articles. The following is an English version of them:—

I. God has, from eternity, predestined some persons unto life, and some persons He has reprobated unto death.

II. The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not the prevision of faith, or perseverance, or good works, or of anything which exists in the persons predestinated, but the sole will of God's good pleasure.

III. The number of the predestinate is predetermined and certain, which number it is not possible either to increase or diminish.

IV. They who are not predestined to salvation will, by necessity, be damned on account of their sins.

V. True, living, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of God, is not quenched, is not extirpated, does not vanish away in the elect, either finally or completely.

VI. A truly faithful man, that is one, endued with justifying faith, is certain, by the full assurance (*plerophoria*) of faith, concerning the remission of his sins and his eternal salvation through Christ.

VII. Saving grace, by which they may be saved if they will, is not imparted, nor communicated, nor granted unto all men universally.

VIII. No man is able to come to Christ, unless it be given him, and unless the Father has drawn him. And all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.

IX. It is not placed within the will or power of every man to be saved.[1]

These Articles were revived at the Hampton Court Conference [A.D. 1604], when the Puritans pressed for their incorporation into the text of the Articles of Religion. This proposal was, happily, not carried into effect. They were again revived by them, however, in Ireland, and were incorporated with the Irish Articles of A.D. 1615, which remained in force until A.D. 1635, when the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were adopted by the Church of Ireland.

LAPSED. Those Christians who had not strength to encounter persecution; who complied in some form or other with the demands of the heathen magistrates to take part in idol-worship; "they which for a while believed, but in time of temptation fell away." As the persecutions ceased, the greater part of those who had lapsed would seek reconciliation with the Church. In the first ages, such penitents were upon their confession readmitted by imposition of hands. Confessors, who had suffered in such times of trouble, had the privilege of issuing letters of peace [LIBELLI PACIS] to the lapsed, which facilitated their early reception to communion. But such penitents were ineligible for holy orders, and if already ordained they were deposed, not being allowed to resume their clerical functions, but suffered only to remain in lay communion. By degrees these letters of peace were given too freely; and as the number of the lapsed became very large in the more severe persecutions, it was found necessary to insist that their readmission should not be made too easy. In the middle of the third century, a famous dispute arose on this question. Although of universal interest, the controversy was carried on chiefly at Carthage and Rome. Decius [A.D. 249 or 250] had ordered all Christians to sacrifice to idols. Cyprian was at the time bishop of Carthage, and had withdrawn from the city while the persecution was at its height. In his absence, one of his presbyters, Novatus, irregularly admitted many of the lapsed, and opposed the instructions of his bishop to restore to full communion (for the present) only those who were "in extremis." On Cyprian's return, he convened a council, and it was decided that the less guilty should be at once admitted, if penitent, and that those who had fallen further from the faith should go through a prescribed course of penance. The authors of the late schism were all, moreover, excommunicated. At Rome, at the same time, was a presbyter, Novatian, who contended for extreme rigour towards the lapsed, and refused to restore them to communion on any terms. A council at Rome confirmed the decision of that at Carthage. Upon this Novatian founded a schismatical communion, known as the Puritans (καθαροί), whose main principle was this, the refusal to restore the lapsed to communion.

There were, of course, different degrees of guilt among the lapsed, and the circumstances of each case were taken into account when considering the amount of penance required before restoration to full communion. They were distinguished by the following names: [1] The Libellatici held a testimonial from the magistrates, saying they were not Christians, or that they had complied with the edict by sacrificing. Corrupt magistrates often gave these certificates to facts not true; and their purpose was probably answered if they could make out large lists of Libellatici, as attesting the triumph of heathenism over Christianity. [2] The Sacrificati had actually sacrificed; that is, had taken part in the idol-worship, or partaken of meat offered to idols. [3] The Thurificati had offered incense on the altar of some idol. [4] The Idolatri, or Blasphemati, had formally denied Christ. There were also [5] the Mittentes, those who procured a deputy to offer sacrifice for them. And in later times, apparently first in the persecution of Diocletian [c. A.D. 300], occurs a new class, [6] Traditores, who had surrendered the Church property, or the sacred writings.

Peter, Bishop of Alexandria [A.D. 306], drew up some canons for his own diocese, still extant, regulating the conditions for readmission of the lapsed. And the 60th canon of the Concilium Agathense [A.D. 506] treats also *De Lapsis*. It prescribes a penance of two years, with fasting every third day. [NOVATIANISM.]

LAST JUDGMENT. [SECOND ADVENT.]

LATITUDINARIANISM. A school of thought in the Church of England, the principles of which are protested against in the Eighteenth Article of Religion, an article exceptionally guarded by an anathema,—"They also are to be held accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of Nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved."[2] This article is somewhat loosely worded, but by comparison of the language used with the use of similar language in the New Testament, it will be plainly seen to amount to a statement

[1] The original Latin of these articles is given in Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, ii. 30, and in Hardwick's *History of the Articles of Religion*, App. v.

[2] It will not be out of place to give here also the propositions on this subject denounced as erroneous by Pope Pius IX.:—"*Indifferentism; Latitudinarianism*—Every man is free to embrace and profess that religion which, guided by the light of reason, he shall consider true. Men may, in the observance of any religion whatever, find the way of eternal salvation, and arrive at eternal salvation. Good hope at least is to be entertained of the eternal salvation of all those who are not at all in the true Church of Christ. Protestantism is nothing more than another form of the same true Christian religion, in which form it is given to please God equally as in the Catholic Church." [Authorized translation. In Appendix to *Acta Synodi Dixceseos Suthwarcensis*, p. 166.]

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that salvation is only to be obtained within the boundaries of the Church. Thus, Holy Scripture shews that—

The Name of Christ is set forth, . .	John iii. 36, xiv. 6; 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6; Acts iv. 12; 1 John v. 12.
for salvation in and through the Church, and that . .	Mark xvi. 15, 16; Acts ii. 37, 38, 47; Col. i. 18; Ephes. v. 23.
therefore, without the Church is no salvation . . .	Mark xvi. 16; John iii. 18, 19; Luke x. 16; John xii. 48.

The ultimate principle of Latitudinarianism is the negation of all objective truth in matters of religion: the practical expression of this principle being found in some form of belief and practice which esteems creeds as formularies based on insufficient evidence; ecclesiastical organizations as mere human institutions; and salvation as dependent on morals, subject to the voice of conscience.

But Latitudinarianism has most frequently stopped short of these definite propositions, and rested in a theory or practice of religion which has made its chief object the adoption of a form of Churchmanship whose chief characteristic is that it cannot be defined with clearness or certainty. Such Latitudinarianism may be in theory as well as in practice, or in practice only. In the former case those who profess it hold, in terms which no one would dispute, that the truth revealed by Christ must be believed, and that heresy perils man's salvation, but they evade the force of these propositions by a narrow definition of the "truth revealed by Christ." Such truth is not held to be conterminous with the Creed: some articles of the Creed are only private opinions of men, and heresy is accordingly only the denial of those articles which they allow to have been clearly revealed. In the latter case, although there is no open repudiation of the Creed as the expression of revealed truth, there is in practice a neglect of the connection between sound doctrine and a good life, an undervaluing of the necessity of strict dogmatic theology, a too exclusive insisting on the ethical side of Christianity, in short, a want of zeal in contending for the faith.

It will be found that while Latitudinarianism admits a high strain of teaching regarding the working of God's Spirit on the soul, the effects of that teaching are weakened, and the doctrines of spiritual religion imperfectly presented by the comparative neglect of the holy Sacraments. The immediate influence of the Holy Spirit on the individual soul is the principal theme: and little attention is paid to the indwelling of the Spirit in the Church, to the membership of the Christian in Christ's Mystical Body, to the earthly mysteries or means of appliance with which the Church is divinely furnished for imparting the virtue of heavenly things to all her members. [See Mill's *Sermons on the Nature of Christianity*, ser. ii.] The reasonableness of Christianity, and the motives supplied by Christianity, are put forward rather than its true spiritual powers.

This school or party in the Church of England may be dated from Chillingworth and Hales of Eton: the latter, indeed, may be taken as a type of the earlier Latitudinarian party. Brought up in Calvinism, he was converted to Arminianism by attending the Synod of Dort, and fairly represents those who emancipated themselves from Calvinism by the help of Grotius. His tract on schism recommends that outward union which is founded on suppression of the truth. He writes: "Why may I not go, if occasion require, to Arian churches, so there be no Arianism expressed in their liturgy; and, were liturgies and public forms of service so framed, as that they admitted not of private and particular fancies, but contained only such things as in which all Christians do agree, schisms on opinion were utterly vanished." Arianism and the Nicene faith are to be left out of the liturgy as particular fancies, in order that all Christians may agree.

If we add to Hales' theology, first, the greater depth of thought arising from an assiduous and affectionate study of Plato and the Neo-Platonists; secondly, the greater depth of spiritual religion (in one department at least) which is gained when the mind so roused is thrown again upon Christian doctrine, as containing the satisfaction and complement of Platonism; and, thirdly, the element of a subdued mysticism which such a course of study engenders, then we have the somewhat later school, the Cambridge Latitude-men, or Platonists. They were Arminians, but not trained in a Church school, with a large addition of Greek philosophy. Their greater vigour and earnestness prevented their Latitudinarianism reaching so far as that of Hales. The chief men of this school were Cudworth, Henry More, John Smith, Worthington, Bishop Wilkins (though he did little in theology), and Theophilus Gale. Their teaching runs thus: The end which all parts of the Christian mystery point at, is the advancement and triumph of the divine life; the animal life, and a middle life, whose root is reason, being from the powers of the natural man; the divine life, which is the light and purification of the eye of the mind, being from an obediential faith in God: the branches of the divine life are humility, charity, purity. The Gospel is a mighty engine for this purpose; its powers are the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension of our Lord, and future judgment. These furnish proofs, supply motives, give pledges; and the assistance of the Holy Spirit is given: but there appears to be a flinching from "the power of Christ's resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings."

"When reason is raised by the mighty force of the Divine Spirit into a converse with God, it is turned into sense: that which before was faith becomes vision. We shall then converse with God τῷ νῷ, whereas before we conversed with Him only τῇ διανοίᾳ, with our discursive faculty, as the Platonists were wont to distinguish. Before we laid hold on Him only λόγῳ ἀποδεικτικῷ,

with a struggling, agonistical, and contentious reason, hotly combating with difficulties and sharp contests of diverse opinions, and labouring in itself in its deductions of one thing from another; we shall then fasten our minds upon Him λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῷ, with such a serene understanding, γαλήνῃ νοερᾷ, such an intellectual calmness and serenity, as will present us with a blissful, steady, and invariable sight of Him." [John Smith, *Discourses*, edit. 1821, p. 19.]

Enough has been said to shew the position of these distinguished men in English Church history. The power of Calvinistic Puritanism was broken partly by the revival of Church teaching in the line of Hooker, and partly by foreign Arminianism, or Christianity according to Grotius. But Grotianism could not hold its ground between Church teaching on the one hand, and the remaining Calvinism on the other hand; and the position of the Arminians was strengthened by an alliance with Platonism. The school thus formed has doubtless been of use in the Church. Both Roman law and Greek philosophy enter into the presentation of the Gospel to the world; and in forming the general mind and tone of thought of English Churchmen, the teaching of More and Smith has contributed no unimportant element.

Professor Maurice observed that this school is more properly Cartesian than Platonist, being far more busy about the soul than about its objects, and therefore in their ethical system sliding into the Aristotelian doctrine respecting the distinction between the absolute and the practical, and teaching how to form habits rather than to rest in principles. [*Moral and Metaph. Philosophy, Encyc. Metrop.* ii. p. 656. See Stewart's *Essay on Metaph. Philosophy*, pp. 58, 61, notes, and note O, p. 246.] Malebranche leads from Descartes to the Idealists, Arthur Collier, and Norris of Bemerton, with whom as a distinct body the school may be said to close.

LATRIA. By common consent this word is restricted to the service and worship due to Almighty God, and to Him alone.

The distinction between Dulia and Latria is of ancient use in the Church, and it is futile to argue against it from etymological considerations, for in language there is always going on a desynonymizing process; and the Church is at liberty to define the terms it uses. Augustine writes: "Sed ea servitus, quæ debetur hominibus, secundum quam præcipit Apostolus servos dominis suis subditos esse debere, alio nomine Græce nuncupari solet; λατρεία vero secundum consuetudinem, qua locuti sunt qui nobis divina eloquia, aut semper, aut tam frequenter ut pæne semper, ea dicitur servitus quæ pertinet ad colendum Deum" [*De Civitate Dei*, x. cap. i.]. Daillé allows that in the fourth century the Fathers of the Church recognised this distinction.

In the theology of the Romish Church this distinction is clearly drawn out. St. Thomas Aquinas teaches: "Dulia per quam homini similitudinem dominii participanti cultum exhibemus alia virtus est quam latria, per quam Deo verum et plenarium dominium obtinenti, cultum et honorem deferimus." [Secunda sec. quæst. ciii. art. iii.] In accordance with which Latria is not divisible into several species, since God, its only object, is One. Dulia, "communiter sumpta," is so divisible, although, "stricte accepta," it is the reverence of a servant to his lord.

It is not infrequent with English controversialists to make light of this distinction, to urge that Hyperdulia cannot but pass insensibly into Latria. If it were said, however, that it is difficult to distinguish between Dulia and Hyperdulia, that the former passes insensibly into the latter, the assertion would be more just and more reasonable. For the further extension of the word Dulia, by which it includes the reverence due to the highest created beings, as well as the reverence due to man, is only an extension of degree: whereas, between Latria and Dulia, even in its highest form, there is an essential difference in kind. As the object of worship, so the worship. The distance between God and the highest created being is infinite, and the worship due to God differs in kind from the reverence due from one creature to any other creature whatsoever. In this latter, in Dulia, the mind does not rest on the object, but passes beyond it to the One Source of the communicated greatness which is reverenced. In the former that One Source is directly the object of worship: there the mind rests. This ultimate reliance, this faithful resting on the object, appears to be the essence of Latria.

Expressions and forms of reverence, then, are not to be interpreted as implying this highest worship, unless there be in the offerer a distinct and conscious assignation to the object of his worship of the incommunicable attributes of God. Without this it is to be supposed that the difference between the Creator and the creature is present to his mind; and his language, which is necessarily for the most part, if not always, language common to the two forms of worship, is to be interpreted by the nature of the object to which it is addressed.

The principal application of these observations will be found under the title MARIOLATRY.

LAVIPEDIUM. The ceremonial washing of the feet. At one time it was very generally practised before baptism, but this custom was not long retained. By some the ceremony was rejected lest it should seem to *belong* to the Sacrament.[1] It was forbidden by the Spanish and Romish Churches, and formally interdicted at the Council of Eliberis [A.D. 305]. At Milan it was always practised, and St. Ambrose defends their retention of the rite, although the Church of Rome, "cui typum in omnibus sequimur et formam," had discontinued it.[2] In connection with Maundy Thursday the usage has, in many churches, been continued to this day. In imitation of our Saviour's washing His disciples' feet, those of the highest rank, sovereigns, cardinals, bishops, or abbots, used to wash the feet of the

[1] August. *de rit. Eccles.* Ep. cxix., *Ad Januar.*
[2] Ambros. *de Sacramentis*, iii. 1.

poor. The Church of England now considers the command to refer to the love and humility expressed by the act, and not to the act itself. Nor is this a new interpretation. Durandus says that of all the commands of God this is the only one that is not to be taken literally.[1] And St. Augustine, while urging the desirability of the practice, admits that it was not universally acknowledged as of obligation; they who are truly humble obey the command in their hearts, if not with their hands.[2]

Several ancient offices for the ceremony are extant. In all the main idea was the same. One of the Church of England in the tenth century has this rubric: "Procedit Dominus episcopus cum omni alacritate . . . . . ad locum ubi mandatum perficere vult." The prayer after the gospel was this:—"Deus, cujus cœnam sacratissimam veneramur, ut ea digni inveniamur, munda nos quæsumus a sordibus peccatorum, qui ad insinuandum humilitatis nobis exemplum, pedes tuorum dignatus es hodie lavare discipulorum. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis."[3] The girding with a towel was always part of the function. So in the office for Pedilavium in the Roman Missal[4] is this direction: "Superior . . . præcingitur linteo, et sic præcinctus, . . . accedit ad lotionem pedum et per ordinem dispositis iis, qui lavandi sunt, clericis pelvim et aquam ministrantibus." The antiphon seems always to have been "Mandatum novum do vobis ut diligatis invicem." Perhaps the most imposing ceremony connected with this usage was at the great Benedictine house at Mont Casini, where [c. A.D. 1015] some monks from Jerusalem had brought an alleged fragment of the towel which our Lord Himself used. A miracle is recorded to have attested its authenticity.[5] A beautiful casket was presented by a noble Englishman, and every year at Maundy, "singulis annis ipso die Cœnæ Dominicæ ad mandatum," it was brought forth and placed in the midst; two lights were lit before it, and it was incensed during the whole Maundy by an acolyte, and, finally, kissed by the whole house. In the Cluniac houses the numbers who presented themselves for the Lavipedium were so great as to render it impossible for the abbot by himself to perform the ceremony.

It appears that those whose rank imposed this duty upon them would discharge it wherever they happened to be, and would not of necessity keep their Maundy at their chief official post. Thus Queen Elizabeth [A.D. 1572] performed the office at Greenwich, where she washed the feet of thirty-nine poor people, the number corresponding to her own age. And Cardinal Wolsey [A.D. 1528] kept his Easter at Peterborough,[6] and on the Thursday "he kept his Maundy, washing and kissing the feet of fifty-nine poor people, and having dried them, he gave to every one of them 12d., and three ells of canvass for a shirt; he gave also to each of them a pair of shoes and a portion of red herrings." The last English sovereign who conformed to the practice was James II. But the lord high almoners continued it until 1731 at least, perhaps later; and the minor parts of the office which they used are still retained, and are in use on Maundy Thursday at Whitehall,[7] the almoner and his assistants being still girt with linen towels during the service.

LAW, CANON. This term, in its widest acceptation, is co-extensive with Ecclesiastical Law, *properly so called*, that is, with the *self-ordained* rule of government of any church, whether the same originate in any *single* ecclesiastical authority ("Decretals," &c.), or in the resolutions of an ecclesiastical *assembly* ("Canons"). In this wide sense, and with reference to the Anglican Church, the subject has been dealt with elsewhere. [LAW, ECCLESIASTICAL]. But the term Canon Law is also applied by way of pre-eminence to a particular kind of Canon Law, viz., the body of those ecclesiastical enactments which, in the various ways to be hereafter pointed out, have been successively promulgated by authority in the Roman Church. This Canon Law consists essentially of three parts:—[1] The canons and constitutions of councils, or enactments made by the general body of the Church duly assembled; [2] Decrees, or judicial utterances of an ecclesiastical authority, promulgated by such authority of his own mere motion; and [3] Decretals, or judicial replies of similar authorities to cases submitted to them by members of the Church. The recognised digest of the Canon Law, the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, is (nominally, at least, and partially) divided according to this principle.

In the very earliest ages of the Church, questions of doctrine and discipline may be supposed to have been settled orally, when they arose, by the Fathers; at least, no authentic written memorials of such legislation are in existence. The earliest collection of written canons, the germ of the system of Canon Law, appeared some time during the third century, under the name of the Apostolic Canons. Its authorship has remained in doubt, though some writers attribute it to Clement of Rome.[8] One point, however, appears to be clear—that the collection is certainly not of Apostolic, or even sub-Apostolic antiquity. There is internal evidence that some, at least, of these canons were not known or accepted in the

[1] *Rationale*, vi. 75: "Et est notandum, quod ex omnibus mandatis Dei istud solum dicitur autonomatice mandatum, quoniam majori exhibitione officii hoc observari præcipet, cum discipulis suis pedes lavit dicens, si ego lavi vobis pedes Dominus et magister, et vos invicem debetis alter alterius pedes lavare."

[2] "Et apud sanctos ubicumque hæc consuetudo non est, quod manu non faciunt, corde faciunt, si in illorum numero sunt quibus dicitur in hymno beatorum trium virorum, Benedicite, sancti et humiles corde, Domino." [August. on text John xiii. 10-15.]

[3] Quoted by Palmer from *Mus. Brit. Tiberius*, c. i.

[4] Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus*, i. 412.

[5] Leo Marsicanus, *Chronicon Casinense*, ii. 33.

[6] Gunton's *Peterburgh*, 57.

[7] The Office for the Royal Maundy is printed in Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, 99.

[8] This collection, with the eight books of Apostolic Constitutions attached, appeared with the name of Clemens Romanus, Pont., attached to it. But see against this theory, Joh. Devot., *Inst. Canon.* p. 49; Durand de Maillane, *Dict. de Can. sub verb.* Droit. Can.

Law, Canon

time of Origen.[1] And no mention of them is found in any writer of the first three centuries. The Greeks recognised eighty-five of these enactments as of canonical authority, the Latins fifty.[2] After the accession of Constantine, and when general councils of the Church began to be held, collections of their ordinances began to be formed both in the Eastern and Western Churches, increasing, of course, in size as time advanced. Amongst the Greeks there were *four* collections in existence by the end of the ninth century, which were considered of principal authority. [1.] A collection of the year 385, shortly after the Council of Constantinople, which is attributed to Stephen of Ephesus, and which received confirmation at the Council of Chalcedon. [2.] A collection of the year 451, attributed by some authors to Stephen of Ephesus, instead of the former.[3] [3.] A collection which received canonical sanction at the Council in Trullo [A.D. 692]. [4.] The great recension and collection made by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople. Those of the Latin Church were three in number: [1.] A collection of the year 460, attributed by some to St. Leo. [2.] The Dionysian collection—collection of Dionysius Exiguus [A.D. 496], perhaps the most important of the Western collections. [3.] The Spanish, or Isidorian [*Collectio Hispalensis*], a collection made by Isidore, Bishop of Seville. It was on this collection that the celebrated body of false decretals was engrafted. [DECRETALS, FALSE.] These three collections constituted the materials from which Gratian, a Benedictine monk of Chieusi in Tuscany, compiled his first work, the *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*, which led him ultimately to the completion of that great codification of the then existing Canon Law which forms the *Decretum*, the larger portion of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. This digest is divided into three parts, upon a principle of division somewhat similar to that adopted by Justinian in the *Institutes*. The first part deals mainly with the rights and duties of ecclesiastical persons, and is divided into one hundred and one heads, called "distinctions," under each of which are contained several canons. The second part of the *Decretum* contains thirty-six "causes," so called as being statements of particular cases, upon each of which Gratian raises and disposes of several questions. The causes are accordingly subdivided into "quæstiones," and these again into "canons." The third part is entitled *De Consecratione*. It is divided into five "distinctions," and is devoted exclusively to ceremonial matters. The compilation received pontifical sanction from Eugenius III. [A.D. 1151], and became the one authoritative statute-book of the Church up to that date.

The second and smaller portion of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* is the Decretals. This portion was added under Gregory IX. [A.D. 1230] by Raymond de Pennafort, a Spanish Dominican, who was selected by the Pope for this task; and it comprised all the additions to the Canon Law that had been made during the eighty years which had succeeded the publication of the *Decretum*. The materials at his disposal were contained in *five* collections of different dates, which alone, amongst numerous others, had obtained any authority. They were: [1.] The collection of Bernard de Circa, Bishop of Faenza [A.D. 1190], called the *Breviarium Extravagantium*. [2.] The collection of John de Salles of Volaterra [A.D. 1202], which was itself compiled from a collection made by the two canonists, Gilbertus and Alanus.[4] [3.] The collection of Peter of Beneventum [A.D. 1210], a recension of an earlier collection known as the *Collectio Romana*, the work of Bernard of Compostella. [4.] A collection of unknown authorship, published shortly after the fourth Lateran Council in A.D. 1215. [5.] The collection of Tancred of Bologna [A.D. 1216-1227], containing, in particular, the additions made to the Canon Law by the rescripts of Honorius III. Each of these collections contained respectively these additions made to the Canon Law which had been made since the publication of the last preceding one; and from a collection of all these was compiled that portion of the Canon Law known as the Decretals. It consists of five books, each of which is divided with reference to its subject-matter into titles and chapters. The first and second books are devoted to definitions of the position and functions of ecclesiastical persons of all grades, and to an exposition of the various forms of procedure in the spiritual courts. The third book treats chiefly of the temporal rights of the clergy, such as are involved in the ideas connected with the words *benefices*, *tithes*, and *patronage*. The fourth deals principally with the subject of marriage and its canonical restrictions. The fifth treats of ecclesiastical crimes and their canonical punishments and censures. Gregory IX. confirmed the Decretals in due course, and at the same time forbade any attempt to frame any other digest for the future without the permission of the Holy See. Before the conclusion of the thirteenth century, the constitution and rescripts of the succeeding popes had reached a considerable number, and about the year A.D. 1299 Boniface VIII. added what is called the Sixth Book of Decretals, a compilation which was the united work of William of Mandagotto, Bishop of Embrun, Beranger Feldoni, Bishop of Beziers, and Richard de Sienna, Vice-chancellor of the Roman Church. This, although nominally one book, is itself divided into five books, and these again are subdivided, like the earlier books of the Decretals, into titles and chapters. It contains, besides the rescripts of the various Popes from Gregory IX. to Boniface

[1] Durand de Maillane, *l. c.*

[2] This was the number recognised by Leo IX., and accepted accordingly by the Church. [See *Corp. Jur. Can. Decret.* c. iii. dist. 26.]

[3] Thus Doujat, who bases his opinion partly on the omission from this collection of the Canons of the Council of Sardica rejected by the Greeks.

[4] *Corpus Jur. Can.*, Introd. Johan. Devot. *Inst. Canon.* pp. 80, 81. Colquhoun, *Summ. of Civ. Law*, i. 260, misplaces this collection, and though he gives no date, has either mistaken its date or written "Innocent" for "Celestine."

VIII., the decrees of two Councils of Lyons held, the one by Innocent IV. in A.D. 1245, and the other by Gregory X. in A.D. 1274. In the nature of Decretals, and generally classed among them, though not bearing the same name, are the Clementine Constitutions, published by Clement V. A.D. 1317; the twenty constitutions known as the *Extravagantes* of John XXII.; and the six books of Papal Constitutions, from A.D. 1261 to A.D. 1283, known as the *Extravagantes Communes*. These complete the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, a work which was first authoritatively published in its present form under Gregory XIII. at the latter end of the sixteenth century.

LAW, ECCLESIASTICAL. English Ecclesiastical Law is a body of jurisprudence in which the traces of four distinct legal systems are discernible. These four systems are:

I. Civil Law.
II. Canon Law, which with reference to the present subject is subdivided into [1] Foreign, and [2] Domestic Canon Law.
III. The English Common Law.
IV. The English Statute Law.

The formative influence exercised by each of these several factors is, as will appear, by no means equal in amount, the first playing considerably the least important part in the formation of English ecclesiastical jurisprudence. Of the others, the canon law, and, in particular, that branch of it which has been distinguished as *domestic* canon law, represents the groundwork of our ecclesiastical law, properly so called; while the common law has operated as a factor, both by the incorporation of its own maxims and principles in the general body of the ecclesiastical law, and by the restrictive authority which it has exercised over the gradual growth of the other branches of the system. And, lastly, statute law has contributed its share, by giving legislative sanction to such of the rules and enactments of ecclesiastical law as may have been (or, by change of circumstances, may have become) of doubtful authority; and, in later times, by supplying the Reformed Church with State support for its formularies, and by otherwise confirming or modifying its rights.

I. Civil Law is the name which has been given, by way of pre-eminence, to the municipal code of the Romans. The form under which it has been handed down to modern times has been impressed upon it by the juridical skill of the later days of the Roman Empire; but, considered with reference to its contents rather than its arrangement, it represents the collective jurisprudence of Rome almost from its earliest days to its decline. Among its most ancient sources are the laws of the Twelve Tables. Subsequently to this famous and important code, there followed a long period (the "middle jurisprudence" of Justinian) during which the chief additions made to the law (other than occasional isolated legislative enactments) consisted of the *Responsa Prudentûm*, or answers of the Roman jurisconsults to legal questions put to them; which answers, like those of modern times, were really, under the form of interpretations of old law, promulgations of new. To these succeeded, under the Empire, the imperial constitutions and rescripts. The first codification of this great body of jurisprudence appeared in the *Gregorian Code*, the work of a jurist, Gregorius (whose exact date is uncertain), and embracing the period from Hadrian to Diocletian. This again was followed, under the Constantines, by the *Hermogenian Code*, which, in particular, contained the constitutions of Claudius, Aurelius, Probus, Caius, Diocletian and Maximian. The third code is known as the *Theodosian Code*, and was compiled by Theodosius the Younger. The fourth and final code was completed under the superintendence of Justinian, and is known as the *Justinian Code*. To this was added by that Emperor a *Digest* or *Pandect*, compiled by his direction from the *Responsa Prudentûm* of his own time; the *Institutes*, an elementary treatise on the Roman law; and the *Novels*, consisting of those new rescripts and constitutions which formed Justinian's own contribution to imperial jurisprudence.

The impress left by this famous system upon the *civil* laws of all European countries has been deep; and, by means of the influence exercised by it upon the Roman canon law, it has contributed indirectly to the formation of European, and, in so far as this latter is derived from any foreign source, of English ecclesiastical law. But of its *direct* influence the English ecclesiastical law shews traces in two only of its branches, and, of these, one at least can hardly be said to be otherwise than accidentally a subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The civil law is supposed to have been first introduced into England during the subjection of the island to the Roman rule, and it is said that several of its great jurists, Papinian, Ulpian, and others presided here as judges. It is, however disputed,[1] whether and, if at all, to what extent, the Romans imposed their laws and procedure on the conquered Britons; but, amongst the Saxons, at least after their conversion, there is evidence of a tendency to adopt Roman forms and precedents in the administration of law.[2] Still, as in these times the ecclesiastical was not distinguished from the lay tribunals, it cannot be said that the contributions made by the civil to the English law were for the benefit, in particular, of the ecclesiastical branch of the latter. But from that period after the Norman conquest when these two tribunals were finally separated, and the singular mixed court[3] of the Anglo-Saxons abolished, must be dated the establishment of ecclesiastical courts, regulating their procedure by the imperial forms, and administering at least one branch of their jurisdiction, the testamentary branch, by the maxims and legal principles of the civil law.

[1] The authorities for either view are cited in Duck, *De Usu et Auctor. Jur. Civ. Rom.* ii. viii. 9, ed. 1678.

[2] Spelman, *Gloss. sub. verb.* Lex Angl.; Duck, *De Usu*, &c., ii. viii. 14, who quotes *Bed.* lib. ii. *Histor.* cap. 5.

[3] Consisting of a bishop and an alderman. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. 392; Duck, *De Usu*, &c., ii. viii. 30.

II. The second factor in English ecclesiastical jurisprudence is the Canon Law; and it is this alone, as has been said, which merits, in strict speech, the title of ecclesiastical law, since *it* alone is the embodiment of those rules which the Church has adopted herself and of her own free will. It may be classed most conveniently under two heads, foreign and domestic. The former includes under it all those rules of our law which have been adopted from that vast system of jurisprudence known as the Roman canon law. This system is composed principally of legislative enactments of three distinct classes. [1] The canons of councils; [2] the decrees of the Popes and Fathers, or, in other words, the constitutions made *proprio motu* from time to time by the Roman Pontiffs, and the early Fathers of the Church, and which obtained the force of the law; and [3] the decretals and the canonical replies made to questions put at various times by Christians to the head of the Catholic Church. The first authoritative compilation of the *Decrees* was made under Eugenius III. by Gratian, a Bolognese monk, A.D. 1151. The *Decretals* were digested and edited (and the work of Gratian revised and re-edited) by Raymond de Pennafort, under direction of Gregory IX., A.D. 1235; and finally, the whole body of the canon law was edited by papal authority under Gregory XIII. This work[1] is entitled the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and the bulk of it consists of the *Decretum* of Gratian and the *Decretals* of Gregory IX., the remainder being made up by a book of *Decretals* of Boniface VIII. (known as the Sixth Decretals), the *Clementine Constitutions* (constitutions of Clement V.), and the two other books known as the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. and the *Extravagantes Communes*. [CANON LAW.]

To whatever extent this body of law may have been accepted in other Catholic countries, in England its adoption was by no means unrestricted and unreserved; and, on more than one occasion, attempts to introduce its provisions into England were successfully resisted, on the ground that those provisions were contrary to the common law of the land. Thus, for instance, it was the attempt of the English bishops to introduce into England the canon of Alexander III. for the legitimation of children born before marriage, that elicited from the barons the famous answer,[2] "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari;" and it was instantly rejected as being contrary to the common law. Subject however to these restrictions, many of the rules of the Roman canon law have been incorporated with ours, and the English courts have in recent times decided cases on no other authority than that of a canon of the fourth Lateran Council,[3] accepted and recognised by English ecclesiastical law.

The *domestic* branch of our Canon Law is much the more important factor of the two, considered with reference to the amount of the contribution which it has made. It consists of [1] the legatine and [2] the provincial constitutions. The former are the constitutions framed by the councils of the English Church, held under the presidency of a papal legate; the latter are those promulgated by the Church, assembled in provincial synod under the primate of one of the provinces. Except in regard of their respective extent (the provincial constitutions binding the province only, and the legatine the whole Church), there was considered to be no difference in authority between these two classes, and English canonists have accordingly recorded or digested the enactments of both alike in one continuous chronological series.

The following is a list of the more important councils, provincial and legatine, compiled from the records of Spelman, Wilkins, and others.

[1.] A council held at Oxford, A.D. 1222 [Concilium Oxoniense. Spel. *Conc.* ii. 181; Wilk. *Conc. Mag. Brit. et Hib.* i. 585], under Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Its deliberations resulted in fifty canons (arranged by Lindewood on the principle adopted by Gratian in digesting the *Decretum*). It contains some important provisions as to simony and the status of beneficed clerks. [2.] A legatine council held under Otho, legate *a latere* of Gregory IX., at St. Paul's Cathedral, A.D. 1237 [Spel. *Conc.* ii. 218; Wilk. i. 647]. It is entitled in these authors, "Concilium Pan-Anglicum," and is described as being held "præsidente domino Othone . . . assidentibus sibi Archiepiscopis S. Edmundo Cant. et Waltero Eborac. necnon aliis Angliæ Episcopis." It promulgated thirty-one canons upon various subjects, the last eight being devoted to the regulation of the precedence in the ecclesiastical courts. [3.] A council held at Lambeth under Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1261. [Spel. *Conc.* ii. 305; Wilk. i. 746.] Twenty-one canons were passed by this council, some of which have a very important bearing on the amenability of the clergy to their own and the civil tribunals. [4.] A legatine council held in St. Paul's [A.D. 1268], by Othobon, legate *a latere* of Clement IV. [Wilk. ii. 1; Spel. *Conc.* ii. 263, where, however, the date is misplaced by twenty years.[4]] It is entitled in Lindewood, "Concilium Anglicanum eum a domino Othone . . . celebratum præsentibus Bonifacio Cantuar. et Waltero Eborac. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Decanis, Archidiaconis, cum aliis Dignitatibus Ecclesiasticis." Its constitutions are fifty-three in number, many of them confirmatory of those of Otho. They are extremely comprehensive, and deal with many points

[1] The best edition of this work is in folio, and entitled *Corpus Juris Canonici* a Petro Pittoro et Francisco fratre Jurisconsult. Parisii 1687.

[2] Burn, *Eccl. Law* [ed. Phillimore], i. 121; Gibson, *Cod. Eccl.*, Introd. xxvii. and p. 1086; Glanvil. l. 7, c. 15. For a list of rejected foreign canons, *vid.* Stephens' *Ecclesiastical Statutes*, i. 160, n. 7.

[3] Alston (Clerk) *v.* Attlay, 7 Adolph and Ellis, Repts., 289; and a more striking instance still, Stavely *v.* Ullathorne, 1 Hardres, 101, where the exemption of Cistercians from tithes by this council is recognised.

[4] Spelman assigns it to the year A.D. 1248, a date which, as Wilkins points out [ii. 1, n. *a.*], is falsified by its very title, which recites Othobon's commission as legate of Clement IV., who did not succeed to the papal chair till A.D. 1268.

connected both with the spiritual and temporal rights of the clergy. [5.] A council held at Reading under John Peccham, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1279 [Spel. *Conc.* ii. 320; Wilk. ii. 33]. In its proceedings, which are recorded under five titles, repeated allusion is made to the constitutions of Othobon, and there is a reference to the enactment of the foreign canon law above alluded to, the canon of the fourth Lateran Council on the subject of the accordance of benefices, and which appears to be treated as already adopted into the English law. [6.] A council held at Lambeth under the same John Peccham, A.D. 1280 (entitled in Spelman, "Constitutiones Dom. Joann. Peccham editæ in concilio Lambethensi"). [Spel. *Conc.* ii. 328; Wilk. ii. 55.] It promulgated twenty-seven canons (according to Wilkins' division thirty) on various questions bearing both on ritual and ceremonial duties, and on the general morality of the clergy. [7.] A council held at St. Paul's, A.D. 1309[1] by Robert de Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury [Spel. *Conc.* ii. 458; Wilk. ii. 304]. The proceedings in this council are described at considerable length in Wilkins. His record of the proceedings commences with the bull of Clement V. summoning the council, and the mandate of the Archbishop. Then follow the "gravamina cleri in Concilio Prov. Cant. proposita;" the "gravamina in Parliamento Lond. proposita et in hoc Concilio repetita," with the answers of the king thereto; the "gravamina antiqua in hoc concilio repetita," also accompanied by the royal answers; the "gravamina prius non proposita;" the bull of Clement V. "de gravaminibus;" and lastly, the report of the Archbishop to the Pope. [8.] A council held at Oxford,[2] A.D. 1322, by Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury [Wilk. ii. 512; Spel. *Conc.* ii. 497]. It consists of nine titles (of ten, according to Spelman's division), relating chiefly to canonical questions. [9.] A council held at St. Paul's, A.D. 1328, by Simon Mepham, Archbishop of Canterbury. It promulgated nine canons. [10.] A council held at London by John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1342. [Spel. *Conc.* ii. 572; Wilk. ii. 696.] Godolphin [*Rep. Can.* 591] is apparently in doubt as to the date. Twelve canons appear as having been framed by the synod, and are followed (in Spelman and Wilkins) by seventeen others of a different date, but with the same heading—apparently a continuation of the proceedings of the same council on a different day. [11.] A council held by Simon Islip at Lambeth, A.D. 1362. [Spel. *Conc.* ii. 612; Wilk. iii. 50.] This produced merely a single constitution, "de presbyteris." [12.] A council held by Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1378. [Spel. *Conc.* iii. 626; Wilk. iii. 135.] A single constitution, "de salariis presbyterorum." [13.] A council held at Bedford,[3] A.D. 1408, under Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, which framed thirteen canons. [14.] A council held at St. Paul's by Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1416. [Wilk. iii. 377; Spel. *Conc.* ii. 669.] It produced two constitutions, "de approbatione testamentorum" and "contra hæreticos."

Godolphin [*Rep. Can.* 591] also extracts two others from Spelman and Lindewood as being important. They are entitled in the former work Constitutiones Ricardi and Constitutiones Edmundi. They are without doubt the Constitutions of Richard Wetherhed, A. D. 1229 [Spel. *Conc.* ii. 191], and those of St. Edmund Rich, A. D. 1234, [Spel. *Conc.* 190, 191]. Those of the latter were forty-one in number.

Such are the sources from which the larger portion of English Canon Law is derived. The labours of Lindewood, who was a Dean of the Arches for the Province of Canterbury in the reign of Henry VI., have digested and codified these canons, and under the form in which they are arranged by this learned canonist they are consulted at the present day. No *authoritative* digest of them has ever been issued, the attempt which was made under Henry VIII., and which produced the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, having proved abortive, as that work never received legislative sanction. What is the nature and extent of the authority exercised by English Canon Law will be discussed presently.

III. The direct formative influence exercised by the English Common Law commenced at a very early date. As the humanizing work of the Church progressed, and the laity were drawn to the spiritual body by a closer tie, it was inevitable that a mutual interweaving of rights and duties should follow, and by consequence, that the peculiar laws of the one body should affect and modify those of the other. The endowment of the Church from the temporalities of the laity naturally subjected her *pro tanto* to the operation of temporal laws, and thus the principles and maxims which are recognised by the common law in dealing with proprietary rights became part and parcel of ecclesiastical law. The relations of the patron to the clerk and to the bishop are adjusted upon common law principles, and their mutual rights are recognised and enforcable in the common law courts. Another and no less important, if less direct, influence exercised by the common law is in the control which it has always maintained over the growth of the canon law, instances of which have been above quoted. It is only subject to the sanction of the common law that portions of the *foreign* canon law have become incorporated in English ecclesiastical law, and when so introduced, have possessed authority in right of their adoption,[4] and not of their original parentage.

[1] Misdated A.D. 1305 by Godolphin [Godolph. *Rep. Can.* 591], who has apparently confounded a constitution of this archbishop, containing a form of oath of obedience to be administered to the rectors and vicars of his province, with the Lambeth Constitutions of A.D. 1309.

[2] Thus Wilkins, following Lindewood. Spelman places it at Lambeth under Simon Mepham, and transfers the date to A.D. 1328, the year after that archbishop was consecrated. Godolphin [*Rep. Can.* 591] follows.

[3] According to Lindewood [*Prov.* p. 64]. At St. Paul's according to Spelman and Wilkins.

[4] That is, of their adoption *by the Church*, according to

IV. But whatever may formerly have been the origin of binding force in those portions of the ecclesiastical law which are founded on the canon law, their authority rests now upon a different basis, that of *Statute Law*. The Statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. sec. 7, gives express sanction to all the then received canons, constitutions, &c. which are not contrary to the general laws of the realm. This enactment, and the recognition given in 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 21. sec. 1, to the adopted rules of the foreign canon law, gave legislative sanction to the whole of this branch of law ecclesiastical. Whether, subsequent to the Reformation, the Church still had legislative power vested in her, and could bind all her members, lay and clerical, by her constitutions, if sanctioned by the Crown, was for some time a doubtful point. But it was finally settled in a great case of the last century [Middleton *v.* Crofts, per Lord Hardwicke, in 2 *Atkyn's Reports*, 650] that she had not; that her constitutions after royal confirmation bound the spiritual body, as between members of that body, but not the laity, unless sanctioned by Act of Parliament.

It is from the period of the Reformation that the statutory branch of ecclesiastical law began to assume the prominent position which it at present occupies. The Church of England having finally separated herself from Rome, and the Royal supremacy being established, it was thought necessary, to the more complete union of Church and State, to give formal legislative sanction to the doctrine and offices of the former. In the reign of Edward VI. a body of articles was compiled and published, which was the foundation of the Thirty-nine subsequently framed [A.D. 1562], and invested with Parliamentary authority [A.D. 1570].[1] The liturgy and ceremonies of the Church, as set forth in the various Prayer Books which were at different periods compiled, were, in each case, made part of the statute law of the kingdom, and enjoined upon the clergy by express enactments. The last of these, the 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 4, is the Act of Uniformity, which authorizes the Prayer Book now in use; and from the Reformation down to the present day a vast number of ecclesiastical statutes have been passed from time to time, defining and modifying the rights and duties of the clergy.

To sum up the results: the component factors of English ecclesiastical law, as at present constituted, are reduced from four to three, that is to say: [1.] such of the rules of the civil law as from ancient times have been incorporated in our ecclesiastical system. Since, however, testamentary and matrimonial laws have ceased to be, properly speaking, a branch of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, the importance of this factor is considerably diminished, though, as above stated, it still manifests its presence in the form of procedure adopted in the spiritual courts. [2.] The common law, as in many instances the sole regulation of the mutual rights of the clergy and laity in respect of Church temporalities. [3.] The statute law, which has absorbed into itself so much of the canon law, as at the passing of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, "being already made," was not "contrariant or repugnant" to the common law of the realm. This legalizes all canon law previous to the Reformation, subject no doubt (in the case of all canons, &c., which have not already stood this test) to the decision of one of the superior common law courts on the question of the consonance of any particular enactment with the common law.

Lastly, taking the term law ecclesiastical in its most restricted sense, as regulating the internal government of the Church and the *inter se* rights and duties of the clergy, there must be added those constitutions and canons of a later date than the Act of Henry VIII., which, although not confirmed by the Legislature, have received the Royal sanction.[2]

LAW, MORAL. [Antinomianism. Law of Christ. Morality, Natural.]

LAW OF CHRIST. The law of God, at first unwritten [Rom. ii. 15], then revealed imperfectly and embodied in a covenant of works [Deut. xxix. 21], reached its full development in the law of Christ, which consists of the revelations of the moral law interpreted by His word and illustrated by His life.

This law is not presented to us, as a digested code or complete collection of rules, though its rules are often definite and minute, but as a system of principles, with occasional examples of their working. This is in accordance with the character of Christian obedience, which is the working of a renewed nature. Laws to an unwilling servant must be rigidly definite and exhaustive. Every opportunity of escape is seized. Laws to a willing servant need not be so precise. Something may be left to be supplied by his willingness. But when the servant becomes a son and friend, when he is made partaker of the very nature of the lawgiver, a system of principles is in accordance with his altered position. While prohibitory laws then are absolute, laws of injunction admit of different degrees of obedience. There is a necessary degree of obedience, but between that degree and the perfection of obedience there are many stages. If thou wilt be perfect, said our Lord, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor. Zacchæus' lower standard, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor," was yet more than accepted; and such a standard

one view, that of Vaughan, C. J. [Hill *v.* Good, Vaugh. 327], who lays down that a lawful canon law (*i.e.* any law *adopted* or *framed* by the Church herself, and not contrary to common law) is as binding as an Act of Parliament. Sir Matthew Hale, on the other hand, in ascribing the authority of canon law [to either statutory recognition or] to *immemorial usage*, seems to look to the common law as not merely *sanctioning* but *originating* that authority [Hale, *History of the Com. Law*, i. sec. 27.]

[1] 13 Eliz. c. 12.

[2] In Bishop Watson's case, where the authority of the Canons of 1603 is upheld, doubt is thrown upon those of 1640. The court said: "Ecclesiastical persons are subject to the canons; those of 1640 have been questioned, but no doubt was ever made of those of 1603." [Bishop of St. David's *v.* Lucy, 1 *Salkeld Rep.* 134.]

was heroical compared with many a standard which, we cannot doubt, is accepted; in subordination always to the principle, "He that soweth little shall reap little."

Rules for the interpretation of the Christian law may be seen in Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, book ii. c. 3. From them Heber selects as maxims most generally applicable the following: [1.] That all acts of virtue are to be preferred before the instruments of it, and that which exercises it before that which signifies it. [2.] The difference between positive and negative laws, that namely when anything is commanded, the means of doing it are left to our choice; but when anything is forbidden, "all those things also, by which we come to that sin, are understood to be forbidden by the same law." [Taylor's Works, Heber's ed. *Life of Taylor*, vol. i. p. cclxxx.] An excellent practical rule is that in cases of doubt we take the side of self-denial.

Bacon [*Advancement of Learning*, bk. ii.] commends "much the deducing of the law of God to cases of conscience," for that he takes "indeed to be a breaking and not exhibiting whole of the bread of life." The disuse of the confessional in the English Church has caused a great paucity of such books in our theology. Sanderson's lectures *De Conscientiâ* may be named. But, as Bacon continues, that which quickeneth both the doctrines of faith and manners, is the elevation and consent of the heart. "There is no other positive measure of a Christian duty, but that which can have no measure itself, and that is love. He that loves will think everything too little: and he that thinks so, will endeavour to do more, and to do it better. We are for the present children of God by adoption, sealed with His Spirit, renewed by regeneration, justified by His grace, and invited forward by most glorious promises greater than we can understand. Now he that considers this state of things, and hopes for that state of blessings, will proceed in duty and love towards the perfections of God, never giving over till he partake of the purities of God and His utmost glories." [Taylor's *Works*, vol. xiii. pp. 228, 229.]

Where there is no rule given, an example is instead of a rule. The rules and principles of Christ's law are so many, that the perfect example of Christ is rather for encouragement of our obedience. In the imitation of Christ there needs only to be noted the caution, that what He did in consequence of His extraordinary mission is not imitable by us.

It remains only to add that, as the law of Christ is a law of life, the old ceremonial law is replaced by a law of lifegiving sacraments and sacramental ordinances; and that on the other hand, as the law and the promise meet in Christ, so the threats of the law are swallowed up in the revelations of the Gospel. For not only by Moses, but by apostles is it declared that our God is a consuming fire.

LAY BAPTISM. Our Lord before His ascension gave commission and authority to His Apostles to baptize in the name of the Holy Trinity [Matt. xxviii. 18-20]. The same right must belong to the bishops as their successors, and to the priesthood, whom they ordain to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments: all other baptisms are manifestly irregular, and were not contemplated or provided for in the original institution of the sacrament. But when, bearing in mind our Lord's express declaration of the necessity of baptism for salvation [John iii. 5], we also remember that cases would occur of sudden sickness and death in which baptism by a bishop or inferior minister would be impossible, it must follow either that permission to baptize must sometimes be given to laymen, or the grace of the sacrament be withheld. During the first two centuries lay baptism probably prevailed to some extent in the Church, though the subject is not alluded to in the writings of the Fathers. Tertullian, who lived at the close of the second century, is the first writer who mentions the usage which was then permitted. He says that the right of baptism belongs to "the chief priest, which is the bishop; then the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the authority of the bishops, for the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved. Otherwise laymen have also the right, for that which is equally received may be equally given, unless the name *disciples* denotes at once bishops or priests or deacons. The Word of God ought not to be hidden from any: wherefore also baptism, which is equally derived from God, may be administered by all" [Tertul. *De Baptismo*, xvii., Oxf. transl.]. Tertullian then says that laymen should not baptize without the sanction of the bishop, nor unless in case of necessity. He afterwards forbids baptism by women, from the statement of St. Paul [1 Cor. xiv. 35].

About the middle of the third century the question of lay baptism, *i.e.* of baptism by laymen who were in communion with the Church, and which was authorized by the Church, was a subject of controversy between St. Cyprian and St. Stephen, Bishop of Rome [A.D. 255]. St. Cyprian denied the validity of the baptism of schismatic or heretical priests, and of course of laymen in communion with them; St. Stephen affirmed that the only essentials for valid baptism were the right Matter (*i.e.* water), and the true Form (in the Name of the Father, &c.), and thus that there was valid baptism amongst heretics and schismatics.

The various opinions on this subject held in the early Church are thus stated by Dr. Pusey: "There were three views in the early Church; first, that of the early African Church and of Asia Minor, in the time of Firmilian, which rejected all baptisms out of the Church, schismatical as well as heretical; second, that of the Greek Church generally, stated fully by St. Basil, which accepted schismatical but rejected heretical baptism; third, that first mentioned by Stephen, Bishop of Rome, who accepted all baptism, even of heretics, which had been given in the name of the Trinity. The second continues to be the rule of the Greek, the third, with some modifications, of the Latin Church. (In both it was presupposed that the minister had at one time

Lay Baptism

received the commission to baptize; the case of schismatical baptism as it is now found amongst us not occurring.)"[1]

There were two objections against admitting the general validity of lay baptism by heretics or schismatics. As regards the first, it was argued that a person could not give that which he did not himself possess; being deprived of Divine grace by his exclusion from the Church, or by heretical corruption of the faith, he could not give to others the grace which he had lost, one who was himself dead could not impart spiritual life or grace to another: a specious argument which, as we shall presently find, is examined by St. Augustine, and proved to be inconclusive. But the other objection which, if valid, would exclude schismatical and heretical baptisms and is especially urged in the Apostolical Constitutions as opposed to baptism by women,[2] would in reality set aside lay baptism altogether. According to this theory, baptism is supposed to be a part of the priestly office, and therefore could not under any circumstances be exercised by a layman: should he attempt it, he would incur the guilt of Korah and his company. But deacons, and not laymen only, would thus be excluded from the office of baptizing, contrary to the universal permission of the early Church, since a deacon can no more exercise the functions of priesthood than a layman. On the contrary, baptism ought properly to be regarded as a part of the *ministerial*, but not of the *priestly* office; and hence in case of emergency may be validly exercised by laymen, just as they are allowed amongst ourselves to read the Scriptures in Church. But a layman cannot under any circumstances whatever celebrate the Holy Eucharist, and even were a bishop to give permission the celebration would still be unauthorized and invalid: the sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist rendering lay-celebration utterly and *per se* impossible. This will shew the essential difference between the administration of baptism and the Eucharistic oblation, and may serve to remove an objection which we sometimes hear at the present day, that by admitting lay baptism we are virtually and implicitly sanctioning the right of laymen to discharge a part of the sacerdotal office, and thus in effect setting aside the *essential* difference between a layman and a priest.

The subject of lay baptism has been most fully examined by St. Augustine, and his teaching demands especial attention, as it has been universally received by, and is now the law of, the Catholic Church. St. Augustine says that by Apostolic tradition the validity of the baptisms of heretics and schismatics was admitted,[3] the tradition being confirmed by a general council[4] (of Arles or Nice), but that when administered in jest or mockery he cannot determine whether or not they are valid.[5] His chief argument is, that the minister of baptism is not of the essence of the sacrament, but that in all cases Christ is the Baptizer—"*He* shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost"[6] [Matt. iii. 11]; and he argues that if schismatics separated from the unity of the Church cannot baptize because they have lost the grace of God, neither for the same reason could heretics or wicked men who are living in Catholic communion (though the validity of their baptism is not questioned) who have also themselves lost Divine grace.[7] But grace given by heretical or schismatical baptism, out of the Church, does not, St. Augustine says, profit the receiver until he return to the unity of the Body. The important truth so often stated by St. Augustine, that Christ is the Baptizer, implies the sanction not only of lay baptism in episcopal communities, heretical or schismatical, as Jacobites or Nestorians, but also of baptisms by Dissenters in modern times. Such baptisms are by no means authorized by the usage of the Primitive Church. Baptism in early times, whether lay or clerical, was always administered under the sanction or authority of the bishop. In schismatic or heretical communities, as of Novatians or Arians, there were bishops duly consecrated, the clergy were priests, and lay baptism had always episcopal licence. But on the other hand, amongst Dissenters of modern times, the sacra-

[1] Note in translation of Tertullian, p. 281. Dr. Pusey says that it continues to be the rule of the Greek Church to reject heretical and to accept schismatical baptism. Such is not, however, the usage of the Russian Church. "But the seventh canon of the second Œcumenical Council forbids to rebaptize even the Arians themselves, and the Macedonians or Pneumatomachi, with other heretics named in the same canon, and orders that they shall only be made to renounce and anathematize both their own and all other heresies, and so be received by unction with the holy chrism" [*Duty of Parish Priests*, c. iii. Blackmore's transl.].

[2] Lib. iii. c. 9.

[3] "Saluberrimam consuetudinem tenebat Ecclesia in ipsis quoque schismaticis et hæreticis corrigere quod pravum est, non iterare quod datum est; sanare quod vulneratum est, non curare quod sanum est. Quam consuetudinem credo ex apostolica traditione venientem" [*De Baptismo*, lib. ii. c. 7].

[4] "Nec aliquid inde temere affirmandum est sinè auctoritate tanti concilii quantum tantæ rei sufficit . . . hoc enim jam in ipsa totius orbis unitate discussum consideratum perfectum atque firmatum est" [*Cont. Epist. Parmeniani*, lib. ii. c. 13].

[5] "Ubi . . . totum ludicre et mimice et joculariter ageretur utrum approbandus est baptismus qui daretur divinum judicium per alicujus revelationis oraculum concordi oratione et impensis supplici devotione gemitibus implorandum esse censerem" [*De Baptismo*, lib. ii. c. 53].

[6] "Baptisma quippe illud aliquid est et magnum aliquid est propter Illum de quo dictum est *Hic est qui baptisat*. Sed ne putares illud quod magnum est tibi aliquid prodesse posse si non fueris in unitate; super baptisatum columba descendit, tanquam dicens, si baptismum habes esto in columba ne non tibi prosit quod habes. Veni ergo ad columbam (*scil.* Ecclesiam) dicimus, non ut incipias habere quod non habebas, sed ut prodesse tibi incipiat quod habebas. Foris enim habebas baptismum ad perniciem, intus si habueris, incipit prodesse ad salutem" [*Tractat. in Joannis Evangel.* vi. sec. 14].

[7] Thus on comparing the baptism of a heretic and that of a wicked priest in communion with the Church, he says, "Cur in illo baptismus et evangelica verba improbantur, in isto autem approbantur: cum ab illis columbæ (Ecclesiæ) membris, uterque inveniatur alienus? An quia ille foris litigator est ne intromittatur; iste vero intus callidus assentator, ne foras projiciatur?" [*De Baptismo*, lib. iv. c. 5. See also *In Joannis Evangel.* tract v. vi.]

Lay Co-operation

ment is administered in direct opposition to the authority of the bishop and by teachers who reject episcopal government, and though mere laymen, usurp the functions of the sacred ministry. Such baptism cannot at least plead in its support primitive usage or precedent. The important truth that Christ is the Baptizer alone enables us to accept such baptisms as valid, and also all other baptisms, whoever may be the administrator, where there is the right Matter and Form. This is clearly laid down by the canon law: A priest is the ordinary minister of baptism; the baptism of women is forbidden except in the case of necessity; but even the baptism of a Jew or Pagan must not be reiterated [*Decret.* pars iii. *de Consecratione: de Baptismi Sacramento*, xix. xx. xxiii.]. And we must remember that the canon law, which in the Middle Ages was the law of the Western Church, including the Church of England, has remained no less so since the Reformation, except where contrary to the common or statute law or the royal prerogative. [LAW, ECCLESIASTICAL.]

The legatine and provincial constitutions, made under the sanction of Cardinals Otho and Othobon, the Pope's legates, and by many archbishops of Canterbury, are given in Lyndewood's *Provinciale* [A.D. 1679]. The usage in case of necessity of lay baptism (men and women) is strictly enjoined: priests are commanded to teach their parishioners the right Form of baptism; and Archbishop Peccham censures certain foolish priests (stolidi sacerdotes) who profaned by reiterating the sacrament after lay baptism [Lyndewood, *de Baptismo et ejus effectu*, lib. iii. tit. xxiv.] (sic baptizatos parvulos, non sinè sacramenti injuria rebaptizant, quod ne cætero fiat firmiter inhibemus).

The validity of lay baptism during the present century has been twice decided by the ecclesiastical courts of the English Church—in the Court of Arches in the case of Kemp *v.* Wickes [A.D. 1809], and in that of Martin *v.* Escott in the Arches Court and before the Judicial Committee [A.D. 1841].

LAY CO-OPERATION. From the earliest age of the Church of Christ there has been a constant recognition of the important position occupied by the laity in carrying out the purposes for which it was established. It was to them that the Apostles looked for the funds by which they were to be maintained, while engaged about a ministry which precluded them from earning their living: just as our Lord Himself had accepted the services of those who "ministered to Him of their substance" [Luke viii. 3; 2 Cor. viii. 4; Phil. ii. 25, iv. 10-18]. To the laity, both men and women, the Primitive Church looked for personal service in many works of love, within the walls of the church and without; such co-operation with the work of the ministry as rendering assistance at baptisms, maintaining order among those who came to church, visiting the sick, distributing alms, attending on martyrs, teaching the rudiments of Christianity to the heathen who offered themselves as catechumens, and reading the Holy Scriptures in public. Some of these offices were included among the MINOR ORDERS at a later age of the Church, and those who exercised them received a special benediction from the bishop; but the work associated with them was layman's work, and required no actual ordination to bestow either the gifts or the authority requisite for its performance.

When monastic institutions were established, they at once occupied a large portion of this field of Christian labour; and as they increased largely in number, so they went on absorbing into their own organizations most of the works of love and mercy in which laymen and women could co-operate with the clergy; mingling a life of prayer and self-discipline with a life of active benevolence, the lay monks and the nuns being always the principal agents of the Church, except the clergy, in its ministrations to the poor, the afflicted, the sick, and the dead.

Later still, the great orders of Friars, the Dominicans and Franciscans, formed a further development of lay co-operation. These orders engaged largely in what recent times have called the "home mission" work of the Church, attracting large numbers by their preaching who were but little or not at all drawn within the ordinary influences of the parochial clergy, and doing much good work in their early days, notwithstanding their subsequent degeneracy when they became little more than political agents of the Pope.

The abrupt and impolitic mode in which the English monasteries were abolished, deprived the Church suddenly of this vast system of lay co-operation; and for a long time afterwards there was scarcely any attempt whatever made to organize any substitute for it. Puritanism confused the idea of the κλῆρος and the λαὸς; and, if the phrase "co-operation of the laity" had been known to it, the theory of such co-operation, as well as the practice, would have been resolved into a substitution of the laity for the clergy, by setting the former to do those works, chiefly or solely, which especially belong to the office of the latter. In the end of the seventeenth century, societies were organized for the "reformation of manners," and out of them was developed the modern system of societies for co-operation with the clergy in their work, such as that for promoting Christian Knowledge [A.D. 1698]; that for the Propagation of the Gospel [A.D. 1701]; the Church Missionary Society for spreading Christianity in Africa and the East [A.D. 1799]; the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor [A.D. 1811]; the Church Building Society [A.D. 1818]; those for increasing the number of the Clergy, the Bible Society [A.D. 1804], and other kindred institutions. In these organizations, the object is chiefly to promote each branch of Church work by means of money subscriptions, not by personal service. Practically, a large proportion of their funds is subscribed by the clergy: yet, until quite recent times, no other method had been provided, since the dissolution of the monas-

teries, by which anything in the shape of a substitute for their work was attempted.

Within the last quarter of a century, the English laity have been awakened to a keener sense of their duties, and the call for systems of lay co-operation has been very general. The long reign of Puritanism has had its effect in obscuring the subject, and such co-operation has been sought in modes that are inconsistent with the principles of the Church; as, for example, by the introduction of lay representatives into synods of the clergy, and by giving unordained laymen a part in those duties which are specially assigned to priests and deacons. But the establishment of sisterhoods has been a great step in the right direction, and notwithstanding several failures to establish similar communities in which lay-*men* could work for the Church in a similar manner, there is a probability that good practical societies of the kind will eventually be founded, and that personal lay co-operation with the clergy in the good works of the Church will become organized on something of its ancient and primitive footing.

It is hardly necessary to add that the laity exercise very great influence in the Church, at least in England. They have much to do with ecclesiastical legislation, and also with the practical administration of ecclesiastical laws, and of the endowments by which the clergy are maintained. They also have great control as political ministers and private patrons over the appointments of the bishops and parochial clergy. And lastly, there are from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand laymen officially engaged as churchwardens in the numerous parishes into which the country is divided.

LAY PRIESTHOOD. This term is used to designate the office of the laity in Divine worship: and is founded on scriptural authority. St. Peter, writing to Christians in general, says, "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices to God by Jesus Christ" [1 Pet. ii. 5]: telling them, again, "ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people" [*ibid.* 9]. St. John also, in the Apocalypse, writes, that He Who "loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father" [Rev. i. 6]: and in the same book, it is said of those who have "part in the first resurrection," that "they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years" [*ibid.* xx. 6].

Thus, although from the earliest age of the Church, there has always been a distinct line of demarcation between those who are ordained to holy orders, and those who are not [CLERGY. LAITY], all Christians have been considered to take their part in the sacerdotal work of the Church. So Tertullian says, quoting Rev. i. 6, "Are not the laity priests" [Tertul. *de Castit.* 7], and St. Jerome, on the same words, "The priesthood of the laity, that is, Baptism" [Jerome, *Dial. cum Lucif.*].

This sacerdotal function of the Christian laity is a consequence of the anointing which they receive from God the Holy Ghost in Baptism and Confirmation, which, when St. Jerome wrote, were both administered at the same time, so that he only names the former. Confirmation has, at all times, been administered with ceremonies analogous to those used in Ordination, viz., the laying on of hands, unction, and invocation of the Holy Spirit: and it is not unreasonable to consider that these ceremonies have arisen either by Divine institution of Him Whose revelation speaks of all Christians as priests, or by an instinct of the Church, inspired by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, directed towards the same truth, and looking upon Confirmation as a kind of lesser Ordination.

So regarded, the Confirmation of his Baptism qualifies every Christian for the duties of that universal ministry by which all take their part in the solemn work of Divine worship. The holy Eucharist is offered at the altar by the priest ordained for that purpose, and the lay priest co-operates with him by saying Amen at the giving of thanks [1 Cor. xiv. 16, ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ], by adoring "with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven" the Majesty of their present Lord, and by being "built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood," through feeding on the sacrifice so offered. A similar co-operation of the laity in sacerdotal work is that of taking a part in the offering of praise and prayer, in the one by joining throughout with the voice, in the other by occasional response, and the echo of a continually recurring Amen. There is, in fact, no part of Divine Worship in which the ordinary Christian has not some share: and the Christian who takes the very lowest room in the Church of God, if he exercises this duty and privilege of his lay priesthood by consciously joining in the sacrificial work of the Church, is engaging in a far higher work than any to which he could attain by using the office of a preacher, which alone some look upon as the distinctive function of a priesthood.

LENT. [*Quadragesima;* Τεσσαρακοστή; Μεγάλη Νηστεία.] A word akin to the German *Lenz*, and identical with the Dutch and Flemish *Lente*, the season of spring. Hence the name for the great spring fast of the Church.

The observance of a fast before Easter is of very early origin, but a considerable period elapsed before the time of its commencement and the period of its duration were settled by authority. There is a passage in the letter of St. Irenæus to St. Victor, in which he speaks of difference of opinion, not only about the time of Easter, but about the manner of fasting, "some fasting one day, others two, others more" [Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* v. c. 24]; but the reading is there doubtful, in some copies seeming to mention a fast of forty days, in others of forty hours only. Such a fast as the latter does seem to have been kept at first, in memory of the time between our Lord's Death and Resurrection [Tertul. *De Jejun.* ii.].

The historian Socrates enumerates various

differences in the observance of Lent. "The Romans," he says, "fast three weeks before Easter, the Sabbath and Lord's Day excepted. The Illyrians, and all Greece, and the Alexandrians fast six weeks, and call it the Quadragesimal fast. Others begin their fast seven weeks before Easter, only fasting, however, fifteen days by intervals; but they also call this the Quadragesimal fast." He then enumerates differences in the manner of abstinence, and after this says: "Since no one can shew any written rule about this, it is plain that the Apostles left the matter free to each one's judgment and choice, that no one should do the good thing through fear or of necessity" [Socrates, *Ecc. Hist.* v. 22].

In many churches Lent lasted for about thirty-six days, "a tithe of the year," *i.e.* six weeks, minus the Sundays [St. Greg. *Hom.* xvi. *in Evangelia*]. In the East, the Saturdays or Sabbaths were also withdrawn from the number of fasting days. Origen [*Hom.* x. *in Levit.*] speaks of forty days before Easter being set apart for fasting; and at the Council of Nicæa this period was taken for granted. The addition of Ash-Wednesday and the three days following to the beginning of Lent was made by authority, probably that of St. Gregory the Great, in the sixth century.

Another notable point of difference was in the time of the commencement of the Lenten fast. Some began at Septuagesima, some at Sexagesima, others at Quinquagesima. Some churches omitted Sundays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, some Sundays and Saturdays, some Sundays only. St. Gregory's rule, however, seems to have been widely accepted in the West, but the Eastern Μεγάλη Νηστεία begins on the Monday after Quinquagesima.

The rule of fasting for Lent varied greatly also. It was usual to abstain from food altogether until evensong, change of diet not being accounted sufficient. St. Ambrose exhorts men "Differ aliquantulum, non longe finis est diei" [*Serm.* viii. *in Psalm* cxviii.]. St. Chrysostom and St. Basil afford evidence to the same effect.

The food, when taken, was to be of the simplest and least delicate kind, animal food and wine being prohibited. St. Chrysostom [*Hom.* iv. *on Stat.*] speaks of those who for two days abstained from food, and of others who refused not only wine and oil, but every dish, and throughout Lent partook of bread and water only. The Eastern Church at the present day still observes a most strict rule of fasting. Wine and oil are allowed on Saturdays and Sundays, but even these days are only partially free from the restrictions of Lent. The discipline of Holy Week is exceedingly rigorous.

During Lent corporeal punishments were forbidden by the laws of Theodosius the Great, "Nulla supplicia sint corporis quibus (diebus) absolutio exspectatur animarum" [*Cod. Theod.* ix. tit. xxxv. leg. v.]. Public games, and the celebration of birthdays and marriages, were also interdicted [*Conc. Laodic.* li. lii.]. It was the special time for preparing catechumens for Baptism, and most of St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures were delivered during Lent. St. Chrysostom's celebrated Homilies on the Statues were preached during this season. Daily instruction formed a part of the service, and Holy Communion was celebrated at least every Sabbath and every Lord's Day. The last week, the Holy or Great Week, was kept with still greater strictness and solemnity.

There is no doubt that the observance of a fast of forty days derives much authority from Holy Scripture. As St. Jerome says: "Moses and Elias, by their fast of forty days, were filled with the converse of God, and our Lord Himself fasted the same number of days in solitude that He might leave us the solemn days of fasting" [*In Esaiam*, clviii.]. St. Leo speaks of the forty days as being ordained "a sanctis Apostolis per doctrinam Spiritus Sancti" [*Serm.* ix. *de Quadrages.*]; and similar expressions occur in St. Basil, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Jerome, and others. The truth is, the Church ever loved with reverence to trace the example of her Lord, and to follow Him in His Humiliation as well as in His Triumph. As His Passion preceded His glorious Resurrection, so a time of penitential sorrow would naturally be fixed before the Easter season of rejoicing.

There was peculiar force, too, in the observance of Lent for catechumens and penitents. The former would prepare themselves by great strictness and diligence for "the washing of regeneration;" the latter, for the recovery of the Divine favour which they had lost.

LESSONS. The use of lessons or lections of Scripture in Divine service has been commanded by the Church from the very beginning: "Quas (*i.e.* Scripturas) ab ipso Christianæ religionis ortu in publicis conventibus Ecclesia legi voluit" [Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. 5, 1]. They also formed a part of the service of the Jewish synagogue [Luke iv. 17; Acts xiii. 15]. We find St. Paul, in the first written of his Epistles, solemnly "charging" his disciples "by the Lord, that the epistle be read unto all the holy brethren" [1 Thess. v. 27]; and in his Epistle to the Colossians [iv. 16] he says, "When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans: and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea," *i.e.* most probably the Epistle to the Ephesians.

The practice of the early Church may be plainly inferred from these passages, and they are abundantly confirmed by later writers. St. Justin Martyr, in his account of Christian worship on the Lord's Day [circa A.D. 140], speaks of "the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets being read as long as the time permits" [Justin M. *Apol.* i. 67]. The Apostolic Constitutions mention lessons as being taken out of the books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Job, Solomon, the sixteen prophets, &c. After two lessons from these books had been read, psalms were sung, and then followed a lesson from the Acts or Epistles, and one from the Gospels [*Const. Apostol.* ii. 57, 59]. St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, with many others, give similar testimony.

In process of time, particular lessons were appointed for certain seasons of the ecclesiastical year. The Acts of the Apostles were read between Easter and Pentecost [Aug. *Tract.* vi. *in Joan.*]; the miracles there recorded being the great demonstration of our Lord's Resurrection [Chrysos. *Hom.* lxiii., *Cur in Pentecoste acta legantur*]. St. Augustine speaks of the history of the Passion as being, of course, read on Good Friday, and that of the Resurrection at Easter. The Apocalypse was to be read between Easter and Pentecost [*Conc. Tolet.* IV. c. xvii.], and Genesis in Lent [Chrysost. *Hom.* vii. *ad Pop. Antioch et* xxxiii. *in Genes.*, &c.]. A Gallican lectionary more than a thousand years old mentions the use of the Acts and the Apocalypse during the great Forty Days [Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallic.* lib. ii. pp. 137-140]. St. Ambrose speaks of the reading of Job and Jonah in Holy Week [*Epist.* xxxiii. *ad Marcellin.*]. Several interesting coincidences between the modern English lectionary and the customs of ancient times, are given by Palmer: *e.g.* the use of Isaiah during Advent, which is prescribed by the Ordo Romanus. "After Pentecost the books of Samuel and Kings are read; and still later the books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, while Tobit and Judith are read nearer to Advent. The same order may be observed in the forms of the Church described by Rupertus Tuitensis [A.D. 1100] and in the Ordo Romanus" [Palmer's *Orig. Liturg.* i. 254].

Lessons were usually read in Church by the readers [READERS], and, before this order was instituted, probably by deacons. The reader in very ancient times began with the salutation, "Pax vobis" [Cyprian, *Epist.* xxxiii. *al.* xxxviii. *ad Cler. Carth.*], but the third Council of Carthage [A.D. 397] directed that this should be discontinued by the readers and confined to the deacons or superior orders. St. Augustine mentions that this salutation was in his time given by the bishop, and that then the lessons followed [*De Civit. Dei*, xxii. 8]. Some salutation of the kind always preceded the reading of Scripture. St. Chrysostom mentions other customs also. "The deacon," he says, "stands up and cries with a loud voice, 'Let us give attention' (Πρόσχωμεν), and this he says several times . . . and before he begins to read he also cries aloud, 'Thus saith the Lord' (Τάδε λέγει Κύριος)." [*Hom.* xix. *in Act. Apost.*]

The number of lessons varied at different times and places. St. Augustine wished to have a lesson out of each Gospel on Good Friday, but gave up the practice as the people were disturbed by it [*Serm.* cxliii. *de Temp.*]. Maximus Taurinensis mentions that the lessons on the Feast of the Epiphany were out of Isaiah, St. Matthew, and St. John [Aug. *Hom.* iv. *in Epiphan.*]. In the West there was a common classification of festivals into those "of *three*" or "of *nine lections*." These lections however, it is hardly necessary to say, were not whole chapters, but short selections, usually from different parts of Scripture, with "responds" or short anthems sung after each. On Saints' days they were taken from ecclesiastical writings other than Scripture, for the purpose of giving the life of the saint or explaining the Gospel for the day. Psalms were used with the lections from very early times, the practice being mentioned in a canon of the Council of Laodicæa [circa A.D. 367], which orders the psalmody to be mingled with reading [διὰ μέσου καθ' ἕκαστον ψαλμὸν γίνεσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν [Mansi, ii. 568]. Mabillon gives an account [*Curs. Gall.* 399] of a service held at Lyons [A.D. 499], at which there was "a lesson from Moses, then Psalms sung, then a lesson from the prophets, then Psalms again, then a Gospel."

In addition to the lives of saints, lessons were read out of the Homilies of the Fathers and the Acts of the Martyrs. Eusebius mentions the Shepherd of Hermas [iii. c. 3] and the First Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians [c. 16]; St. Athanasius names a work called Διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων [*Epist. ad Ruffin.*]; and St. Jerome the Homilies of St. Ephraem the Syrian [*de Scriptor.* cxv.], all as read in the church. And, of course, the apocryphal or deutero-canonical books were used for this purpose [Hieron. *Præfat. in Lib. Salomonis;* Athan. *Epist. Heortastic. et Synops. Scriptur.;* the *Lectionarium Gallicanum* in Mabillon, *de Lit. Gallic.* &c.].

Freeman traces an interesting connection between the festival lection system of the West and the "odes" of the Eastern offices. These odes, he points out, were called *lections* by the Greek monks of the order of St. Basil near Rome [*Princ. Div. Serv.* i. 125]. The Church of Lyons, he shews, soon adopted a scheme of lections after the Ephesine or Laodicæan model, and from combining this with the Eastern ode scheme would result the Roman and English use. "Hence descended to the English Church of the present day, her still compound, though no longer involved, system of psalms, lessons, and responsive canticles, woven together into one complex act of praise and meditation; an act that meditates still as it praises, and, as it meditates, adores" [*ibid.* i. 129].

In the Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignonez [A.D. 1536], lessons about the length of our Epistles and Gospels were appointed—one from the Old, and another from the New Testament for common use, and a third, generally from the Fathers, for festivals. Our system of lessons was in part established in the Prayer Book of 1549, added to in 1559, and settled in its present form in 1661.

Lessons in the Baptismal and Burial Offices have also ancient authority. In the Sacramentaries of St. Gelasius and St. Gregory, we find eight lections in the former office, and in the COMES of St. Jerome there are nine lections for use at the latter.

LIBELLATICI. A name given in the Primitive Church to those Christians who escaped martyrdom by signing documents declaring themselves not to be Christians, and ready to sacrifice as heathens; or by fraudulently obtaining certificates that they had formally apostatized, when they had not done so. The first kind of Libellatici were looked upon as formal apostates

[Lapsed], and if they desired to return to the Church, had to go through several years of penance and probationary discipline, as if they had been actual Sacrificati. The second kind procured their certificates without personal denial of Christ, either by bribing the magistrate to give them without such a formal apostasy on their part, or by obtaining a heathen to personate them: an evasive practice which was severely censured, but not visited with the same degree of penance as in the other case [Cypr. *de Lapsis*, 14, *Epp.* xxx. 3; lv. *al.* li. 10]. The Libellatici are referred to by Pliny in his well-known letter to the Emperor Trajan [Plinii *Epp.* x. 97], where he speaks of those who confessed that they had formerly been Christians, but had renounced their faith, and whose names he had written down in a book.

LIBELLI PACIS. These were letters written by the martyrs and confessors of the early Church to the bishops, asking that certain persons excluded from communion on account of apostasy, or for other reasons, might be readmitted to the peace of the Church by restoration to the company of the faithful. One of them is preserved among the correspondence of St. Cyprian, having been sent to him by the martyr Lucian, and is as follows: "All the confessors to Cyprian the bishop, greeting. Know that to all concerning whom the account of what they have done since the commission of their sin has been satisfactory to you we have granted peace; and we desire that this letter be made known by you to the other bishops. We bid you to have peace with the holy martyrs. Written by Lucian, one of the clergy, the exorcist and the reader being present" [Cypr. *Ep.* xxiii. *al.* xvi.]. The tone of this letter shews that the martyrs were beginning to *order* rather than to *request* the restoration of penitents: and several of Cyprian's epistles are written on the subject, protesting against the scandal that was being brought upon the Church by a too free use of this privilege, and by its unwise interference with penitential discipline. The "Libelli Pacis" were sometimes called by the name of "Indulgences."

LIFE. The origin and character of the power by which "we live, and move, and have our being" cannot be elucidated by the most persevering researches of physiologists. Such researches lead to positive conclusions as to the composition of organic substances by the combination of certain elements, but lead to no conclusion whatever as to the mode in which organic substances are vivified. It is proved that air and water are essential to life; that heat, light, and electricity are forces intimately associated with it; that certain functions, such as respiration, are indispensable conditions of life, and that there is, probably, a "nervous fluid," or force, distinct from all these, which has a still more intimate association with the vital power or principle. But it cannot be said of any one of these that it is the original source of vitality in a living organism; nor does physical science offer any other satisfactory and logical explanation as to what that source is.

On the other hand, there are theological reasons for supposing that the origin of life is to be traced directly to the Person of God, and that the mode of communicating it to inferior beings is by a miraculous act of a creative character.

There is, for example, a distinct and unqualified assertion respecting the Word in St. John's Gospel, that "in Him was Life" [John i. 4]; and this assertion is so far from being limited to what is called by analogy "spiritual life," that it seems to be made with primary reference to that self-existence which is the distinctive property of Deity. That the Word is the Source of life to man is also suggested by our Lord's words, "The Father hath life in Himself," and "so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself" [John v. 26]; "the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live" [John v. 25]; "I am the Resurrection and the Life" [John xi. 25]; as well as by the manner in which He communicated life on three recorded and many unrecorded occasions to bodies in which it had ceased to exist [Matt. ix. 18; Luke vii. 11; John xi. 44; Matt. xi. 5; Luke vii. 22], and by the manner in which He associates future life at the resurrection with the communication of the "Bread of life," which He declares to be Himself [John vi. 51, 57, 58].

The evidence of Holy Scripture all tends in the same direction. The opening page of man's history seems to shew that the first communication of life was made by some direct emanation from the Person of the Creator, the "breath of God," by which the inanimate body became a living man, as life and light were brought to the world by the Spirit of God moving on the face of the waters. A primeval tradition of this truth may be represented by the words of Job (which perhaps preceded the Mosaic record), "the breath of the Almighty hath given me life" [Job xxxiii. 4], for certainly it is not a thought that would come unprompted to the mind. Perhaps, too, such a mystery of our physical life is told us in the saying of Moses, afterwards endorsed by our Lord, that "man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live" [Deut. viii. 3; Matt. iv. 4]. And thus there may be the most literal truth in the words by which St. Paul endeavoured to elevate the philosophic Athenians from nature-worship to a knowledge of the supernatural, when he said to them, "He is not far from every one of us, for in Him we live, and move, and have our being" [Acts xvii. 27, 28]. Equally literal may be the words of Ezekiel respecting the vivification of the dry bones [Ezek. xxxvii. 5-14], or those of the Psalmist, when he sang, "Thy Word hath quickened me" [Ps. cxix. 50], and "with Thee is the fountain of life" [Ps. xxxvi. 9].

It may be further observed that life is always associated in Holy Scripture with the highest idea of sacredness, whether as it regards the All-holy Fountain of life Himself, or the life of mankind. The most exalted Name of God which is revealed to us, is that one which contains the idea of perpetual existence; and this name is not sel-

dom applied to the Word, in a more or less direct manner, in the New Testament. The most sacred of all oaths, too, is when the Ever-living One swears by Himself—"As I live, saith the Lord." Considering the origin of life to be this sacred Fountain then, it is no wonder that the stream which flows thence down to this lower world of nature should be accounted sacred, whether it flow in man or in other beings. Hence among the earliest laws given to the human race we find the strongest expressions used on this point. When permission is given to Noah and his posterity to eat of "every moving thing that liveth," a restriction of the licence is added by the words, "but flesh *with the life* thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat" [Gen. ix. 4], a command illustrated by the subsequent law given to the Israelites, in which it is said that blood "is the life of all flesh," &c. [BLOOD], and later still by the Apostolic injunction to the Gentile Christians, who were to be set free from all Jewish ceremonies, that they must yet observe this patriarchal precept of abstinence from blood as an article of food. And if sacred in the lower animals, still more so in man, "for in the image of God made He man" [Gen. ix. 5, 6].

Thus it would seem that Holy Scripture always enjoins respect for life in all creatures, but especially for human life, as being something more than a gift of God which may be dealt with under the laws of that supremacy which He has assigned to mankind. It seems to be regarded not only as a gift, but as the gift of that which has its origin and home in the Person of the true, essential, and ever-abiding Life Himself. As time is born out of eternity, and space out of infinity, and yet we cannot truly say that either is a part of that which has no measure and is indivisible, so the life of all living creatures is born out of the life of their Creator, and yet we are unable to define the exact relation which exists between their life and His life. The life of every living being is the life of the Supreme Source of being, yet no creature is God. The drop of life flows from the Fountain of life, and yet the Fountain is not less full: it reascends thither when "the spirit returns to God Who gave it," and yet there is no increase in the life eternal and immeasurable, through its reabsorption.

It is this great truth, expressed in Holy Scripture by such words as those of St. John, "In Him was life;" or of St. Paul, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being;" or of our Lord Himself, "I am the Life," of which the enduring dream of Pantheism is a distorted shadow. That God is everything, and everything is God, is but a perverted representation of the fact that in every living creature the principle of life is divine; that our very "physical" life itself is a standing proof that God "is not far from every one of us," and that the highest blessing of which we are capable is to be made "partakers of the Divine Nature." The ineradicable belief that God is everywhere has lain deep down in the instincts of mankind in all ages. The modern American Indian instinctively recognises the presence of Deity in the skies, the streams, the forest, the prairie, with which he is familiar, and which command his awe, just as the old Scandinavians beheld Deity in the powers of Nature, and the civilized heathen in the woods and the waters. Wherever man lives or has lived, he has always carried with him a conviction that God was present to him; and so the phenomena of universal nature have often been mistaken for Him, that is, the manifestations of His power for the manifestations of His Person. Yet all have failed to reach up to the Gospel idea of God in Nature; the idea that it is His life by which the whole of the animated world is vivified; and all have failed to see that the highest presence of God *in Nature* is the presence of that life in ourselves which links us on to the highest Existence of the Universe, and forms the mysterious bond between our visible and invisible being, our present and our future existence.

The question, What is life? is to be met then, by an acceptance of the scriptural theology that God is the original Fountain of Life, that it is communicated to mankind (and probably to all other living beings) by a direct creative act, and that thus the life of all living creatures is the life which exists primarily in the Self-existent. The "aggregation of functions," "co-ordination of actions," or "series of changes," which are sometimes spoken of as life, are in reality only manifestations of its presence; and no definition of it that has ever been given so completely satisfies the requirements of history, logic, and physical science, as that which is to be deduced from the direct and indirect statements of Holy Scripture.

LIGHT. From the earliest ages there has always been an association between the idea of the Divine Presence and that of visible light; and this association has influenced the customs of Divine Worship. If this association had been merely a matter of poetical imagery, it would have needed no notice in this place; but the fact that it has had its influence on Divine worship, necessarily brings it within the range of theological study, and, still more, the fact that it is countenanced by the language of Holy Scripture.

I. LIGHT AND THE DIVINE PRESENCE. As early as the time of Abraham, the manifestation of God's Presence is spoken of as having been made by a visible light. On the night when the great Abrahamic covenant was established, we read that "when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold, a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp that passed between those pieces" of the animals which he had "divided in the midst, and laid each piece one against another," for the sacrifice [Gen. xv. 17, 10]. This mode of making a covenant is referred to in Jeremiah, where those who made it are said to have "cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof" [Jer. xxxiv. 18]. The meaning of the "smoking furnace" and the "burning lamp" passing between those pieces, is plainly, therefore, that God, in confirming His covenant with the father of the faithful, thus manifested His Presence by the visible sign of a bright light. The same outward sign of the Divine Presence was given on an occasion of

scarcely less importance, when God appeared to Moses in the bush that shone with the bright effulgence of fire, and yet was not consumed [Exod. iii. 2]. And when, shortly afterwards, the Lord would impress the whole nation of Israel with a vivid conviction of His Presence among them for guidance and protection, under circumstances in which human guidance and protection would be almost valueless, it is the same sign by which He manifests that Presence: "The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud[1] to lead them in the way; and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light" [Exod. xiii. 21].

There seems no doubt, moreover, that the Shechinah, which was the special manifestation of the Divine Presence in the Holy of Holies, was a bright light, for it was visible though in a totally darkened chamber. Thus, although it is said that God "dwelleth in the thick darkness," and the Shechinah is called "a cloud" [Lev. xvi. 2], yet it is said at the dedication of the Tabernacle that "Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation because the cloud abode thereon and the glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle" [Exod. xl. 35]; and likewise at the dedication of the Temple that "the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord" [1 Kings viii. 11]. So also physical splendour of illumination manifested the presence of God at Sinai, when "the Lord descended upon it in fire" [Exod. xix. 18]; and when "the light of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel" [Exod. xxiv. 15-17]. To suppose that this appearance was the result of a volcanic fire would be gratuitous, as this is the only authority for the appearance at all; and such a supposition is disproved by the fact that as the bush was unconsumed at Horeb, so Moses passed into the midst of this luminous glory, remained there many days, and returned uninjured.

Such luminous manifestations were by no means confined to the Mosaic period. When Ezekiel was rapt up to heaven, he saw the same kind of appearance which Moses had seen, "a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness about it" [Ezek. i. 4]; when Isaiah beheld the Lord sitting upon His throne "the House was filled with smoke," which Vitringa interprets as "a thick cloud," the symbol of the Divine Presence [Isa. vi. 4]; when Habakkuk saw the vision of God "coming from Teman, His brightness was as the light . . . burning coals went forth at His feet" [Hab. iii. 4, 5; *cf.* Psa. xviii. 12]; and when Ezekiel again beheld "the glory of the Lord God of Israel coming from the way of the East . . . the earth shined with His glory" [Ezek. xliii. 2]. Thus the Jew was taught by God Himself to think of Him in such terms as David used when he sang "Thou coverest Thyself with light as with a garment." It was not in a spiritual sense only that the words, "The Lord is my light and my salvation," or "In Thy light shall we see light," contained a truth; but in a sense also which we may venture to call literal, since God so manifested His glory that men could actually behold the light of it.

Much more might be said on these luminous manifestations of the Divine presence, but the instances given will shew that the unphilosophical mind of the Jew had from the earliest days been familiar with this association of ideas. It might also be shewn that the more philosophical phases of heathen mythology recognised the same principle, or fact; nearly all such mythology being traceable to a form of light-worship on which nature-worship had been engrafted, and of which the very ancient system of the Ephesian Artemis was the principal type. What has been said, however, is enough to illustrate that strong association between light and the Person of our Lord, which is brought out in the New Testament, one principal object of which appears to be the mystical enunciation of His Divinity in a manner with which the whole world had long been familiar. When St. Paul wrote to the Hebrews that Christ was "the brightness [ἀπαύγασμα] of the glory" of that God who had "spoken to the fathers by the prophets" [Heb. i. 1, 2], he was using language familiar to them; and when St. John wrote to the world at large, after Judaism had passed away, "This then is the message which we have heard of Him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all" [1 John i. 5], he also was speaking a truth that would commend itself to all as one lying at the bottom of their religion, whatever it might be. At the same time they would be speaking out of their personal experience, for the one had seen the "bright light" of his Divine Saviour's presence on the road to Damascus, and the other had seen "the excellent glory" at the Transfiguration. They would also be giving to the world the very truth which the Lord Jesus Himself had proclaimed at the beginning and the end of His ministry, "I am the light of the world" [Luke iv. 16; Matt. iv. 16; John viii. 12, xii. 35, 36]. The Jews had learned that Jehovah is light; the heathen had been familiar with the same belief; and now Christ drew all the dispersed rays of truth into a focus, and directed it upon His own Person as that by which the full glory of the Divine Presence was brought down to dwell among men, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτός. So began that climax of all God's manifestations among men, which will be finally and in all its fulness attained when the City of God will have no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it, but the glory of God will lighten it, and the Lamb will be "the light thereof" [Rev. xxi. 23].

[1] Those who have become familiar with the appearance of the flames coming out from the tops of iron or glass furnaces, will not stumble at the cloudy appearance by day of that which was a pillar of fire by night. The more volatile part of the incandescent gas which ascends from these furnaces is visible in the day time only by its tremulous motion, although it is opaque like a cloud, and not transparent like pure air. But at night the same burning gas illuminates the country round with its glare.

II. The Ritual use of Light.—That such distinct revelations of Divine glory by a visible light should find their correlative in the usages of Divine worship was only natural. But the usages of the Jewish dispensation originated in a still higher source than natural feeling and reverent reasoning, being directly ordained by God Himself: and in these usages there was a distinct recognition of artificial light as a liturgical or ritual symbol.

For such a purpose God ordained—in the midst, let it be remembered, of that fulness of Divine glory on the top of the mount which had so dazzled the eyes of the Israelites—that a seven-branched candlestick of gold should be made, to be continually burning [Exod. xxv. 31-40, xxxvii. 17-24]. There is an elaborateness about these directions, which seems to place the candlestick in even a more important position than other vessels of the sanctuary; and this elaborateness extends to the very oil which was to be burned in the seven bowls of it [Exod. xxvii. 20; Lev. xxiv. 1-4], as if nothing could be left to the taste, judgment, or inclination of man, even of a man like Moses. The candlestick was also to be set up very near to the true Shechinah; in the Holy Place, on the north side of the Altar of Incense, and just before the vail which separated the place of the priests' daily ministration from the Holy of Holies. The seven flames of this lamp were to be continually burning, and this injunction concerning the perpetuity of the light seems to have been so strictly kept, even during the wanderings of the Desert, and the disastrous times of the later Judges, that its extinction marked an epoch in the history of Israel; so that one of their historians records of a certain event that it occurred "ere the lamp of God went out in the temple of the Lord" [1 Sam. iii. 3]. Perhaps its perpetuity was of all the more importance because it had been originally lighted, both in the tabernacle and the temple, at the supernatural flame which God sent down from above to consume the sacrifices at both dedications, which flame alone was the source of all the fire that was used for sacrificial purposes up to the time of the Babylonish captivity. It is not necessary to more than mention the fact that, long after this seven-branched candlestick had been carried in triumphal procession at Rome, its image was reproduced in the vision of the Apocalypse, where Christ speaks of Himself again in association with light as "He that holdeth the seven stars in His right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks" [Rev. ii. 1].

Some learned ritualists believe that there is evidence in the apocalyptic references to "candlesticks" and "light," as also in the "many lights" of the "upper chamber" at Troas [Acts xx. 8], to shew that usages like those of the Mosaic dispensation were continued from the first in the Christian Church. However this be, it is certain that in the fourth century artificial light was habitually used in churches, during the daytime, for a symbolical purpose, as if its use were an ancient custom, as well as in greater abundance than mere necessity required at night as a token of Christian gladness. One of the sacred poems of St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola [A.D. 353-431], speaking of the great numbers of wax lights which burned about the altars, making the night more splendid than the day, adds that the light of the day itself was made more glorious by the same means:—

> "Nocte dieque micant. Sic nox splendore diei
> Fulget: et ipsa dies cœlesti illustris honore
> Plus micat innumeris lucem geminata lucernis."
> [Paulin. *Nat.* iii. *S. Felicis.*]

The practice was, in fact, made a subject of ridicule by Vigilantius [A.D. 376], who was answered by St. Jerome in words which shew that a definite meaning was associated with it. "Throughout the churches of the East when the Gospel is read candles are lighted, although the sun be shining, not for the purpose of driving away darkness, but as an outward sign of gladness . . . that under the type of an artificial illumination that light may be symbolized of which we read in the Psalter, 'Thy Word, O Lord, is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths'" [Jerome, *Epist. adv. Vigilant.* iii.]. The same explanation is given by St. Isidore [A.D. 595] in his work on the ritual of the Church [Isidor. *Origin.* vii. 12], as also by Amalarius [A.D. 810] and Rabanus Maurus [A.D. 822].

Baptismal Lights. Artificial light was used in the Primitive Church during the administration of Holy Baptism. The Sacramentaries of Gelasius [A.D. 492] and St. Gregory [A.D. 590] direct that on Easter Eve, at the eighth hour, or two o'clock in the afternoon, the ceremonies of the baptismal office shall begin with the lighting of two tapers, which are to be held at each horn of the altar by readers, during the reading of the appointed eight lessons from Holy Scripture. The taper-bearers then preceded the procession of the clergy to the font; and when the bishop blessed the water, he held one of the tapers in it as part of the rite. From other writers we learn that every day during Easter-Week, until Dominica in Albis, the newly-baptized walked in procession to the Church with a burning taper in front of them. At the same early period, a lighted taper, significant of the burning lamps of the wise virgins [Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl. *de Bapt.*], was placed in the hand of every person at the time of their baptism. All these usages are clearly associated with the idea of Illumination by the grace of God, given through the presence of the "Light that lighteth every man" in the ministration of the Holy Spirit.

Gospel Lights. The early use of these has been already indicated in the quotation given from St. Jerome. Their subsequent use is shewn by the general testimony of all writers on the ceremonies of the Church from that time downwards. St. Isidore [A.D. 595] says that those who are called acolytes by the Greeks are called "ceroferarii" by the Latins, because they carry

tapers when the Gospel is read, or the Sacrifice offered [Isid. *Etymolog.* vi.]. They are mentioned also by Alcuin, Amalarius, Rabanus Maurus, and Micrologus, authors dating from the eighth to the eleventh century. Le Brun considers that the custom was derived from the Jews, who had a lamp perpetually burning before the book of the Law in their synagogues [i. 70].

Festival Lights. It seems also to have been the practice of the Primitive Church to burn many tapers around the tombs of martyrs on their festivals, as a sign of gladness for their triumph and their entrance into the light of Christ's presence. This practice is mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen [*Orat.* xxxix. xlii.], but was forbidden, so far as cemeteries were concerned, by the thirty-fourth canon of the Council of Elvira, held about A.D. 325. It still continued, however, to be the practice to burn such lights within the walls of churches, not only around the graves of martyrs, but of all for whom the provision was made, on their "obits," *i.e.* the anniversaries of their deaths.

The Feast of the Purification was honoured with lights to such an extent as to be thence called Candlemas: every one, says Alcuin in the eighth century, bearing a taper in their hand when they went into church, and the practice being noticed by St. Bernard in the twelfth century.

The Queen of Festivals was illuminated by the Paschal candle, which was set up on Maundy-Thursday, and left standing until the Wednesday after Ascension-day. A minute description of that used in Durham Cathedral is given by a writer of the Reformation age, from which it appears to have been an enormous taper placed on a structure reaching nearly to the roof, and surrounded near the floor by many other lights. [Davies' *Rites of Durham*, p. 14, ed. 1767.]

Funeral Lights are also mentioned by St. Gregory Nazianzen, tapers being then carried in procession [*Orat.* iv. x.]; and also by St. Jerome [*Ep.* xxvii.], St. Chrysostom [*Homil. in Heb.* iv.], and the historian Theodoret [v. 36]. This practice of burning tapers around the dead has come down to our own times, though only brought conspicuously into notice at the "lying-in-state" of persons of rank.

Eucharistic Lights. The use of lights at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist has come down from the Primitive Church, hardly any ritual custom associated with the blessed Sacrament having more historical evidence for its support. They are mentioned by all the writers who have been previously quoted as speaking of the use of lights at the reading of the Gospel, and by many others who do not mention that custom; and their use appears to have been universal throughout the Church from the time of the Apostles until the attacks made on all Christian ceremonies by the fanatics of the sixteenth century.

Some special injunctions respecting the use of Eucharistic lights in the Church of England may be given as a local example of the universal custom, but they form only a small part of the evidence that might be adduced to shew that the English custom was like that observed in the other Churches of the world.

King Edgar's Canons, in the latter half of the tenth century, contain the injunction, "Let there be lights always burning in the church when Mass is singing" [Thorpe's *Laws and Instit.* ii. 253]. A Canon of Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, a few years later [A.D. 990] illustrates the preceding one of Edgar by describing the acolyte as "one who bears the candle or taper in God's ministries, when the Gospel is read, or when the Housel is hallowed at the altar . . . . with that light to announce bliss, in honour of Christ, who is the One Light" [*ibid.* 347]. After the Conquest [A.D. 1085] St. Osmund wrote the Consuetudinary or Custom-book of his Sarum Use. In this he orders the treasurer of the Cathedral to provide four candles on all Sundays for use at Mass, two of which are to be placed "insuper altari," and the other two "in gradu coram altari." By the Council of Oxford, held for the province of Canterbury [A.D. 1222], it is ordered that at the time when Masses are solemnly celebrated, two candles, "vel ad minus una cum lampade," shall be burning at the altar [Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 595]. A constitution of Bridport, Bishop of Salisbury [A.D. 1236], shews that the custom extended to all parochial churches, the parishioners being required to provide "wax candles in the chancel, and also sufficient lights throughout the whole year at mattins, vespers, and the Mass." The Synod of Exeter [A.D. 1287] has a canon ordering that two candles shall always be burned out of reverence for the Sacrament, and in case one should be accidentally extinguished [*ibid.* ii. 132]. A constitution of Archbishop Reynolds [A.D. 1322] enjoins, "Let two candles, or one at the least, be lighted at the High Mass" [*ibid.* i. 714]: and the gloss of the mediæval canonist Lindewood is "the candles so burning signify Christ Himself Who is the Brightness of the Eternal Light" [Lindewood, 236; *cf.* Heb. i. 3]. Lastly, at the Reformation, when many ceremonies were abolished, the Eucharistic lights were retained by some Injunctions issued under the authority of the Crown A.D. 1547, which ordered that the clergy "shall suffer from henceforth no torches, nor candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the Sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true Light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still" [Cardw. *Docum. Ann.* i. 7]. Up to the time of the Great Rebellion the custom was still continued in the royal chapels, the cathedrals, and some churches, and is often spoken of by the Puritan writers with their usual bitter hostility to ceremonies. But this one, like many other ancient and primitive customs, failed to be generally revived at the Restoration, and its revival in recent times caused much astonishment among those who were unacquainted with the old habits of the Church of of England.

The manner in which the Eucharistic lights were used, and the number of them, has varied

in different ages. In the Primitive Church they seem to have been placed in considerable numbers near to or around the altar. An ancient history of York Cathedral [A.D. 787], printed by Mabillon, speaks of "three great vases" hung on high for the altar-lights. The Consuetudinary of Sarum orders two candles to be placed above the altar, and two on the steps in front of it. Durandus speaks of two candlesticks placed at the horns of the altar. Bouquillet, in his *Traité Historique de la Liturgie Sacrée*, says of candles and flowers, that though they were used abundantly in ancient churches, they were placed anywhere but on the altar during the first twelve centuries: the former being generally carried by acolytes, and placed upon the ground near the altar [Pugin's *Glossary*, 44]. The ancient custom of the Church of England until about the fifteenth century was to place thus the candlesticks and lights which had been carried by acolytes in the procession to the altar; and in the greater churches, such as St. Alban's [Walcott's *Sacred Archæol.* 97] or Durham [Davies's *Rites of Durham*], to have a taper burning in a silver basin hung above the celebrant's head during the time of the celebration. "Before the high altar," writes Davies, "within the quire above mentioned, were three silver basins hanging in chains of silver. . . . These silver basins had latten basins within them, having pricks for serges, or great waxen candles to stand on; the latten basins being to receive the drops of the three candles, which burned day and night, in token that the house was always watching to God. There was also another silver basin, hanging in silver chains *before the Sacrament* of the aforesaid high altar, but nearer to the said altar than the others, hanging almost over the priest's back: *which was only lighted in time of Mass, and that ended, extinguished.*" Elsewhere the custom was established of placing a lighted taper on either side of the altar crucifix, but this, with all other image lights, was forbidden at the Reformation, standard lights "before the Sacrament" being continued, by the Injunctions previously quoted.[1]

It may be said, in conclusion, that natural feeling, the general traditions of the world, the special history of the only true religion of its ancient days, prophetic language, and ritual custom, all taught those who lived before Christ that God is Light. Our Lord and His Apostles drew the rays of this belief into a focus upon His Person, and the idea of Christ as "the Light of the world" has ever since been vividly kept in mind by the teaching of the New Testament, the words of the Nicene Creed, and the ritual customs of the Church.

To unscientific ages, there seemed nothing strange in this association of Light and the Divine Presence: an age of advanced knowledge, which has become familiar with the properties of light, may consider such an association to be only a piece of sacred imagery, and may even feel a reverent dread of unreality on the one hand, or of materialism on the other, if it should be much dwelt upon. Yet, after all, the revelation of God Himself is a security against both these dangers. The Christian world would lose a great treasure if it were to lose the mystical teaching of Holy Scripture on the subject; and even the ritual usage of light is a very significant bond of external union between the modern Church, that of Primitive ages, and the dispensation of Sinai.

LIMBUS. This term is used in the later theology of the Western Church, to designate the abode, in the state intermediate between death and the judgment, of those who lived before the coming of Christ, and of infants since Christ's coming who die unbaptized.

It is very commonly said that the doctrine of a Limbus is one of the rash and unwarranted speculations of the Schoolmen. The Schoolmen no doubt enunciated the doctrine with more precision than had been previously done, inasmuch as they had before them for comparison and suggestion all the teaching of the Fathers: but the doctrine itself is, and was, no novelty. Barrow [Ser. xxviii. *On the Creed*], dismissing the doctrine as one of the conceits which he cannot well be at the pains to consider, yet finds in Justin Martyr "that Christ went to deliver the souls of the just and prophets from the wicked powers, into whose power they had fallen" [*Dialogue with Trypho.* c. 105].

Irenæus quotes again and again as from the Scripture the remarkable words, "The Holy Lord remembered His dead Israel who slept in the land of sepulture: and He descended to them to make known to them His salvation, that they might be saved." See particularly where, speaking of the disciples sleeping in Gethsemane, he writes, "Coming to them the second time, he aroused them and made them stand up, in token that His Passion is the arousing of His sleeping disciples, on whose account He also descended into the lower parts of the earth, to behold with His eyes the state of those who were resting from their labours,[2] in reference to whom He did also declare to the disciples: 'Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see and hear what ye do see and hear'" [Irenæus, *Hæres.* iv. 22; see also v. 31].

In fragment xxviii. [vol. ii. p. 171, *Ante-Nic. Lib.*] the miracle of the iron floating "is a sign that souls should be borne aloft (ἀναγωγῆς ψυχῶν) through the instrumentality of wood, upon which He suffered, Who can lead those souls aloft that follow His ascension. This event is also an indication of the fact, that when the holy soul of Christ descended [to Hades] many souls ascended and were seen in their bodies." The ἀναγωγὴ ψυχῶν appears to be

[1] When the use of Eucharistic lights was symbolically revived by the "lumina cæca" of the Restoration period, the candles were placed upon the altar as these crucifix lights had been placed, probably under the impression that the latter were the old Eucharistic lights.

[2] This translation is that adopted in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*, from Harvey's interpretation of the obscure Latin text, "id quod erat inoperatum conditionis." The obscurity of these words does not extend to the general doctrine of Irenæus.

nothing else than the medieval Extractio Animarum; and the miracle, Matt. xxvii. 52, is considered to be symbolical of, or a part of, the Harrowing of Hell. The miracle is so treated by Clemens Alexandrinus, who, when he had said, "the Lord descended to Hades for no other end but to preach the Gospel," adds, "Further, the Gospel says that many bodies of those that slept arose—plainly as having been translated to a better state. There took place, then, a universal movement and translation through the economy of the Saviour" [Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 6]. Tertullian writes, "Christus descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas et Prophetas compotes sui faceret:" and presently afterwards, "in Paradiso, quo jam tunc et Patriarchæ et Prophetæ, appendices Dominicæ resurrectionis, ab inferis migraverint" [Tertul. *De Anima*, p. 353, edit. Rigalt]. Jerome writes, "Christus ad fornacem descendit Inferni, in quo clausæ justorum animæ tenebantur. Postquam eo descendit Inferorum claustra perfodit, diripuit, vastavit, spoliavit, vinctas inde animas liberando" [Jerom. *In Ecclesiast.*]. Athanasius writes of Christ's descent into Hades, to break the bonds of souls there detained [Athanas. *Contr. Apollin.* i. 13, 14; ii. 15, 16]. Augustine places the abode of the souls of the Fathers "locis quidem a tormentis impiorum remotissimis, sed apud Inferos, donec eos inde sanguis Christi et ad ea loca descensus eruerit" [Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, xx. 15].

The Schoolmen divided into five classes the souls who are waiting for the last judgment:—[1.] The Fathers of the old Church, who received, through the Incarnation of our Lord, an access of spiritual glory or felicity, announced to them and conferred upon them by our Lord's descent into Hades. With them are the faithful who are freed from Purgatory, and the martyrs whose souls are in the Apocalypse represented as beneath the altar. These are awaiting the glory of the resurrection, and their entrance into heaven—the place of their waiting being called *Paradise*. [2.] Those who lived before our Lord's Incarnation, but did not merit this access of felicity, and remain in the same state as before our Lord's descent into Hades. Their abode is *Limbus Patrum*. [3.] Infants who die unbaptized, who are in the *Limbus Infantium*, which is often identified with the Limbus Patrum [St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol. Suppl. ad Partem* III. quæst. lxix. 5, 6, 7, 8]. [4.] The baptized whose imperfections require and whose degree of faith allows a salutary and remedial pain which shall purge away defilement and fit them for the kingdom of heaven. These are in *Purgatory*. [5.] Those without hope: who are in Infernum, an anticipation of *Hell*, the final place of torment.

Of this scheme the errors as regards PURGATORY do not invalidate the part which relates to the ancient Fathers and the unbaptized. The latter may be held independently of the former. There appears to be little novelty in the doctrine: only the term Limbus is new, and yet it is not known by whom that term was introduced. It is not found in the Master of the Sentences, but is used by his commentators. It seems to point to imagery such as that of Dante, who represents Limbus as the outer zone of hell [Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. xiv. c. 2]. The popular teaching in England on the subject may be seen in the Extractio Animarum of the Townly mysteries, which may be referred to the time of Henry VI. or Edward IV. The doctrine of our earlier reformers is given in the magnificent interpretation of the fifth article of the Creed in "The Institution of a Christian Man." "Our Saviour Jesus Christ at His entry into hell first conquered and oppressed both the devil and hell, and also death itself . . . afterward He spoiled hell, and delivered and brought with Him from thence all the souls of those righteous and good men which from the fall of Adam died in the favour of God, and in the faith and belief of this our Saviour, which was then to come." Of such interpretation of the article of our Saviour's descent into hell the doctrine of a Limbus is a part, or perhaps a corollary.

It is much to be regretted that one cannot now venture to use the word "Limbo," perfectly unobjectionable as it is in itself. The profane songs of ignorant Puritans, the use of the word in the coarse satire of Milton, the foul ribaldries of Bayle [see his article "Patin"] have made the word a scandal. Archbishop Trench has noticed the inconveniences arising from the ambiguities of the words by which we name the abodes of the intermediate state: and to them may be added the inconvenience that we have no word we dare use for the "Locus in quo SS. Patrum ac piorum animæ ante Christi mortem consistebant, ubi etiam infantium qui absque baptismo moriuntur consistere animas aiunt."

LITANY. [Λιτανέια.] This word, which has the general meaning of prayer or entreaty, was particularly restricted to its present sense of solemn public intercessions at a very early date.

The litanies of the universal Church are divided by Neale [*Essays on Liturg.* &c., p. 73] into three classes, viz.: [1] The Roman (or Western) Litany; [2] the Greek Ectene; and [3] the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Preces. Of these three classes the second doubtless contains the norm of all litanies. We find in the Apostolic Constitutions [viii. 6] a specimen of this class, probably of the fourth century. The deacon bids prayer and names the subject of each petition, and at the end of each suffrage the people reply "Lord have mercy." A corresponding ectene finds its place in nearly every office of the Eastern Church.

Akin to this is the third class, viz., the Mozarabic and Ambrosian Preces. On the first five Sundays in Lent the Mozarabic Liturgy has metrical ectenæ—the first three addressed to our Lord, the last two put into His mouth. To these the people respond "Placare et miserere," "Quia peccavimus tibi," "Miserere, Pater juste, et omnibus indulgentiam da"—"Tu, Pater Sancte, miserere, et libera me," &c. The Ambrosian Liturgy has two sets of Preces, one for the first, third, and fifth, the other for the second and

fourth Sundays in Lent, which have the responses "Lord have mercy," &c. These Preces are a plain link between the litanies of East and West, and like to them is the "Litania missalis in codice Fuldensi" given by Bingham [*Antiq.* i. sec. 2].

One of the earliest instances of the use of litanies in the West is in the churches of Gaul. It was their special custom to invoke God's mercy by processional supplications [Sidon. Apollin. v. 14]. These, in a time of extraordinary calamity, were reordained with special solemnity by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne [A.D. 467], and henceforth were the distinguishing ceremony of Rogation-tide. [ROGATIONS.] It was with part of the Rogation service of the Church of Lyons that St. Augustine and his band of missionaries entered Canterbury [A.D. 597], singing a litany "consona voce" [Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* i. c. 25].

St. Gregory the Great instituted the "litania major" [Mansi, xii. 400] for St. Mark's day [A.D. 590], which was also called "litania septiformis," the clergy and laity going in procession, divided into seven classes. St. Gregory, in speaking of it, names the litany of the clergy, that of laymen, that of monks, of virgins, of married women, of widows, and of the poor and children. This litany of St. Mark was adopted in England by the Council of Cloveshoe [A.D. 747].

About this century invocations of saints began to appear in the litanies; the earlier mention of them in prayer having been general, and the words only asking that the saints might pray for us. In process of time, the number of invocations became considerable, Martene quoting one litany in which ninety-four occurred. The litany of the Anglo-Saxon Church had a long series in the ninth century, and one given by Muratori names one hundred and two saints. Litanies were usually chanted in procession and with great solemnity. The laws of Justinian mention the crosses used on these occasions [*Novels*, cxxiii. 32]. These processions were one of the means employed by St. Chrysostom in contending with the Arians of Constantinople, and silver crosses were furnished for them by the Empress Eudoxia [Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* vi. 8]. The Council of Mayence [A.D. 813] ordered that "all should go barefoot and in sackcloth in the procession of the great litany of three days."[1]

The English Litany was known to the people generally for some centuries before the Reformation through the authorized Primers. It was set forth in a revised form [A.D. 1544], when the invocations of saints were restricted to three clauses, viz.:—One to the Blessed Virgin, another to the angels and blessed spirits, and a third to the "patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven." When the litany was inserted in the Prayer Book, these clauses were omitted. In the first edition of the Prayer Book [A.D. 1549], it was ordered to be said or sung on Wednesdays and Fridays, to which days Sunday was added in the year 1552.

[1] For old English ceremonies in connection with the Litany, see Blunt's *Annot. Bk. of Com. Pr.*, p. 47.

The Litany consists of five parts:—[1] invocations; [2] deprecations; [3] obsecrations; [4] intercessions; and [5] the versicles and prayers. The old litanies always began with the "Kyrie Eleëson," and the invocations of saints followed those of the Holy Trinity.

It must ever be remembered that in its origin the litany was a distinctly "Eucharistic feature;" a series of intercessions closely associated with the Eucharistic Sacrifice. So we find it in the East, and so it was originally in the West also: one most notable feature being the pleading of the work of Christ in behalf of His Church. In a Syriac form given by Renaudot, there is a most beautiful early instance of this. Taking the paten and cup into his right and left hand, the priest commemorates [1] the annunciation; [2] the nativity; [3] the baptism; [4] the passion; [5] the lifting up on the cross; [6] the life-giving death; [7] the burial; [8] the resurrection; and [9] the session. Then follows the remembrance of the departed, and then supplication for all, both living and departed, ending with three Kyries and the Lord's Prayer. This beautiful Eucharistic intercession St. Ephraem the Syrian "rendered into a very solemn hymn" [Freeman's *Princ. Div. Serv.* ii. p. 325].

Such an Eucharistic use of the litany is the best explanation of its customary use on Sundays, for which its extremely penitential character might otherwise appear unsuitable. In this light it is a faithful carrying out of the command of the Apostle, "I exhort therefore, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and Eucharists (εὐχαριστίας) be offered for all men" [1 Tim. ii. 1].

LITERAL INTERPRETATION in Scripture as in other books, results from the ordinary use and force of the words. It gives the sense which the words proximately signify according to the writer's intention. This may be either the *proper* or the *metaphorical* meaning. As every text of Scripture has a *literal* sense—a sense which constantly conveys the highest truths (*e.g.*, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God"), the *literal* sense must include the *metaphorical* which, frequently, can alone have been intended:—*e.g.* St. Matt. iii. 12; xvi. 6: "Whose fan is in His hand;" "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees;" &c. When *any* literal sense of Scripture is denied, the *metaphorical* is referred to the *mystical*. It is from the *literal* sense only that the theologian should derive arguments in proof or vindication of the great dogmas of the Faith.

LITERÆ FORMATÆ. This was a general title in the ancient Church for several kinds of commendatory epistles. The origin of the name is obscure, some considering that it signifies *formal* letters only, others that *formatæ* is synonymous with *sigillatæ*, the term *lex formata* being used in the Theodosian Code for a law certified by a particular kind of seal.

Some documents of the kind appear to have been used in apostolic times, Apollos receiving such from the Church of Ephesus when going thence to Achaia [Acts xviii. 27], and St. Paul referring to them as if they were well known among Christians in 2 Cor. iii. 1.

In the post-Apostolic Church these *literæ formatæ* were issued by the bishops for three purposes. [1.] First were the *epistolæ commendatoriæ*, by which the clergy and others were commended to the Christian fellowship of churches in countries where they might be travelling. [2.] Secondly were the *epistolæ communicatoriæ*, certificates of communion, called also *pacificæ*, *ecclesiasticæ*, and *canonicæ*, which were given to all as a token that they were admitted by the Holy Communion to the peace and fellowship of the Church. [3.] Thirdly were the *epistolæ dimissoriæ* (also called *pacificæ*), which were given to the clergy on leaving one diocese for another as certificates that they left in peace with their bishop. [Du Cange; Du Pin, *De Antiq. Ecc. Disciplina;* Bingham.] The *literæ formatæ* are not to be confounded with the Libelli Pacis.

LITURGY [λειτουργία]. The Form, Order, or Office, for the celebration and administration of Eucharistic sacrifice and sacrament.

The word was adopted from classical Greek by the Alexandrian translators of the Old Testament, as the equivalent of the Hebrew עֲבוֹדָה, *Abodah*, which was commonly used to signify the divine service rendered to God in the Tabernacle and the Temple by the Priests and Levites. [Numb. vii. 5, viii. 22, xviii. 6; 1 Chron. ix. 13, xxviii. 13; 2 Chron, viii. 14, xxxv. 16.] With a similar reference to the Jewish service it was also used by St. Luke and St. Paul in the New Testament [Luke i. 23; Heb. ix. 21]; the latter applying it likewise to the "more excellent ministry" of our Lord Himself [Heb. viii. 6].

While the Temple was standing, that is, until the death of all the Apostles except St. John, the only distinctive "ministry" among Jewish or proselyte Christians was that of the Eucharist; and it was the same probably among Gentile Christians also. As might be expected, therefore, the New Testament contains some illustrations of the transitional use of words derived from λειτουργέω which associate them with the distinctive usage of the word "liturgy" in later times. Thus St. Paul associates the term with sacrifice; "If I be offered ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ of your faith [Philip. ii. 17]; and, "that I should be the λειτουργὸν of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ἱερουργοῦντα the Gospel of God, that ἡ προσφορὰ [Eng. marg. *sacrifice*] of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost" [Rom. xv. 16]. The Greek terms here used are all (Dr. Burton remarks) borrowed from the service of the Temple; and they were all in recognised association with the Eucharist among the earliest of those writers who came after the Apostles. [Eucharist. Mass.] It seems also as if the transitional use of the word had been carried a step further when St. Luke wrote that the Apostles were liturgizing [λειτουργούντων] to the Lord with fasting, when they ordained St. Paul and St. Barnabas to their ministry [Acts xiii. 2]. Suicer, indeed, rejects any Eucharistic sense here, but Erasmus, with less respect for the Vulgate, renders the words "cum illi Domino sacrificarent."

Among the Greek Fathers the terms "Mystical Liturgy," and "Holy Liturgy," are often used for the ministration of the Eucharist; and ἡ θεία λειτουργία is spoken of in the Apostolical Constitutions [Const. App. viii. 6], as if "The Divine Liturgy" was the received title of the service in the beginning of the fourth century in the Eastern Churches, as it is at the present day. Our English term "Divine Service" was also used for the Eucharistic service much more distinctively in former days than it has been in recent times.

Having thus glanced at the etymology of the term by which they are distinguished, we may pass on to the more important subject of the history and structure of the formularies used for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

I. Origin of the Liturgy. The circumstances under which the Holy Eucharist was instituted make it absolutely certain that the Apostles celebrated it from the first with a considerable amount of ritual preciseness, and the same circumstances make it probable that they also used, from the beginning, some liturgical form. For the command, "This do," involves, to say the least, the imitation of our Lord's acts in taking bread in His hands, breaking it, and distributing it, as also an analogous ceremony with the Cup. But our Lord also used words, for, *first*, He "blessed" [Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22] the bread, or "gave thanks" [Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23], before distributing it; *secondly*, He said, "Take, eat, This is My Body," when giving it to them; *thirdly*, when He took the Cup He also "gave thanks;" and *fourthly*, at the distribution of its contents He used words of a similar character to those used in distributing the Bread. After seeing our Lord's acts, hearing His words, and receiving His command, "This do," the Apostles could not have gone to work "anyhow," as the saying is, according to the impulse of the moment, in "breaking bread" after our Lord's Ascension, and there is not the slightest historical or logical reason for supposing that they did. The Lord's acts and words were a new Passover ritual to men who had been familiar with the old Passover ritual from their earliest childhood; and His emphatic association of them with the startling, novel, and most memorable phrase, "The New Testament," or rather "the New *Covenant*" (διαθήκη), would give an additional sacredness to them in the eyes of men long used to think of the "Old Covenant," made between God and their fathers. But, in fact, it seems to be unnecessary to prove that the Apostles used some set form of liturgy in celebrating the Memorial of their Lord. The fact that they celebrated it embraces also the proof that they used some form,—that, for example, they "brake the Bread" and "gave thanks" as Christ had directed them to do;—and this form was in itself a Liturgy.

As, therefore, the germ of the "Old Testament" Passover ritual originated with God, and was scrupulously incorporated into their Passover customs by the Jews, so the germ of "New Testament" Eucharistic ritual originated also with God the Son, and was incorporated with equal care into

their Eucharistic customs by the Apostles and first Christians. All research into the history of liturgies must consequently start from the Divine words of Institution, and they form, in fact, the central core around which all subsequent prayers, praises, and ritual customs gathered, and out of which these may be said to have grown. But as the Holy Ghost was sent into the Church to guide it into all truth, His Presence caused a continual development and evolution of truth during at least the whole of the Apostolic age. The Apostles were not restricted to a bare repetition of their Master's words in teaching His Church, neither were they restricted to His words and acts without any addition or development in the celebration of the Eucharist. Christ settled the *principles* on which His Church was to be founded in the instructions which he gave to the Apostles: but the details of the structure were left to them and their successors to develope, under the guidance of human prudence and of the Holy Spirit. Thus arose that gathering of prayers, praises, and ritual customs around the original words of Institution which has been already referred to,—some in the Apostolic age, others at a later date,—and the history of these is the history of the Liturgies.

II. Traces of the Apostolic Liturgy. The earliest ritual writer extant, St. Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople [A.D. 434], states that the Apostles arranged a liturgy before they separated to go to their respective fields of labour [Bona, *Rer. Lit.* I. v. 3]. They were very likely to have done so, as they were very likely to have settled a form of Creed, so that all of them might do their work with some kind of uniformity. St. Chrysostom indicates some such tradition when he says, "Consider what the Apostles did when they partook of that holy Supper? Did they not betake themselves to prayers and hymns?" [*Homil. ad Corinth.* xxvii. 7]. St. Gregory says indeed that the Apostles used the Lord's Prayer only in consecrating the holy oblation [*Ep.* lxiii.], but of course he does not mean that they omitted to use our Lord's words of Institution, and therefore his words cannot be taken in their strictest sense. Cardinal Bona reconciles the apparent contradiction by suggesting that the Apostles used a short form, containing only the essential part of the liturgy, when the time was short (through danger or other circumstances), and a longer form when the time permitted them to do so. "We admit, without hesitation," says Guéranger, "that the construction of the liturgy by the Apostles, like all else which is great, was a progressive work: that the assemblage of rites connected with the holy Sacrifice and Sacrament was not complete from the day of Pentecost. But was not the New Testament itself formed step by step? Did not fifty years elapse between the publication respectively of St. Matthew's and St. John's Gospels? It is granted also that, since the necessary work of Christian *instruction* would naturally engross the greater part of the time which the Apostles passed in the different churches, the period devoted to the Liturgy would often be curtailed; as was the case at Troas, where the breaking of the Bread, that is to say, the celebration of the Eucharist, was delayed till midnight, in consequence of the length of the Apostle's preaching, which he resumed after the solemnization of the Mysteries, and continued till daybreak. But from the moment that the Christian faith took root in any city, and the Apostles were able to establish a bishop, priests, and deacons, the external forms received enlargement, and Divine service became, of necessity, more solemn. Accordingly, St. Paul, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, represents that recent Church as already in possession of the Eucharistic Mysteries; yet he does not consider himself to have fulfilled all his duties in this particular till he repeats his visit, and arranges all which relates to holy things in a more perfect form, and with a greater degree of canonical exactness. Such is the construction which the holy doctors have constantly put upon the words which conclude the passage of this Epistle, in which he speaks of the Eucharist; "The rest will I set in order when I come." St. Jerome, in his succinct commentary on this passage, explains it, "*cætera de ipsius Mysterii Sacramento.*" St. Augustine unfolds this sentiment more fully in the letter to Januarius: "These words," he says, "give us to understand that in the same way as he had, in the course of this Epistle, made allusion to the usages of the Church Catholic 'on the matter and essence of the Sacrament,' he afterwards himself instituted (at Corinth) those rites, the universality of which is unaffected by any difference of manners." [Guéranger's *Institutions Liturgiques*, i. 31.] A similar inference is also to be drawn from the words with which St. Paul introduces the words of Institution: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you" [1 Cor. xi. 23]. That central portion of the liturgy was communicated to him by Divine revelation at some early period of his ministry, and he had "delivered" it to the Churches which he had founded among those customs of which he had just written, "Now I praise you, brethren, that ye . . . keep the ordinances (τὰς παραδόσεις) as I delivered them to you" [*ibid.* 2]; and of which he wrote elsewhere, "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle" [2 Thess. ii. 15].

The liturgy thus indicated by St. Paul may be traced out into some detail from his writings. [1.] First, the Act of Consecration is shewn to have included Fraction of the Bread and Benediction of the Wine: "The Cup of blessing which we bless . . . the Bread which we break" [1 Cor. x. 16]: and it cannot reasonably be doubted that the Benediction extended to the bread as well as to the wine. [2.] The ceremony of consecration appears also to have been associated with exhortation: "Upon the first day of the week when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them" [Acts xx. 7]. [3.] The Apostle's expression, "We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle" [Heb. xiii. 10], seems to indicate that special tables were already in use for the conse-

Liturgy

cration of that whereof only Christians had a "right to eat" [ALTAR]; and the manner in which the Apostle opposes "the Lord's Table" to "the tables of devils" or the heathen altar, points towards the same conclusion. [4.] The "many lights" in "the upper chamber" at Troas [Acts xx. 8; *cf.* i. 13, ii. 2; Luke xxii. 12] are not unreasonably supposed to have been placed there partly as a sign of gladness [LIGHT], some being added, for the liturgical object, to those which were used for giving necessary light. [5.] The "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks" [1 Tim. ii. 1] are associated by early Christian writers with the liturgy used by the Apostles. "I advise," says St. Augustine, commenting on this passage, "that, in these words, we understand, with the whole or nearly the whole Church, by *supplications*, those which we use in the celebration of the Sacrament, before the benediction of what is on the Lord's Table; by *prayers*, those in the benediction and sanctification, and breaking for distribution, the whole of which act of supplication is, in almost every church, concluded by the Lord's Prayer; by *intercessions*, or as our manuscripts have it, *entreaties*, (postulationes), those used in blessing the people. For then it is, that the priests, in their character of advocates, present their clients to the supernal clemency. Finally, when all is over, and the so great Sacrament has been participated, the whole is concluded by "*giving of thanks*" [Aug. *Ep.* lix. *ad Paulin. qu.* 5]. [6.] The "Kiss of Peace" to which St. Paul so often refers was spoken of by Origen as being also associated with the liturgy, "the brethren giving one another the kiss when the prayer is brought to an end" [Origen on *Rom.* xvi. 16]: and such an association is known to have existed in the earliest times of the Church. [KISS OF PEACE.] [7.] Lastly, the Eucharistic "Amen" with which the LAITY assent to the act of Consecration is distinctly referred to by the Apostle when condemning the use of languages not vernacular in Divine service: "When thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks" [ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ], that is, "at thy celebration of the Eucharist" [1 Cor. xiv. 16]. It may also be added that there is reason to think passages from the Old Testament were read as part of the liturgy even during those twenty or thirty years which passed before the Epistles and Gospels had yet come from the pens of the Apostles and Evangelists.[1]

Further, there are many passages and expressions in the writings of the Apostles which are singularly like corresponding language in some of the primitive liturgies. At first thought, it would seem manifest that the liturgies had quoted these passages word for word, or in substance, from the Apostolic writings, but research and criticism have led liturgical students to an exactly opposite conclusion, namely, that the Apostolic writers quoted from the liturgy which they were constantly using, and had been using, perhaps, for many years before they wrote these epistles. Such passages, for example, as 1 Cor. ii. 9; xv. 45; Eph. v. 14; 1 Tim. i. 15; 2 Tim. ii. 11-13, are quoted by St. Paul with the prefix "As it is written," or "This is a faithful saying," and yet they are not to be found in the Old Testament. Bishop Lowth supposes the first of these to be quoted from an apocryphal book, as he says it is impossible for "temperate criticism" to consider it as a quotation from Isaiah. Yet the very words are found in the Liturgy of St. James, and in St. Clement's first Epistle, and a portion of them in the Acts of St. Polycarp. A great many more passages are to be found in the Epistles, which have a similar appearance of being quoted from the original form of the primitive liturgies which are still extant; and it is not unlikely that scientific criticism such as has been applied to the text of Holy Scripture might restore a considerable portion of the Apostolic liturgy.[2]

Much light might also be thrown on the Eucharistic ritual of the first and second centuries by a careful examination, for that purpose, of the book of the Revelation [RITUAL] and the writings of the Fathers; comparing them with the liturgies that have been handed down to us in a later form.

III. LOCAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE APOSTOLIC LITURGY. It has been already observed that the liturgical system of the Church was not at once and for ever settled in the first age; but that, general principles being established (as, for instance, in the use of the words of Institution), the particular details were developed progressively under the influence of personal and local circumstances, overruled by the constant guidance of the Holy Spirit. Thus, when the original Apostolic liturgy came to be carried into all parts of the world, it would doubtless receive many modifications; and characteristic variations would arise, even while an equally characteristic radical uniformity would be maintained.

1. *Causes of Variations in the Liturgy.* Three principal causes for such variations may be noticed. [*a.*] There were twelve Apostles at their work in various parts of the world, each having supreme authority within his own sphere of jurisdiction,

[1] Justin Martyr shortly describes (but for the heathen, and therefore, with much reserve) the form of celebrating the Holy Eucharist in his time [A.D. 140], and it will be observed that the reading of Holy Scripture is specially mentioned:—"Upon the day called Sunday we have an assembly of all who live in the towns or in the country, who meet in an appointed place; and the records of the Apostles, or the writings of the Apostles, are read, according as the time will permit. When the reader has ended, then the Bishop [ὁ προεστὼς] admonishes and exhorts us in a discourse that we should imitate such good examples. After that we all stand up and pray, and, as we said before, when that prayer is ended bread is offered, and wine and water. Then the Bishop also, according to the authority given him [ὅσην δύναμις αὐτῷ], sends up [ἀνα-πέμπει, cf. *missa est*] prayers and thanksgivings; and the people end the prayer with him, saying, Amen. After which, distribution is made of the consecrated elements, which are also sent by the hands of the deacons to those who are absent." [Justin Mart. *Apol.* lxvii.]

[2] For what has already been done the reader is referred to two dissertations by Dr. Neale and the Rev. Gerald Moultrie printed in Neale's *Essays on Liturgiology*, pp 410-414.

each under the influence of the same Divine inspiration, and each having his own human individuality to influence him also. It is scarcely possible that some diversity of devotional usage should not have occurred under these circumstances; and such diversities could not fail to make their permanent marks of difference in the customs of the several churches which looked up to them respectively as their founders. Accordingly, as there were those who said, "I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas," there would be, and that without any schismatical spirit, those who would prefer to be guided by the customs given to them by St. John, or any particular Apostle associated with their country, as was the case with the British Christians in their controversy with the Roman clergy. Hence would arise such distinctions as the Liturgy of St. James, that of St. Peter, that of St. Mark, and perhaps others not known to us. [*b.*] Again, it was a recognised principle at a very early period after the Apostolic age, that each bishop had authority (within the limits of orthodox faith) to settle the ritual of his diocese, and although few are likely to have composed original liturgies, and a majority would be content with those in use without seeking any change whatever, yet the system must have been one that opened the door to great variation, much greater, perhaps, than can now be traced. [*c.*] Thirdly, when the Church began to spread in the midst of the hostile heathen, it was found necessary to exercise a reverent and prudent reserve in making public, among those of whom so large a proportion were revilers and persecutors, the more sacred mysteries of the new religion [Disciplina Arcani]. At first this was not so necessary, for Tertullian says: "Examine our sacred books which we do not keep in hiding, and which many accidents put into the hands of those who are not of us" [Tertul. *Apol.* xxxi.]. But very shortly it became a crime to let these books pass into heathen hands [Traditores], and the necessity for such strict privacy and reverence as regards the Eucharist was probably the reason why liturgies were said at one time from memory rather than from books; and why no primitive MSS. of Liturgies are known to exist. These three causes, but chiefly the two latter, produced so great a variety of liturgies or of liturgical customs, that a general reaction took place towards the end of the fifth and in the sixth century; and councils interfered with their canons enjoining greater uniformity [Bingham's *Antiq.* xiii. 5, ii.]; the general tendency of such legislation being to restrict the liberty of individual bishops, and to enforce one order of Divine service on all the dioceses of a province. This movement was especially observable in Spain and France, but the Sacramentaries of St. Leo [A.D. 451], Gelasius [A.D. 492], and St. Gregory [A.D. 590], are indications that the movement was general throughout the West, and that the great variety of local forms was passing away by absorption of their best parts into a few principal liturgies. This reaction did not so much affect the East, for there variety had arisen almost entirely among the Nestorian and the Eutychian or Jacobite sects, the orthodox Church adhering to the Liturgy of St. James, as modified by St. Basil and St. Chrysostom.

IV. The Four Parent Liturgies. Whatever varieties there may have been, however, in the details of the Office for celebrating the Holy Eucharist, it seems clearly established that four principal forms of liturgy are traceable to the early ages of the Church, and that from these have originated all the Eucharistic offices at present in use throughout the world. These appear to have been composed in the first instance for the Churches of Palestine, Alexandria, Rome, and Ephesus; and they bear the names, respectively, of St. James, St. Mark, St. Peter, and St. John; the last, or Liturgy of Ephesus, being also associated with the name of St. Paul. The history of each of these may be given separately, so far as space will allow.

1. *The Liturgy of St. James, or of Jerusalem,* appears to be, in its present form, a more or less interpolated version of a liturgy originally composed for the patriarchate of Antioch (which comprised the Churches of Palestine and Mesopotamia), and, not improbably, by the Apostle whose name the extant version bears, and who was, in very early ages, said to have composed a liturgy. No Greek MS. of it is known which dates further back than the tenth century [Asseman, *Cod. Liturg.* v. 68]; but an almost identical liturgy in Syriac, also bearing the name of St. James, is used by the Monophysites, who now possess the dioceses comprising the patriarchate of Antioch: and, as it is certain that they would not have adopted it from the orthodox at any time since communion with them was broken off at the Council of Chalcedon [A.D. 451], the identity of the Greek and the Syriac versions marks a date not later than the fifth century. But the existing form of the Liturgy of St. James is plainly quoted by writers of an earlier date than the Council of Chalcedon. Among these are St. Jerome, who lived in Palestine in the end of the fourth century, St. Chrysostom, who about the same time was a priest at Antioch, the historian Theodoret [A.D. 393-457], who was bishop of Cyrus, in the patriarchate of Antioch, and St. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, and one of the successors of St. James in that see, about the middle of the fourth century. The latter delivered two of his catechetical lectures upon the subject of the Eucharist, and describes the service with great minuteness, as if he were describing it from the liturgy now extant as that of St. James. Still earlier than this there occurs in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions a detailed description of the manner in which the Eucharist was celebrated in the third century, in which the prayers are given at length, and the whole so much in the form of a liturgy, that it has usually gone by the name of the Liturgy of St. Clement. But it is evidently the author's account of the Liturgy of St. James, and a large portion can be identified with it in its existing form. Justin Martyr's short account of the liturgy (given in a note in a previous page) may be referred to the

same source, and with all the more probability, since he was a native of Samaria, which was within the patriarchate of Antioch. And thus the Liturgy of St. James can be traced back for nearly a thousand years in an existing MS., and by satisfactory evidence of another kind through the intervening ages to a date only a century removed from the Apostolic age itself. This liturgy is used in its Syriac form by the Monophysites; but in its Greek form it is used only once a year, on the festival of St. James, by the orthodox Church of Jerusalem. During the depression of the orthodox under the rule of the Mahometans (by whom the Monophysites were protected) they were drawn into close association with the patriarchate of Constantinople; and thus they gradually adopted the Liturgy of Chrysostom, like the rest of the Eastern Churches. St. Chrysostom's Liturgy was, however, formed on that of St. Basil, and St. Basil's on that of St. James. Of St. Basil's Liturgy there is a copy in the Barberini Library at Rome, which Montfaucon considered to have been written about the end of the seventh century. In the Council held at Constantinople [A.D. 691] the 227 Eastern bishops assembled speak of it in their twenty-seventh Canon as "The mystical Liturgy of Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea, whose glory has pervaded the whole world;" St. Gregory Nazianzen, mentions it as his composition [Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xx.], and it is referred to as composed for the monasteries which he had established by St. Basil himself [Basil, *Ep.* 207], who claims for it that it is in accordance with the forms used throughout the Church. The Liturgy bearing the name of St. Chrysostom has been used in the patriarchate of Constantinople from time immemorial, but nothing certain is known as to its origin except that it is based on that of St. Basil. It has long been the authorized liturgy of the Oriental and the Russian Churches, and thus represents in a still very ancient form the original Apostolic Liturgy of St. James. A fine edition of the Liturgy of St. James was printed in quarto, at London, in 1744, with St. Cyril's account of it, the Clementine Liturgy, and part of the Liturgies of St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, and St. Basil, in parallel columns.

2. *The Liturgy of St. Mark.* This was anciently used in Greek, in the patriarchate of Alexandria, and is found in a MS. of the tenth century in that language [Asseman. *Cod. Liturg.* vii.]. It is also extant in Coptic, and in modified forms which go by the names of St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, and which are those now used by the Christians of Egypt. Palmer quotes from an Alexandrian patriarch of the twelfth century a question which he asked of Theodore Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch; "Whether the liturgies read in the parts of Alexandria and Jerusalem, and said to have been written by James the brother of the Lord, and by Mark, are to be received or not by the Holy Catholic Church?" [Palmer, *Orig. Liturg.* i. 87]. He also refers to a writer of the seventh or eighth century who speaks of St. Jerome as affirming that "St. Mark chanted the course which is now called the 'Irish course,' and after him Gregory Nazianzen, whom Jerome affirms to be his master. St. Basil, brother of the same St. Gregory, Anthony, Paul, Macarius or John, and Malchus chanted according to the order of the Fathers" [Spelman, *Concil.* i. 177]. The Liturgy of St. Mark has a distinctive character which would account for its being named as originally different from that of St. James; and as it is only to be traced in African forms there seems a probability that the tradition of its origin is correct. Even Bunsen assigns to its extant form in Greek as early a date as the second century [Bunsen, *Analect. ante-Nicæn.* iii. 106]; while Palmer considers that the main order and substance of it may have been as old as the Apostolic age, and derived originally from the Evangelist whose name it bears.

3. *The Liturgy of St. Peter.* The Roman Liturgy is made up, like the English, of a variable part, consisting of collects, &c.; and an unchangeable part, consisting of the canon. The framework of the former, and some of the collects, &c., are of very high antiquity, but many additions have been made in the form of services for various occasions and for new festivals. The canon, or unvarying portion, is, however, of primitive date, and has probably seen little change since its form was first settled. Many MSS. of the Roman Canon exist in the libraries of Europe, dating from the ninth and tenth century downwards; and these all agree as to the substance of the text, the only variations arising from the presence of a saint's name, or a short prayer, in the later copies, which do not appear in the earlier ones. The same agreement is found also in the text used by the early liturgical commentators; and it may be considered as critically determined that the "Canon of the Mass" in the existing Roman Liturgy is identical with that extant in the time of St. Gregory [A.D. 590]. From his time it may be traced back, in a rather more condensed form (by means of a MS. discovered by Thomasius in the Royal Library of Sweden, and attributed to the sixth century), to the time of Gelasius [A.D. 492]; and by a still older MS. to that of St. Leo [A.D. 451] and the Council of Chalcedon. Thus the oldest MS. of the Latin Liturgy is of nearly the same date as the oldest MSS. of the Holy Bible. It has been attributed to St. Peter chiefly on the authority of an Epistle written by Innocent I. (who was Bishop of Rome from A.D. 402 to A.D. 417) to Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium. In this letter he writes:—"Si instituta ecclesiastica, ut sunt a beatis apostolis tradita, integra vellent servare Domini sacerdotes, nulla diversitas, nulla varietas in ipsis ordinibus et consecrationibus haberetur—quis enim nesciat, aut non advertat, id quod a principe apostolorum Petro Romanæ Ecclesiæ traditum est . . . ?" [Labbe, *Concil.* ii. 1245.] Cardinal Bona remarks on a similar passage from St. Isidore's writings, "Hoc de re et substantia, non de verborum tenore et cæremoniis intelligendum est" [*Rer. Liturg.* I. vii. 5], a remark which may be extended to the case of other primitive liturgies

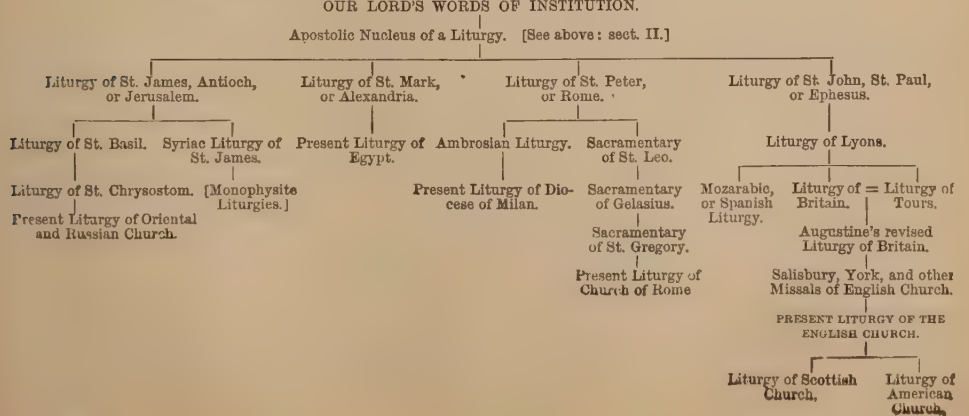
as well as to that of Rome. From the Liturgy of St. Peter, in its primitive form, was derived the Ambrosian Liturgy used in the Diocese of Milan. In its later form (that which it took after the time of St. Gregory), it exercised some influence also over the Liturgies of Spain, France, and England. But the Roman Liturgy was never used by the Church of England; and even the Romanist sect which separated from the Church of England after the Reformation resisted its introduction until the beginning of the last century, when it was forced upon it by Jesuit priests, whose vows bound them to use no other.

4. *The Liturgy of St. John, St. Paul, or of Ephesus.* This primitive Liturgy is not now extant in its original form, but fragments of it are incorporated in the Gallican,—that which was used in France from Apostolic times until the introduction of the Roman Liturgy by Charlemagne, and from which the Liturgies of Spain and England were derived. It appears to have been used in the patriarchate of Ephesus until the fourth century, when that of St. James, as modified by St. Basil, was substituted for it by the 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicæa [A.D. 320]. At a much earlier date, however, missionaries had gone forth from the "metropolis of Asia" to evangelize, or to carry on the evangelization of, Western Europe. "Trophimus, the Ephesian," first Bishop of Arles, was probably planted there by St. Paul; Pothinus of the same Asiatic city [born about A.D. 80], was Bishop of Lyons in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when he suffered martyrdom; and Irenæus, another Asiatic and a disciple of Polycarp, was his successor for the last quarter of the second century. How close an association was kept up between the Churches of France and those of Asia Minor is shewn by the Epistle of the Church of Lyons to the latter respecting the martyrdoms which had occurred in the latter, and which was written in A.D. 177. Such an association as this between the two Churches would lead to the inference that the daughter founded in the West received her liturgy as well as her origin from her Eastern mother. But we are not left to inference, for a writer of either the seventh or the eight century shews what was then the received tradition on the subject; writing that "John, the Evangelist, first chanted the Gallican course, then afterwards the blessed Polycarp, disciple of St. John; then afterwards, thirdly, Irenæus, who was Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, chanted the same course in Gaul" [Spelman, *Concil.* i. 176]. This primitive liturgy was partly supplanted in France by the Roman in the time of Pepin, and was superseded by the latter altogether in the reign of Charlemagne. But MSS. of it remain, of which some are earlier than the eighth century [Forbes and Neale's *Gallican Liturgies*, pref.], and the Mozarabic is also known to be a very early form of it. From these it is not unlikely that critical study may be able to restore, in a great measure, the original Ephesian Liturgy, and so give us the primitive text from which those of France, Spain, and England were developed.[1]

"The early connexion between the Church of France and the Church of England was so close, that there can be no reasonable doubt of the same liturgy having been originally used in both countries. When St. Augustine came to England in A.D. 596, expecting to find it an altogether heathen land, he discovered that there was an ancient and regularly organized Church, and that its usages were different in many particulars from those of any European Church with which he had been previously acquainted. By the advice of St. Gregory he introduced some changes into the liturgy which he found in use; the changes coming, not directly from the Roman Sacramentary of St. Gregory, but 'from a sister rite, formed in the south of France by the joint action, probably, of St. Leo and Cassian, about two hundred years before [A.D. 420]; having a common basis, indeed, with the Roman Office, but strongly tinctured with Gallican characteristics derived long ago from the East, and probably enriched, at the time, by fresh importations of Oriental

[1] The following table shews the association existing between the principal liturgies of the ancient and modern Churches of Christendom.

TABLE SHEWING THE DESCENT OF THE PRINCIPAL LITURGIES NOW USED IN THE CHURCH.


OUR LORD'S WORDS OF INSTITUTION.
Apostolic Nucleus of a Liturgy. [See above: sect. II.]
Liturgy of St. James, Antioch, or Jerusalem.
Liturgy of St. Mark, or Alexandria.
Liturgy of St. Peter, or Rome.
Liturgy of St. John, St. Paul, or Ephesus.
Liturgy of St. Basil.
Syriac Liturgy of St. James.
Present Liturgy of Egypt.
Ambrosian Liturgy.
Sacramentary of St. Leo.
Liturgy of Lyons.
Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.
[Monophysite Liturgies.]
Present Liturgy of Diocese of Milan.
Sacramentary of Gelasius.
Mozarabic, or Spanish Liturgy.
Liturgy of Britain.
= Liturgy of Tours.
Present Liturgy of Oriental and Russian Church.
Sacramentary of St. Gregory.
Augustine's revised Liturgy of Britain.
Present Liturgy of Church of Rome
Salisbury, York, and other Missals of English Church.
PRESENT LITURGY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.
Liturgy of Scottish Church.
Liturgy of American Church.

usages' [Freeman's *Princ. Div. Serv.* II. ii. 405]. Thus the Liturgy of the Church of England after St. Augustine's time became a modified form of the more ancient Gallican, which itself was originally the Liturgy of the Church of Ephesus, owing its germ to St. Paul or St. John. The English Church of St. Augustine's day, and long after, distinctly averred that its customs were derived from the latter Apostle; but in many particulars the work of St. John and St. Paul appears to have traversed the same ground, as it certainly did in the Church of Ephesus, and probably did in the Church of England.

"The liturgy thus derived from the ancient Gallican, and the more recent version of it which had been introduced by Cassian, was again revised by St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, in A.D. 1085; and it was the same liturgy which also formed the basis of the other slightly varying Offices that were used in different dioceses of England, and have come down to us by the names of these dioceses. The Salisbury Liturgy eventually supplanted all the others which were used by the Church of England, and became the principal basis of the vernacular Liturgy which has now been used for more than three hundred years in all the churches of the Anglican communion" [Blunt's *Annot. Book of Com. Prayer*, 147].

This latter now exists in three forms, that of the Church of England (used also in Ireland and the Colonies), that of the Scottish Church, and that of the Church in the United States of America. But these three varieties differ little from each other, and are all derived from the ancient Latin Liturgy of the Anglican rite through the "Order of Communion" of A.D. 1547, and the Prayer Book of A.D. 1548-52.

IV. The Structure of Liturgies. The variations of detail which are found in the parent liturgies of the Christian world are all engrafted on a structural arrangement which they possess in common, much as four buildings might differ in the style and form of their decorations, and yet agree in their plans and elevation, in the position of their several chambers, and in the number of their principal columns.

1.] There is invariably a division of the liturgy into three portions, the office of the Prothesis, the Pro-Anaphora, and the Anaphora, the latter being the "Canon" of the Western Church, and the office of the Prothesis being a preparatory part of the service corresponding to the "Præparatio" of the Western Liturgy, and not used at the altar itself.

In the Pro-Anaphora, the central features are two, viz.: [1] the reading of Holy Scripture, and [2] the recitation of the Creed. In the Anaphora they are four, viz.: [1] The Triumphal Hymn, or Trisagion; [2] The formula of Consecration; [3] The Lord's Prayer; and [4] The Communion. These four great acts of Praise, Benediction, Intercession and Communion, gather around our Lord's words of Institution and His pattern prayer, which form, in reality, the integral germ of the Christian liturgies. They are also associated with other prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings, by which each is expanded and developed, the whole blending into a comprehensive service by means of which the worship of the Church ascends on the wings of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and her strength descends in Eucharistic grace.

The order in which these several portions of the Liturgy are combined in the four ancient parent forms is shown by the following table:—

Comparative Table, showing the Structure of the Four Parent Liturgies of the Church.

	St. James (Palestine).	St. Mark (Alexandria).	St. John (Gallican, Mozarabic and Ephesian).	St. Peter (Roman).
Pro-Anaphora	Prefatory prayer	Prefatory prayer	Prefatory prayer	Prefatory prayer
	Introit	Introit	Introit	Introit
	The little entrance	The little entrance	Gloria in excelsis	Gloria in excelsis
	Trisagion	Trisagion		
	Lections from Old and New Testament	Epistle and Gospel	Epistle and Gospel	Epistle and Gospel
	Prayer	Prayer after Gospel	Oblation of elements	
	Expulsion of Catechumens	Expulsion of Catechumens		
	The great entrance	The great entrance		
	Nicene Creed	Kiss of peace		
	Kiss of peace	Creed	Nicene Creed	Nicene Creed
	Prayer for all conditions	Sursum corda	Expulsion of Catechumens	Oblation of elements
	Sursum corda	Prayer for church militant	Prayer for the church	Sursum corda
	Triumphal Hymn	Prayer for the departed		
		Triumphal Hymn	Triumphal Hymn.	Triumphal Hymn
			Prayer for quick and dead	Commemoration of living (*Te igitur*)
			Kiss of peace	Words of Institution
Anaphora	Commemoration of Institution	Commemoration of Institution	Commemoration of Institution	Oblation
	Oblation	Oblation	Elevation and fraction of host into nine parts	Commemoration of dead
	Invocation.	Invocation	Invocation	Union of consecrated elements
	Prayer for quick and dead	Union of consecrated elements		Elevation
		Prayer		
	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer
	Embolismus	Embolismus	Embolismus	Embolismus
	Union of consecrated elements	Prayer of intense adoration	Union of consecrated elements	
	Elevation	Fraction		
	Fraction	Confession		
	Communion	Communion	Communion	Communion
	Thanksgiving	Thanksgiving	Prayer	Thanksgiving
	Dismissal with pax	Dismissal with blessing	Dismissal by the deacons' declaration "The mysteries are complete"	Dismissal with blessing

2.] There is also, in the second place, a substantial agreement among all the four great parent Liturgies as to the formula of Consecration, shewing that the early Church constantly maintained certain principles in respect to this essential part of the Eucharistic rite, whatever verbal variations were introduced. This identity of form does, in reality, extend to other portions of the rite, but as it is most conspicuous in the forms of Consecration, it is here shewn by print ing them in parallel columns, but a similar comparison of the rest of the Anaphora would occupy more space than can be given to it in this work.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF CONSECRATION IN THE FOREGOING LITURGIES.

ST. JAMES.	ST. MARK.	ST. JOHN.	ST. PETER.
		Be present Jesus, thou good Priest, in the midst of us as thou wast in the midst of Thy disciples, sanctify this oblation, that we may receive it at the hand of Thy Holy Angel, O Holy Lord and eternal Redeemer.	Therefore, O Lord, we beseech Thee graciously to accept this oblation of our bounden service and of Thy whole family: dispose our days in Thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the congregation of Thine elect, through Christ our Lord. Which oblation do Thou, O God, we beseech Thee, vouchsafe to render in all respects, blessed, approved, effectual, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may be made unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ,
In the same night that He was offered, yea, offered up Himself for the life and salvation of the world,	In the same night when He delivered Himself for our sins, and was about to suffer death for mankind,	Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night wherein He was betrayed,	Who, the day before He suffered,
taking bread into His holy, spotless, undefiled, and immortal hands, looking up to heaven, and presenting it to Thee, His God and Father,	He took bread into His holy, spotless, and undefiled hands, and looking up to Thee, His Father, but our God and the God of all,	took bread,	took bread into His holy and venerable hands, and lifting up His eyes to heaven to Thee, His God and Father Almighty,
He gave thanks, sanctified, and brake it, and gave it to His disciples and apostles:	He gave thanks, He blessed, sanctified, and brake it, and gave it to them,	and giving thanks, He blessed and brake it, and gave it to His disciples,	giving thanks to Thee, He blessed it, brake it, and gave it to His disciples,
saying, Take, eat; this is My body, which is broken and given for you, for the remission of sins.	saying, Take, eat; for this is My body, which is broken and given for the remission of sins.	saying, Take, eat; This is My body, which is given for you. Do this, as often as ye eat it, in remembrance of me.	saying, Take and eat ye all of this, for this is My body.
Likewise after supper He took the cup, and mixed it with wine and water, and looking up to heaven, and presenting it to Thee, His God and Father,	In like manner He took the cup after supper, and mixing it with wine and water, and looking up to Thee His Father, but our God and the God of all,	In like manner after He had supped, He took the cup,	In like manner after He had supped, taking also this glorious cup into His holy and venerable hands,
He gave thanks, sanctified and blessed it, He filled it with the Holy Ghost, and gave it to His disciples,	He gave thanks, He blessed, He filled it with the Holy Ghost, and gave it to His holy and blessed disciples,		giving thanks likewise unto Thee, He blessed it, and gave it to His disciples,
saying, Drink ye all of this; This is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.	saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is My blood of the New Testament, which is shed and given for you and for many for the remission of sins.	saying, This is the cup of the New Testament in My blood, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.	saying, Take and drink ye all of it, for this is the cup of My blood of the New and eternal Testament; the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins.
Do this in remembrance of Me: for as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew forth the death of the Son of Man and confess His resurrection until His coming again.	Do this in remembrance of Me, for as often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew forth My death and confess My resurrection and ascension till My coming again.	Do this, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye will shew forth the Lord's death till He come.	
Wherefore having in remem-	Shewing forth therefore, O	(*From a Mozarabic liturgy.*)	Wherefore, O Lord, we Thy

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF CONSECRATION IN THE FOREGOING LITURGIES—*continued.*

ST. JAMES.	ST. MARK.	ST. JOHN.	ST. PETER.
brance His life-giving passion, salutary cross, death, burial, and resurrection on the third day from the dead,	Lord Almighty and Heavenly King, the death of Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord, our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and confessing His blessed resurrection from the dead on the third day,		servants, and also Thy holy people, having in remembrance both the blessed Passion of the same Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, as also His Resurrection from the dead, and likewise
His ascension into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of God the Father, and His second bright and terrible appearance, when He shall come with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and shall render to every man according to his works;	His ascension into heaven, and His session on the right hand of Thee His God and Father, and also looking for His second and terrible and dreadful appearance, when He shall come in righteousness to judge the quick and dead, and to render to every man according to His works;		His triumphant ascension into the heavens, offer unto Thy Glorious Majesty of Thine own gifts and presents, a pure host, a holy host, an immaculate host, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation:
We sinners offer to Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, beseeching Thee not to deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities, but according to Thy clemency and ineffable love towards mankind, overlook and blot out the handwriting that is against us Thy servants, and grant us Thine heavenly and eternal rewards, such as eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, even such as Thou hast prepared for them that love Thee, and reject not this people for me and my sins, O Lord, (*"thrice"*) for this people and Thy Church, make this supplication before Thee.	We, O Lord, have set before Thee Thine own out of Thine own gifts. And we pray and beseech Thee, O Thou lover of mankind,	Sanctify, O eternal Almighty God, by Thy mercy, those things which have been ordained by Thee. Vouchsafe freely to receive what we offer, and mercifully to bestow upon us that in which we may rejoice. (*Fragment of a Gallican liturgy, discovered in the abbey of Reichenau, "Missale Richenovense,"* iv.)	Upon which vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene countenance, and accept them as Thou wast pleased graciously to accept the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel, the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the immaculate host, which Thy high-priest Melchizedek offered to Thee. We humbly beseech Thee, O Almighty God, command these things to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angels unto Thy high altar in the presence of Thy divine majesty, that as many of us as by this participation of the altar, shall receive the most sacred body and blood of Thy Son, may be replenished with all heavenly benediction and grace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.
Have mercy upon us, God the Almighty; have mercy upon us, O God our Saviour; have mercy upon us, O God, after Thy great mercy, and send down upon these Gifts which are here before Thee, Thy most Holy Spirit;	send down from Thy holy heaven, the habitation of Thy dwelling, from Thine infinite bosom, the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth, the Holy One, the Lord and Giver of Life;	God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, do thou, propitious and favourable, from Thy heavens, receive in kindest love this our sacrifice: May there descend, O Lord, the plenitude of Thy majesty, divinity, love, virtue, blessing and glory upon this bread and upon this cup: and may we have a legitimate Eucharist in the transformation of the Body and Blood of the Lord, that whosoever of us, and how often soever we taste this bread and this cup, we may receive the memorial of faith, the sincerity of love, the tranquil hope of resurrection, and eternal immortality. (*Missale Richenovense*, iv.)	
even the Lord and Giver of Life, who with Thee, O God the Father, and with Thine Only-begotten Son, liveth and reigneth a consubstantial and co-eternal Person; who spake by the law, by the prophets, and by the New Testament, descended in the form of a dove upon our Lord Jesus Christ in the river Jordan, and rested upon Him, and came down in the shape of fiery tongues upon Thine Apostles when they were assembled on the day of Pentecost, in the upper room of the holy and glorious Zion. Send down, O Lord, this Thy most Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these Thy Holy Gifts here set before Thee;	who spake in the law, in the prophets, in the apostles, who is everywhere, and fills all things, sanctifying whom He pleases, not ministerially but according to His own will, simple in nature, but various in operation, the fountain of all divine graces, consubstantial with Thee, proceeding from Thee and sitting with Thee, on the throne of His kingdom, together with Thy Son, our Lord, our God, and Saviour Jesus Christ. Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these loaves and these cups, that the Almighty God may sanctify them, and thoroughly consecrate them, making the bread the Body,		
that by His good and glorious presence He may sanctify and make this Bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ (*People*, Amen), and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ (*People*, Amen).	and the cup the Blood of the New Testament of our Lord Himself, our God and Saviour and Supreme King Jesus Christ.		

3.] Another point in which the four parent Liturgies of the Church uniformly agree, is in the well-defined sacrificial character of their language. This is sufficiently illustrated by the preceding comparative view of the forms of consecration, and in the article EUCHARIST.

4.] The intercessory character of the primitive liturgies is also a very conspicuous feature common to them all. The Holy Eucharist is uniformly set forth, and used, in them as a sacrifice offered up to God for the benefit of all classes of Christians, living and departed. "Then," says St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "after the spiritual sacrifice is perfected, the bloodless service upon that sacrifice of propitiation, we entreat God for the common peace of the Church; for the tranquillity of the world; for kings; for soldiers and allies; for the sick; for the afflicted; and, in a word, for all who stand in need of succour we all supplicate and offer this sacrifice. Then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us, first, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that at their prayers and intervention God would receive our petition. Afterward also on behalf of the holy Fathers and Bishops who have fallen asleep before us; and in a word, of all who in past years have fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be a very great advantage to the souls for whom the supplication is put up, while that holy and most awful sacrifice is presented" [*Catech. Lect.* xxiii. 9, 10]. St. Cyril was speaking thus in Jerusalem, where the liturgy used was that of St. James, and in that liturgy we find a noble intercession exactly answering to the description there given [Neale's *Transl.* p. 52; Blunt's *Annot. Book of Common Prayer*, p. 156]. A similar intercession is to be found in the other liturgies, and it is evident that its use was one of the first principles of the Primitive Church.

VI. THE LITERATURE OF LITURGIES is very extensive, and only the more important portions of it can be here mentioned. A more complete account may be found in Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, and Guéranger's *Institutions Liturgiques*.

In addition to what may be collected from the writings of the Fathers, as, for instance, of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, there are also several very ancient works written expressly as expositions of the liturgy and the other offices of the Church. As early as the middle of the fifth century, a work of this kind was written by St. PROCLUS, Patriarch of Constantinople [A.D. 434], entitled in Latin *De Traditionibus Missæ Divinæ*, and also extant in Greek in *Collect. Liturg.*, Paris, 1560. St. ISIDORE [Hispalensis] wrote two books *De Divinis sive Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, about A.D. 610, which contain seventy chapters on nearly every subject connected with Divine service; and these are additionally valuable as St. Isidore is reputed to have been the author of the Mozarabic Liturgy. ALCUIN [A.D. 780] is called the author of the work *De Divinis Officiis, sive Expositio Romani Ordinis*, generally known by his name, but it belongs to an age two centuries later. AMALARIUS Symphosius of Metz [A.D. 820] wrote a book with the title *De Divinis sive Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, which is sometimes assigned by mistake to his namesake Amalarius Fortunatus, Bishop of Treves, who was author of a tract *De ratione Rituum S. Baptismatis*. The first named work is very valuable. So also is that of WALAFRID STRABO [A.D. 842], *De Officiis Divinis, sive de exordiis et incrementis rerum Ecclesiasticarum*, which was the chief liturgical authority during the Middle Ages. Next to this may be named the anonymous work known as MICROLOGUS, written about A.D. 1080-1100, and entitled *De Ecclesiasticis observationibus, seu De Missa rite celebranda*. Whether "Micrologus" is an assumed name of the author, or a real one, or merely a title of the book, is unknown; but the work contains valuable illustrations of the subject which are not to be found elsewhere. John BELETH, rector of the Theological School in the University of Paris [A.D. 1162], wrote a *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum:* but this was only one of many similar short expositions of Divine service which appeared in the Middle Ages. They most of them gave way to DURANDUS [A.D. 1286], who gathered up the most valuable part of preceding works of the kind into his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, in eight books, which was printed as early as A.D. 1459, and has gone through a great number of editions.

Nearly all the liturgical works extant from the fifth to the eleventh century were gathered into one volume by HITTORPIUS [A.D. 1568], and the collection is entitled *De Divinis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Officiis*. Shortly after which PAMELIUS wrote a valuable work, which was originally [A.D. 1571] printed under the title *Liturgicon Latinum*, but some time after his death [A.D. 1609], was reissued with a new title-page as *Missale Sanctorum Patrum Latinorum*. It contains the Gregorian and Ambrosian Liturgies, the Comes of St. Jerome, the Gregorian Antiphonary, and many other liturgical relics of primitive ages. Two more important works than any of the preceding appeared in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The first was GAVANTI'S *Thesaurus Sacrorum rituum: seu Commentaria in rubricas Missalis et Breviarii Romani* [A.D. 1646]. The second was Cardinal BONA'S noble work *De Rebus Liturgicis*, or *Rerum Liturgicarum, libri duo* [A.D. 1671]. This latter, like the preceding, has gone through several editions, of which the best is that of SALA [A.D. 1747], with annotations, in three folio volumes. An even greater work followed in the next generation, MARTÈNE, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus* [A.D. 1736], which is a great storehouse of liturgical erudition. To these great works may be added LE BRUN'S *Explication des prières et cérémonies de la Messe* [A.D. 1726], and PICART'S *Ceremonies and Religious Customs of all Nations*, in seven folio volumes [A.D. 1733]. In modern times, the most valuable works on the general subject of liturgies have been PALMER'S *Origines Liturgicæ* [A.D. 1832]; GUÉRANGER'S *Institutions Liturgiques* [A.D. 1840-51] and FREEMAN'S *Principles of Divine Service* [A.D. 1863].

The great authorities for the original liturgies are as follows: GOAR'S *Euchologion*, or *Rituale*

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Græcorum [A.D. 1647, best. ed. 1730]; RENAUDOT'S *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* [A.D. 1716]; MURATORI'S *Liturgia Romana Vetus* [A.D. 1748], for the Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian Sacramentaries, and several ancient Missals. MABILLON'S *De Liturgia Gallicana*, &c. [A.D. 1685]; BRETT'S *Collection of the principal Liturgies used in the Christian Church* [A.D. 1720]; the great treasury of all, ASSEMANNI *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ universæ*, in twelve volumes [A.D. 1746]. DANIEL'S *Codex Liturgicus*, a modern German work, is also one of great learning and usefulness; while NEALE'S *Translations of the Primitive Liturgies* is a book that brings them within the reach of English readers.

Of works specially illustrating the liturgy and other offices of the Church of England, the following may be noticed. MASKELL'S *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, and *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* [A.D. 1846]; FORBES' *Missale ad Usum insign. et præclar. Eccl. Sarum.* [A.D. 1861]; CARDWELL'S *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.* [A.D. 1838]; and *History of Conferences connected with the Book of Common Prayer* [A.D. 1849]; MERBECKE'S *Common Prayer Noted* [A.D. 1550]; WALTON'S *Reprint of the Prayer Book of* 1549; KEELING'S *Liturgiæ Britannicæ* [A.D. 1842]; STEPHENS' *Edition of the Sealed Book of Common Prayer* [A.D. 1849-54]; PROCTER'S *History and Rationale of the Prayer Book* [A.D. 1857]; BLUNT'S *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* [A.D. 1866], which gives the originals of all parts of the Prayer Book, as far as they have been discovered, side by side with the modern text, shewing its association with the ancient offices.

LOGOS. [WORD, THE.]

LOLLARDS. The followers of Wickliffe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Respecting the origin of the name, there are different opinions—some deriving it from the Latin "lolium," a kind of tare, in allusion to the parable of the tares sown among the wheat,[1] a derivation probably invented by the monks or clergy of the time; others (recognising its more probably German origin) connecting it with one Walter Lolhardus, who was burned for heresy at Cologne [A.D. 1332], about whom it is uncertain, [1] if Lolhardus was his name at all; and [2] whether it was a surname or an epithet (as if Walter *the Lollard*). The best authorities, however, trace it to the German *lollen*, "to sing in an undertone," so that *lolhard* meant originally a singer, or "one given to singing;" just as *beghard* meant a beggar, or "one given to praying;" and was early applied in Germany to certain orders of lay people who assisted at funerals and performed other religious offices, which custom leading to extravagance and disorder, the name came to be used in an unfavourable sense to signify those who, under a solemn and religious profession, concealed a turbulent and mischievous character, with which meaning it passed towards the close of the fourteenth century into England, and became the designation of Wickliffe's followers.

[1] See Bulls of Gregory XI. [A.D. 1377], and Netter of Walden's *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*.

Of Wickliffe's personal history it is not necessary to speak, but it is important to understand the true character of his teaching, the popular estimate of which will be much qualified by a fair examination. For although a better acquaintance with Scripture and antiquity will reverse the judgment of heresy pronounced against some of his opinions, there are others which must, by an impartial judgment, be pronounced erroneous in their nature and extremely mischievous in their tendency.

As a specimen of Wickliffe's alleged teaching, we give the articles laid to his charge in the trial at Blackfriars, before Archbishop Courtenay, A.D. 1377-82. [Wilkins' *Concil.* iii. 157; Lewis's *Life, Records*, No. 31.]

1. That the substance of material bread and wine remains, after consecration, in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. That the accidents do not remain without a subject after consecration in the same Sacrament.

3. That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar identically, verily, and really in His proper corporeal person.

4. That a bishop or priest, if he be in mortal sin, does not ordain, consecrate, nor baptize.

5. That if a man be duly contrite, all exterior confession is superfluous or useless to him.

6. That there is no foundation in the Gospel for Christ's ordaining the mass.

7. That God ought to obey the Devil.

8. That if the pope be a reprobate and a wicked man, and by consequence a member of the Devil, he has no power over Christ's faithful ones granted to him by any one, unless perchance by Cæsar.

9. That after Urban VI. no one is to be received for pope, but that we are to live after the manner of the Greeks under our own laws.

10. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any one, unless he first know he is excommunicated by God.

11. That he who thus excommunicates is thenceforth an heretic or excommunicated person.

12. That a prelate who excommunicates a clerk who has appealed to the king and council of the kingdom, is by that act a traitor to God, the king, and kingdom.

13. That they who leave off to preach, or to hear the Word of God or Gospel preached, because they are excommunicated by men, are excommunicates, and in the day of judgment shall be accounted traitors towards God.

14. That it is contrary to Holy Scripture that ecclesiastical men should have temporal possessions.

15. That it is lawful for any deacon or presbyter to preach the Word of God, without the authority of the apostolic see, or of a Catholic bishop, or any other.

16. That a civil lord is no lord, a bishop no bishop, a prelate no prelate, whilst he is in mortal sin.

17. That temporal lords may, at their pleasure, take away temporal goods from a church habitually delinquent, or that the people may, at their pleasure, correct delinquent lords.

18. That tithes are pure alms, and that the parishioners are able to detain them because of the wickedness of their curates, and bestow them on others at their pleasure.

19. That special prayers applied to a particular person by prelates or the religious, are no more profitable to that same person than general prayers are "cæteris paribus."

20. That any one by entering any private religion whatsoever, is thereby rendered the more incapable and unfit for observing the commands of God.

21. That holy men instituting any private religions, whether of those endowed with possessions or of the mendicants, sinned in so doing.

22. That the religious living in private religions are not of the Christian religion.

23. That begging friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

24. That friars who beg after their sermons are, on that account, simoniacs, and those who confer alms on them are excommunicated, as well the givers as receivers.

Now of these the first three, concerning the Eucharist, do not really contradict the doctrine of the real presence,[1] but only the mediæval development of it, introduced by Paschasius Radbertus in the ninth century; their effect, however, on the masses in that day would be tantamount to a denial of any supernatural character in the Sacrament.

Art. 4 strikes at the root of all sacramental efficacy, and was contradicted, in more recent times, by the Twenty-sixth Article of Religion, being, at least, as mischievous as the doctrine of Intention itself. Art. 5 goes, at least, *beyond* the truth, for though outward confession may be unnecessary where there is true contrition, it may yet benefit the penitent. Art. 6, if applied to the Eucharist generally, is false; if specially applied to the "sacrifices of masses," as in the Thirty-first Article of Religion, it must be taken with the same limitation as that article, since the soundest Anglicans have acknowledged that there is a commemorative sacrifice. Art. 7 is absurd. Articles 8, 10, 11, and 12 partake of the error of the fourth, and are subversive of all Church discipline, and 13 still more so. Art. 14 is against all Church endowments, and is inconsistent with the conduct of Wickliffe himself, who held the mastership of Baliol College, Oxford, the rectory of Lutterworth, and was also employed by Richard II. as a foreign ambassador. Art. 15 denies the authority of episcopal jurisdiction against all ancient precedents. Articles 16 and 17 are not only fatal to ecclesiastical discipline, but also to civil government, rendering, as they do, the subject a judge whether the authority is to be obeyed or not. Art. 18 is completely opposed to the scriptural view of tithes, as the portion of our substance owing to God and given for the maintenance of His Church, the worthiness of the person who receives it having nothing to do with the obligation. Art. 19, though probably directed against some prevalent abuse, is wrong in principle, as it denies the efficacy of *special intercession* which Scripture sanctions and enjoins [Gen. xviii. 23; Acts xii. 5; James v. 16]. The remaining four propositions refer to the monastic profession as exercised by the friars. No doubt the corruptions then existing in the whole monastic system called loudly for reform, and naturally excited the indignation of a man who, whatever his errors, was unquestionably honest and sincere; but it cannot be denied that the terms of his censure, as contained in the above, are extravagant and untrue.

Such was the teaching initiated by Wickliffe, and assiduously promulgated by his followers. And whereas he himself, when the occasion rendered it necessary, condescended to explain his statements, and so may have deprived some of them of their mischievous character, it is plain that his followers—as is the case in all such movements—carried them out to their fullest extent, and acted on them in their widest meaning. Thus while he himself appears only as a religious reformer and a censor of the moral abuses of the time, the Lollards, though at first known only as heretics, became, in the beginning of the next century [A.D. 1400], a turbulent political faction, so that those of them who suffered the extreme and horrible penalty of the law were hanged as state criminals and burned as heretics.

Wickliffe died A.D. 1384. On his last examination at Oxford [A.D. 1382], he had been allowed to retire to his living at Lutterworth, and there pass unmolested the last two years of his life. Meanwhile the tares he had sown began to spring up with vigorous growth. Already [A.D. 1377], when he was summoned to answer for his opinions before Archbishop Courtenay in London, the spread of the sect may be gathered from the statement of Walsingham, that nearly all the Londoners were Lollards. Soon after the termination of that inquiry, which, by frequent adjournment, was prolonged to A.D. 1382, the House of Lords, at the instigation of the Archbishop, and with the consent of the Crown, though without the concurrence of the Commons, passed an Act [Anno 5, Richard II.] for the repression of heresy—remarkable as the first measure of the kind which appears in our Statute-book. The sheriffs are directed to make search for all strange teachers and cause them to be arrested and imprisoned. Two years after [A.D. 1386], in a debate on a motion for supply, the

[1] Compare on this point the answer of Sir John Oldcastle, the most thorough and turbulent of all Lollards. In his examination before Archbishop Arundel at St. Paul's, with respect to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, he answered and said, "That as Christ dwelling here on earth had in Him Godhead and Manhood, yet the Godhead was veiled and invisible under the Manhood, which was open and visible in Him, so in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the very body and very bread—bread, namely, which we do see, and the body of Christ veiled under the same which we do not see." This is the very illustration which the ancient Fathers used, and which was so commonly received as the true view of the Eucharist, that it was in its turn adduced to illustrate the union of the two Natures in Christ.

Commons boldly suggested the appropriation for State purposes of the revenues of the Church—a proposal which called forth a vehement protest from the Archbishop, and a dignified reply from the King that he would preserve the Church in as good state as he found it.

Two years later [A.D. 1388], the spread of Lollardism was so considerable as thoroughly to alarm the Parliament, and an address was presented from both Houses to the King complaining of it, and warning him of the dangers that would accrue if effective measures were not taken. The King, in consequence, addressed letters to the archbishops and their suffragans, calling on them to act with greater vigour, and appointed two commissioners to peruse the Lollards' books and make inquiry for those who abetted false doctrine. Imprisonment was still the only penalty for those convicted, nor does it appear that any one in England was, as yet, put to death for his religion. It was no doubt in consequence of this mandate that in the following year [A.D. 1389] Roger Dexter and his wife, Nicolas Taylor, and others, were summoned for heresy before the Archbishop's Visitation Court at Leicester; and on their non-appearance were excommunicated, and the town laid under an interdict until they surrendered. Several of the parties in consequence abjured their opinions, and after a solemn public penance, were reconciled to the Church. We next hear of the Lollards A.D. 1395. In that year letters of accusation against the clergy in general were affixed to the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey—some in the form of Latin verses and very vehement in their language. That this was the act of the Lollards there seems no doubt, nor that they were abetted in it by certain members of the House of Commons, Sir Richard Stury, Sir Lewis de Clifford, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Montague, &c. Whereupon the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and others, as messengers from the whole clergy, passed over into Ireland, where the King then was, and entreated him to return and help the Church, now incredibly afflicted with Lollards, who threatened to take away all possessions of the Church and destroy all canonical sanctions. The King returning, called the above-named knights before him, and sharply rebuked and threatened them.

In the same year there was also a petition presented by the Lollards to Parliament, deprecating any harsh measures, and giving a statement of their peculiar opinions. These are nearly coincident with those of Wickliffe, but in some respects an advance upon them, condemning, in addition, —the celibacy, the priesthood, and nearly all outward ministrations of the clergy; also war, the punishment of death, and the trades of goldsmiths and sword-cutters.

The next epoch in the history of Lollardism, as of religion generally, is that notable one, when, in the first year of Henry IV., the Statute "De hæretico comburendo" became part of the law. Up to this time the worst punishment which could be inflicted on the holders of heretical opinions was, on the part of the Church, excommunication, on that of the State, imprisonment. The introduction of the punishment of death in the terrible form already in use in other countries, marks a strong opinion on the part of legislature of the dangerous character, and of the wide prevalence of the obnoxious tenets, as well as an acknowledgment of the inefficacy of all existing machinery to restrain them.

The measure now framed was not the act of the clergy alone, but of the three estates of the realm. It originated in a petition of the Commons, such being the form in which the mind of that House was in those days generally expressed; and having obtained the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, received the assent of the Crown. By it the civil authorities were empowered to inflict the extreme punishment of death by burning upon offenders convicted of heresy, and handed over to them by the ecclesiastical courts. Under this Statute in the following year, one William Sawtre, Priest of St. Osyth's, a church then existing beside St. Paul's, suffered. He had been formerly in the diocese of Norwich, and had professed himself a Lollard; but being summoned before the Bishop's court had recanted, was set at liberty, and came to London. His recantation weighing upon his conscience, he reavowed his former opinions, and on his apprehension was foolish enough to deny that he had already been an offender. The falsehood of this being detected, and a relapsed heretic being held especially obnoxious to the law, it was resolved to make an example of him; and the unhappy man suffered in Smithfield, March 1401. The second victim known to have perished at the stake was John, or Thomas Badby, tailor or smith, who, on the 1st March 1410, was, after an examination by Archbishop Arundel, conveyed to Smithfield and there burned. The king's eldest son being present, offered him pardon if he would recant, both before and after the fire was kindled, and again during his suffering, but in vain.

Judging, however, by existing records, the instances of those who suffered the extreme penalty for Lollardism, in this or the following reign, do not appear to have been numerous, and must have been in very small proportion to the number of its professors. Indeed, there seems to have been, on the part both of the bishops and clergy, considerable unwillingness to proceed to extreme measures against them—an unwillingness very inconsistent with the general habits of the time in the administration of justice, and much in advance of the times as to humanity. Other regulations however were introduced about the same time, which mark the desire of the authorities of the Church to restrain the obnoxious teaching. Such were the constitutions drawn up by Convocation under Archbishop Arundel in January 1409, in which the clergy were warned, under penalty of being regarded as abettors of heresy, against permitting unlicensed persons to preach in their churches or churchyards, a restraint which pressed equally on the friars, who had hitherto exercised the right without impedi

ment. But the most prominent trial of the time for Lollardism was that of Sir John Oldcastle, commonly called Lord Cobham, of great reputation as a soldier, and said to have been an intimate friend of the Prince of Wales. He appears to have been a man of strong religious feeling, who early imbibed the tenets of Wickliffe, and in whom they were carried to the farthest extent of religious fanaticism and political turbulence. [See Hook's *Lives*, vol. iv. p. 511; Holinshed, *Henry V.*] At first a loyal partisan of the House of Lancaster, he was led by ambition or religious zeal to place himself at the head of the Lollards. He procured learned clerks from Oxford, and paid them large stipends to propagate his principles. He dispersed preachers and emissaries wherever his territorial possessions, or those of his wife, gave him weight and influence, and protected them by his armed retainers. He caused notices to be affixed to the doors of the London churches affirming that the Lollards were an hundred thousand strong, and ready to rise against all who did not favour their views. Cited to appear before Archbishop Arundel, he at first absented himself, and was judged contumacious. Afterwards, having been apprehended, he declared himself willing to rehearse and defend his opinions. These being submitted to a court of divines, were declared heretical, and Oldcastle was in consequence excommunicated, and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower. But whether from Court favour, or from fear of dealing severely with a man of so much popularity, as he had been throughout the trial treated with great courtesy and leniency, so at its close he was spared the punishment to which he had made himself liable, and probably by connivance of the authorities, allowed to escape. How he used his liberty is well known. Henry V. had not been nine months on his father's throne, when the alarm reached him, while keeping his Christmas at Eltham, seven miles from London, that Lord Cobham, issuing from the mountain fastnesses of Wales, was marching on London at the head of twenty-five thousand men, with the object of overthrowing the Government, burning and pillaging the churches, and establishing a regency under himself. The movement was defeated by the heroic promptness of the king, who marched at midnight, with the few friends and retainers he was able to collect, to Fickers' fields, the appointed place of rendezvous, and there arresting many Lollards who were awaiting the arrival of their chief, crushed at its outset what might otherwise have proved a serious affair. Those who were taken, many of them men of respectable condition, suffered, as was natural, the punishment of death. Oldcastle himself again escaped, and it was not until some time afterwards [A.D. 1417] that, being engaged in other treasonable attempts, he was arrested, and sentenced to the complex doom of being hanged and burned at the same time. From this period Lollardism mostly preserved the same character of a political rather than merely a religious movement, and was obnoxious more to the civil than to the ecclesiastical power. That the bishops were on the whole inclined to deal leniently with it is curiously evidenced by the existence of the "Lollard" towers attached to some episcopal palaces; the true origin of which is that the bishops, unwilling to subject the heretics brought before them to the extreme punishment, did not hand them over to the civil power, but imprisoned them within their own domains, the prisoners being maintained at their expense.

Lollardism has generally been reputed the beginning of the Reformation. It should rather be regarded as a type of that movement, in its entirety embodying, if some of its better, so certainly its worst features. Wickliffe may have possessed the learning, honesty, and zeal of the earliest and best Reformers, but the movement he inaugurated soon presented the worst and wildest excesses of the Puritans; teaching us that religious reform is prone to run into extremes, and, unless guided and restrained by sobriety and reverence, is apt to produce even greater evils than those it is designed to remedy.

LORD. Lord, the proper translation of Adonai, but used also ordinarily in place of Jehovah. Theologically, its usage in the Creeds is that which is to be inquired into. There is [1] the Lordship attributed, as in the Athanasian Creed, to the three Persons of the Holy Trinity; [2] the Lordship proper to Jesus Christ.

[1.] The indwelling of the Father in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, and the consequent attribution to them of the Name Jehovah is elsewhere treated of. [CIRCUMINCESSION.] From that indwelling, and with that Name is the supremacy of dominion which is expressed in the title Lord. Thus in the Athanasian Creed are enumerated the attributes which are derived to the Son and Holy Spirit as being wholly one in substance with the Father, viz., that They are Uncreate, Incomprehensible, Eternal, Almighty. These, the chief attributes of Godhead, are summed up in the title God, from which follows the Lordship next attributed.

The Father, the First Cause of all, is Lord; the Son is Lord, the Holy Ghost Lord, for in them dwelleth the Father's fulness: the Son is Lord as Creator; the Holy Ghost Lord, for He at the beginning moved upon the face of the waters.

[2.] Under the same title is included the Kingship of the Incarnate Son. The kingdom of Messiah was promised [Dan. ii. 44; vii. 13, 14], which is the Church of Christ, as shewn by the Parables of the Kingdom, having its throne in Heaven, whose origin is from Heaven, which is administered by the power of Heaven: a spiritual kingdom reigning over the souls of men, set up against the kingdom of this world, when the world by sin had become the kingdom of Satan.

To Christ as the Son of Man was the kingdom given, partially while He was upon earth, the right of judgment [John v. 27], the power of forgiveness [Matt. ix. 2, 6], power over the old dispensation [Matt. xii. 6, 8]; fully after the resurrection and ascension [Rom. xiv. 9; Phil. ii. 8-11; Eph. i. 20-22].

Accordingly it was St. Peter's high argument

that Jesus who was crucified was Lord and Christ: and the proof was the Resurrection. It is to be noticed that the Resurrection of our Lord is connected in Scripture with His Sonship, as if the Resurrection were a second birth. See Acts xiii. 33; Heb. i. 6, "when He bringeth the second time the first begotten into the world." The Resurrection of Christ then is that which in Him our Head corresponds to the new birth, the regeneration of man. And they who are children of the Resurrection are members of His kingdom.

Of Christ's kingdom, lastly, it is said, that at the end, He shall give up the kingdom to the Father, that God may be all in all.

LORD'S DAY. [SUNDAY.]

LORD'S PRAYER, THE. This Divine formula was twice given to His disciples by our Blessed Lord; first, at the beginning of His ministry, in the Sermon on the Mount [Mat. vi. 9-12]; and a second time about a month before His Crucifixion[1] [Luke xi. 2-4]. On the *first* occasion, our Lord was teaching a great multitude the general precepts and principles by which His new development of Truth and Holiness was characterized; and when, in the course of this exposition, He had come to the subject of prayer, this formula was given by Him as an example of the true manner in which prayer ought to be offered, in contradistinction to the erroneous manner in which "hypocrites" and "heathen" were accustomed to pray. Having, therefore, said to each of His hearers, "Thou shalt not be as the hypocrites, . . . use not vain repetitions as the heathen do, . . . be ye not like unto them," He adds "After this manner, therefore, pray ye" [Matt. vi. 5-9]. On the *second* occasion, our Lord was not speaking to the multitude, but to a small circle of His disciples (perhaps to the Apostles only), who were with Him at a time when He had retired to pray, in one of the "proseuchæ," probably, near Bethany. The holy example of His prayer worked upon the hearts of those who beheld it, and "when He ceased, one of His disciples said unto Him, Lord teach us to pray, as John also taught His disciples." It was in reply to this request that the Lord repeated the words of the prayer which He had given to the multitudes at the Mount of the Beatitudes, "And He said unto them, When ye pray, say, Our Father."

On the first of these occasions, the Lord's Prayer seems to have been set forth as a typical example of the form in which prayer ought to be made; on the second occasion, the typical example was enforced as an absolute form, the "after this manner pray ye" being exchanged for "when ye pray, say." Mede and other learned writers have supposed that the request made to our Lord referred to some authoritative and distinctive form of prayer, which John the Baptist had taught his disciples according to a custom of the Jewish doctors.[2] No disciple of Christ could be so ignorant of Jewish habits as not to know how to pray, for the prayers of many were made publicly, as those of the Pharisee and the Publican in the Temple, or even ostentatiously, as those of the hypocrites, in the synagognes and at the corners of the streets. What the request embodied, therefore, seems to have been a desire that the disciples might have some special form of prayer given to them which should be specially adapted to the new circumstances in which they were placed by their discipleship:[3] a Christian rule of prayer which should set forth, or at least be in analogy with, the Christian rule of faith.

There is no contradiction, however, between the two sayings with which our Lord introduces His prayer on these two occasions. For the οὕτως of St. Matt. vi. 9 not only does not exclude the force of an absolute injunction as to form, but is even used for it in a similar case in the LXX., where the form of Benediction given by God to Moses is prefaced with the words Οὕτως εὐλογήσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ λέγοντες αὐτοῖς [Num. vi. 23], although there cannot be the least doubt it was to be used without any variation of the words. It is nevertheless possible that our Lord's first direction had not been understood by the disciples in this absolute sense, and that when asking for a dogmatic form of prayer, they did so under the impression that what had been previously given was only a typical form. If this were the case, the force of our Lord's second injunction of it is much strengthened, and the value of its condensed language still further shewn.[4]

Grotius, Lightfoot, and some German critics of later date, have tried to prove that the Lord's Prayer was founded on prayers which had been previously in use among the Jews. Thus a cento of expressions something similar to those of the prayer itself is culled from various portions of the Talmud and other Hebrew books, and by a treatment of "free handling" they are brought into a form which partially resembles it. But this kind of proof has no weight whatever with a really critical mind, especially when it is remembered that the Gospels are of more ancient date than can

[1] According to Greswell, the Sermon on the Mount was spoken on September 17th, A.D. 27; the discourse in which the Lord's Prayer is again enjoined, on some day between February 24th and March 10th, A.D. 30, the Crucifixion being on April 5th, A.D. 30.

[2] "The whole work of the Forerunner passed over unto the Lord. Therefore, after what form of words John taught to pray is not extant, because earthly things have given place to heavenly." [Tertull. *de Orat.* i.]

[3] "Our Lord . . . has determined for us, the disciples of the New Testament, a new form of prayer; for in this particular also it was needful that new wine should be laid up in new skins, and a new breadth be sewn to a new garment." [*Ibid.*]

[4] The verbal variations between the forms given by St. Matthew and St. Luke have led some critics, following Origen, to suppose that they give two separate though similar prayers. These variations are, leaving out the Doxology, as follows:—

St. Matthew vi. 11, 12.	St. Luke xi. 3, 4.
τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τον ἐπιουσιόν	
δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·	δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν·
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν	
τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς	τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν,
καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν	καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίεμεν
τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.	παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν.

The words given by St. Matthew have been those universally adopted in liturgical use, but the English "trespasses" happily combines the sense of ὀφειλήματα and ἁμαρτίας.

be certainly assigned to any of the Hebrew sources from which this cento is drawn. "After Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Wetstein, Drusius, Vitringa, Witsius, and Gurenhusius have laid under requisition every conceivable parallel passage, even from much later Jewish prayer-books, the result of their learning and industry shews that the first two petitions alone of the Lord's Prayer contain what, after all, amounts to no more than allusions to well-known Old Testament or Messianic ideas and expressions. Besides, it is quite possible that the Jews may have borrowed even these from the Lord's Prayer" [Lange *on St. Matthew*]. If authentic parallels could be traced here and there they might be considered valuable as shewing that the principles of Christianity were in reality contained in the old Revelation, and that Christ came to fulfil, not to destroy, the ancient Truth, wherever that truth could be found. But nothing less than the juxtaposition of such expressions, and their articulation into the form of a connected prayer, would be really sufficient evidence that our Lord borrowed from them the words or ideas contained in His own formula.

Although the Lord's Prayer is not again mentioned directly in the New Testament, it was plainly referred to by our Lord on the eve of His sufferings, when He said to the disciples, "And when ye stand praying, forgive if ye have aught against any: that your Father also which is in Heaven may forgive you your trespasses" [Mark xi. 25]. It seems also to have been in the mind of St. Paul when he writes, that we "have received the spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father" [Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6], as also in that of St. Peter, when he spoke of "calling on the Father" [1 Peter i. 17], and traces of its familiar opening are to be observed in other places where "adoption" is spoken of. St. Jerome [*Adv. Pelag.* iii. 3] and St. Gregory [*Epp.* vii. lxiii.] say that the Apostles used it in the consecration of the Holy Eucharist, and there can be little doubt, from the manner in which it was freely used in the Primitive Church of the following centuries, that they had also enjoined its use on all occasions of Divine service, and taught Christians to say it in their private prayers. Certain it is, that among the earliest of Christian writings after the Apostolic age, there are two special Commentaries upon this Divine Prayer, one by Tertullian, and the other by St. Cyprian, both of them written within about a century and a half after the death of St. John. No more recent commentator has excelled St. Cyprian in the beauty and depth of the exposition which he gave to the Church; and the manner in which he writes about the subject of his Commentary shews that the Lord's Prayer was as familiarly known to Christians of the third century as it is to those of modern times.

The liturgical use of the Lord's Prayer is frequently mentioned in the writings of the Fathers, and it forms a conspicuous part of the ancient liturgies. This use of it seems even to have been known to the heathen, for in his "Philopatris," Lucian, in the second century, speaks of the Christian prayer which begins ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς. But perhaps he had heard it used at Baptism, when the custom was for each person to stand and say it immediately after ascending from the water [*Apost. Const.* vii. 44]. St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of it as being used in the Eucharistic Office immediately after the prayer of oblation [*Catech. Myst.* v.], the same position being noticed by St. Augustine [*Hom.* lxxxiii. *de Divers.*], who also speaks of it being used daily before the altar of God, and heard by the faithful [*Hom.* lviii.]. St. Optatus likewise mentions its liturgical use even by the Donatists [lib. ii. iii.], as does St. Ambrose [*de Sacram.* vi. *ad fin.*]. The Fathers of the East and West thus witness to the universal use of the Lord's Prayer in the celebration of the Eucharist, and the Clementine is the only one of all the ancient liturgies in which it is not found. It is always associated with the act of Consecration, the Eastern Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, and St. Chrysostom, together with the Roman, using it before the Fraction of the Host, while the Ambrosian and Mozarabic use it after, though not, as in our modern English Liturgy, after the Communion. It is always, also, preceded by a prayer for grace and purity to use its words aright. That in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is, "Make us worthy, O Lord, with boldness and without condemnation, to dare to call upon Thee our God and Father Which art in Heaven, and to say:" but in other liturgies this prayer is longer, while in the Mozarabic and Gallican it varies according to the season, like the proper prefaces of the Sanctus.[1] In addition to this prefatory prayer there is also a supplementary one called the EMBOLISMUS, which is described under that word. Thus the Lord's Prayer of the Liturgy was treated with a very high degree of reverence; a reverence which is still observed in our English Offices by the use of the Lesser Litany—"Let us pray. Lord, have mercy upon us. Christ, have mercy upon us. Lord, have mercy upon us"—nearly every time that it is said in Divine service. It became a part, moreover, not only of the Eucharistic Office, but of every public service; and when some Spanish priests had introduced a custom of saying it only on Sunday, a special canon was passed by the fourth Council of Toledo [A.D. 633], declaring that it must be said in every public or private office which they used [*Conc. Tolet.* iv. can. x.]. A similar provision was made by the Synod of Gerona [*Conc. Gerund.* A.D. 517, can. xi.] and by the ancient rule of St. Benedict, shewing what was the tradition of the Church on the subject.

It may be added, in connection with the reverence shewn towards the Lord's Prayer, that no unbaptized persons were permitted to use it. The COMPETENTES were thoroughly instructed in its meaning by catechetical lectures, like those of St. Cyril and St. Augustine. During the week be-

[1] This preface to the Lord's Prayer was retained in the original English Liturgy in the form, "As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say;" but the ancient Embolismus, "Libera nos, quæsumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis, præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris," was dropped out of the service altogether.

fore Baptism they were required to learn it by heart, and immediately after Baptism they were required to use it for the first time as a prayer, being then qualified as the children of God to say "Our Father" [Aug. *Hom.* lix. 1]. After that they were enjoined to use it daily [*ibid.* lviii. 12], as a kind of daily absolution by which their trespasses received daily forgiveness [*ibid.* lvi. 11, cxxxi. 8; *Enchirid.* lxxi.; *Hom. de temp.* cxix.].

LORD'S SUPPER. A term originally belonging to the love-feast which accompanied the celebration of the Holy Eucharist [AGAPÆ], and, from it, used as the liturgical name of Maundy Thursday. Its Latin equivalent, "Cœna Domini," is once used by St. Augustine [*Ep.* cxviii. 5] in association both with the love-feast and the Eucharist, and once (in a more doubtful way) by St. Jerome in his Commentary on 1 Cor. xi. 20, but it can scarcely be said to have been known as a name for the Eucharist in ancient times.

In early English, whenever this name was used, it was applied either to the Last Supper, or to the marriage supper of the king in the parable. Thus a MS. in the British Museum [*Harl. MS.* 1701] written about A.D. 1360, is entitled "Medytacions of the Soper of our Lorde Ihū, and also of His passyn," &c., the contents of which are thus indicated:—

> "Foure thynges thou most haue yn thy thoght
> That yn thys soper cryst hath wtought.
> The fyrst ys a bodily feding
> The secunde ys hys dycyples fete washynge
> The threde yn brede hymself takying
> The fourthe a sermon of fayre makyng."

And the *Mirror of our Lady* [A.D. 1530] says, "There is thre maner of people, whyche as the gospel tellyth, were called to oure Lorde's soper, and came not, for pryde, for worldlynesse, and for fleshelynesse" [*Mirror*, f. xlii.], the "certain man" being afterwards called "our Lord."

In 1530, the term "Cœna Domini" is used in the Confession of Augsburg, which, and its adoption by Calvin [*Inst.* iv. 22], points, perhaps, to the origin of its popular use. In the first vernacular "Order of Communion" it was not used; but the first Act of Parliament passed in the reign of Edward VI. [1 Edw. VI. cap. 1, A.D. 1547] speaks of the Sacrament as "commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, and in Scripture the Supper [1 Cor. xi. 20] and Table of the Lord [1 Cor. x. 21], the communion [1 Cor. x. 16] and partaking of the body and blood of Christ [1 Cor. x. 16, 17]." The title of the Liturgy in the Prayer Book of 1549 is, "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass;" and in that of 1552 it is, "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion."

The novel and inexact use of the term thus engrafted on its ancient use has led to much popular confusion between the actual Cœna Domini at which the Eucharist was instituted and the Eucharist itself [Luke xxii. 20 and 1 Cor. xi. 25]. This confusion has also been increased by familiarity with Leonardo da Vinci's picture of the Last Supper, which was painted for the dining-room of the Dominican Convent of St. Maria delle Grazie at Milan, but which has been frequently associated with the Altar in sculpture and painting, and often spoken of as a representation of the Institution of the Eucharist. The theological result has been a tendency to depress the higher aspects of the Sacrament, and to dwell disproportionately on that which looks towards human love and fellowship.

LORD'S TABLE. A designation of the Christian Altar which looks to its communion aspect, that of a table provided by God in the wilderness, from whence He feeds men with the Bread of Heaven [Ps. lxxviii. 19]. The Scriptural use of the word "table," when associated with the Name of the Lord, refers to the provision which He offers, not to the wooden or other fabric on which it is spread. Thus flesh or food [שְׁאֵר], bread [לֶחֶם], and [בָּשָׂר] meat, are translated by τράπεζα, "table," in the Septuagint, and *mensa* in the Vulgate [Ps. lxxviii. 19, 20; 1 Sam. xxiii. 26; Dan. i.]; and when the τράπεζα of the Lord is contrasted with the "table of devils" [1 Cor. x. 21], it is with reference also to the food partaken of at the Love-feasts of the Lord, as contrasted with that partaken of at idol-feasts.

By a natural transition, the term has been appropriated to the Altar itself, as well as to the feast provided there; but the name given to the Altar by the Primitive Church was θυσιαστήριον, and it is not called a table by any Christian writer during the first three centuries. The use of the word is very exhaustively discussed by Mede, whose works [pp. 382-392 and p. 860, ed. 1677] may be referred to for further study of the point. [ALTAR.]

LOVE. [VIRTUES, THEOLOGICAL.]

LOVE-FEASTS. [AGAPÆ.]

LUTHERANISM. The doctrinal system framed by Luther and his fellow reformers, and maintained by the community which bears his name. It is contained in the AUGSBURG CONFESSION, a statement of the belief of the Reformers presented to the Emperor Charles V. at a Diet held at that town [A.D. 1530]; the articles of Smalkald, framed by Luther at a meeting of Protestant princes in that place; and a document called "Forma Concordiæ," drawn up[1] by six Lutheran doctors at Berg [A.D. 1574]. The first distinctive feature of Lutheranism, as contrasted with the theology then prevailing, is the sole authority of Scripture. The Word of God was in Luther's eyes supreme, and, what is more specific, the sense of it in his view was so plain and easy (for he rejected all allegorical or metaphorical meanings) as to be within reach of every one acquainted with the original language. Of the ancient creeds little account is made, though both the Nicene and that of the Apostles are referred to in the Augsburg Confession, and one or other is generally recited by the minister in the course of the Divine service.

[1] It was first prepared at Turgau, and reviewed at Berg. Though called a Form of Concord, it had anything but a pacific effect, and was itself a great cause of controversy. It is principally on the subject of the Eucharist.

On the all-important verities of the Trinity in Unity, the Incarnation and Atonement, the Lutheran Confession coincides with the Catholic faith. But the main article of Lutheranism is the doctrine of "justification by faith only."

It is important that the meaning of this should be clearly stated. It is shewn in the article on JUSTIFICATION that the word "justified" has in theology two meanings, [1] to be *made* righteous, [2] to be *accounted* righteous. In speaking o man being justified by faith, the word is used by the Reformers in the latter or, as it is called, the "forensic" sense. Again, the words "by (or on account of) faith," are understood to mean, negatively, by no merit of our own, and, positively, by the free grace of God for the merit of Christ, our trust and reliance on which is the condition of our justification.

The doctrine that we are justified by faith, therefore, carefully stated, means no more than that we are accepted with God, not for our own merits, but only of His grace and mercy for the merit of His Son. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that this doctrine, as it is clearly taught in Scripture, was not also believed by the Church, or that Luther was really the discoverer or inventor of it. The earliest of the Christian Fathers [A.D. 100], St. Clement of Rome, in his epistle to the Corinthians, gives a most explicit statement of it. St. Augustine, in the fourth century, is a full expounder of the doctrine of grace; and the dying words of St. Bernard, in the twelfth century —the great monastic saint of the Middle Ages— are quoted with approval by Luther himself, as expressing the renunciation of his own works and entire trust in the merits of Christ.

But though never denied by the Church, it had been no doubt obscured by two principal causes; [1] the subtle disputes and distinctions of the Schoolmen; and [2] the growth and prevalence of practices under sanction of the Church, which, whether really or not, certainly appeared to contradict it, and would have that effect in the popular mind. To the former belong the questions about ATTRITION, CONTRITION, Grace of CONDIGNITY, and Grace of CONGRUITY. To the latter the custom of pilgrimages, penances, and the whole system of INDULGENCES, which, being carried on before his eyes in the grossest form, first aroused Luther's indignation, and led him to discern how much both these corrupt usages, and the disputations which were in those days the main study of the divines, contributed to overlay and obscure the revealed Truth of God.

It was only natural and in accordance with the history of religious belief, that in their grasp of one neglected truth Luther and his followers should be led to overstate, and by dwelling on it too exclusively, at least appear to disparage others. And though the statement of the doctrine of Justification, framed as it is in the guarded language of Melanchthon in the Augsburg Confession, seems little open to exception, it is not to be denied that both Luther and many of his followers have been betrayed into erroneous statements on the subject, and that the popular conception of the doctrine in the Lutheran body has not been favourable to holiness or strictness of life.

Respecting the Sacraments, the Lutheran belief differs little from that of the Catholic Church. It acknowledges the necessity and efficacy of Baptism, as also the competency for it of infants; and anathematizes all Anabaptists, *i.e.* those who, denying the validity of infant baptism, repeat it on adults.

In the Eucharist, Luther, as is well known, held most strongly the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, though denying Transubstantiation. His belief is generally supposed to be that called CONSUBSTANTIATION; but that of his followers in after times has considerably varied. and the mode of the Divine Presence has been a fruitful subject of controversy, both among the Lutherans themselves and also between them and other Protestant bodies.

On the subject of Orders, Luther's opinion appears to have been modified by necessity. The Divine authority of the Christian ministry he fully acknowledged (and he appears to have recognised the Apostolic origin of the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons); but as no bishop embraced the views of the German reformer, that order, and with it the Apostolic succession, is lost to the Lutheran body.

In Sweden and Norway, however, where Lutheranism became the established religion A.D. 1527, and in Denmark, where it was established A.D. 1539, the Church is governed by bishops; in the former country, the Archbishop of Upsala being Primate, though whether the so-called bishops possess the Apostolic succession is doubtful. In other countries, the Lutheran congregations are governed by consistories composed of equal numbers of clerical and lay members. There is thus only one order of ministers, and these, in addition to preaching and administration of the Sacraments, appoint others by customs similar to those used among Scotch Presbyterians and English Dissenters, namely, laying on of hands and exhortation.

As regards Ritual, Luther, while claiming for himself and his followers liberty of divergence from the established ritual of the Church, regarded it also as a matter admitting of wide diversity of practice in different congregations, and held it comparatively unimportant what measure of the ritual then in use was retained by the Reformed communities. He excepted, indeed, those usages which had become objects of superstition; and yet in his later years he censured his disciple, Carlostadt, for violently ejecting the images from a church, taking the ground that even these were among the things indifferent. The same variety of practice among Lutheran congregations in different towns and countries has existed to this day, though in all, there is somewhat more of ceremonial than among the "Reformed" or Calvinistic congregations. In a church where Lutheran worship is used, the central object is generally the altar, with a crucifix and lighted candles upon it. In the Swedish churches, splendid vestments

are worn by the officiating minister; in other countries, a gown only.

Confession, Luther had no intention of abolishing, but acknowledged the advantage of it and the power of the clergy to absolve. He denied, however, its necessity as an habitual practice, and not being regarded as obligatory, it soon fell into complete disuse.

A peculiar and characteristic feature of the Lutheran system is its dependence on the civil power. This also is a result of the circumstances under which Luther was placed. Abandoned by the hierarchy, he was forced to throw himself on the support of the civil power, and those princes of Germany who favoured the Reformation became the natural protectors of the Protestant congregations. Hence a sort of ecclesiastical supremacy was accorded to the prince of every Protestant state, which, though guaranteeing for the Reformers the free exercise of their religion, left them under considerable restraints, and in danger of finding religion subordinated to political considerations.

The history of Lutheranism from the Reformation till the present time is a somewhat stormy one. Extending, in the time of Luther, over the greater part of Germany, and carried early into the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, it has at no time either made any considerable addition or sustained any diminution of its territory. Neither has it been famous for foreign missions; for the Danish mission to the coast of Malabar [A.D. 1706] appears to be the only enterprise of the kind undertaken by the Lutheran body.

In controversies, however, and internal dissensions it is unhappily rife. The Lutheran community appears to have inherited the polemical and uncompromising spirit of its founder; and although during his lifetime its state was one of comparative quiet, when on his death his position was filled by the gentler Melanchthon, the successive controversies which broke forth greatly disturbed the peace of the Reformed Churches. These were chiefly the contest about ADIAPHORA, or things indifferent [A.D. 1548]; the dispute between Georgius Major and Amsdorf on the necessity of good works [A.D. 1552]; and the violent controversy called the Synergistic, *i.e.* concerning the concurrence of the human will, in which the opinions of Melanchthon were violently attacked by Flacius and defended by Strigelius; the discord excited by the apparently heretical speculations of Osiander [A.D. 1549] concerning the righteousness of Christ. It was as an attempt to allay these dissensions that the document called the Form of Concord was drawn up, though it was itself more fruitful of strife than peace.

In the seventeenth century the chief events concerning the Lutheran body were the attempts at union [1] with the Church of England in the reign of James I. [A.D. 1615], and [2] with the Reformed French Calvinists. The tumults resulting from the project of Calixtus to combine the different Protestant systems [A.D. 1646], which gained the name of SYNCRETISM, and those of the so-called Pietists at Leipsic [A.D. 1689], which, originating in a laudable attempt under Spener to promote a spirit of piety, ended in a good deal of fanaticism and disorder, are also to be noticed.

In more recent times, the Lutheran clergy, abandoning strict adherence to their symbolical books, have allowed themselves a considerable laxity of opinion, but in this again there has lately been a reaction, and many have zealously revived, especially on the subject of the Sacraments, the original teaching of their founder. Some of their divines have made invaluable contributions to modern theology and ecclesiastical history; among whom may be named the Church historians Mosheim, Neander, and Gieseler; the commentators Tholuck, Stier, and Hengstenberg, the very philosophical theologian, as well as commentator, Delitzsch, and the theologian Dorner.

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MACEDONIANISM. A heresy of the fourth century, which consisted in a denial of the Divine Nature of the Holy Ghost. This error was implied in the previous heresy of Arius [ARIANISM]; for what was denied to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity could hardly be allowed to the Third: but it did not acquire distinctness till some time after the Nicene Council [A.D. 325], when it appears among the points on which the Semi-Arian party differed from the holders of the orthodox faith. It is then associated with Macedonius, a man of the Arian faction, of venerable aspect, but great violence of temper, who having been by order of the Emperor Constantius forcibly introduced into the See of Constantinople [A.D. 343], and there made himself odious by his cruel persecutions of orthodox Christians, was afterwards, on account of this and of an apparent disrespect to the body of the late Emperor Constantine, through the influence of Acacius and his followers with Constantius, deposed [Socrat. ii. 6, 16, 38]. It is on his deposition that Macedonius appears to have first broached the heresy which bears his name, and hence gained for himself and his followers the name of Pneumatomachi, or adversaries of the Spirit. Under that name they are refuted by St. Athanasius, then in exile, in a letter to Serapion [A.D. 360]. Macedonius was joined in his heresy by other bishops: Eleusius, late of Cyzicum; Eustathius of Sebastia; Marathonius of Nicomedia; Sophronius, late of Pompeiopolis; but they do not seem to have been agreed in any *positive* opinion concerning the nature of the Holy Ghost—some with Macedonius himself maintaining Him to be a creature, others stopping short of this [Sozom. iv. 27; Socrat. ii. 45], though denying Him to be God; while others taught that the Spirit was created by the Son, and ministered to Him.

The heresy spread chiefly in Thrace, Bithynia, the Hellespont, and the neighbouring provinces, even after the death of Macedonius himself, till it was finally condemned at the great Council held at Constantinople [A.D. 381], which, though it consisted almost entirely of Eastern bishops, has from the universal reception of its decrees been accounted the Second Œcumenical Synod of the Church. On that occasion the Nicene Creed was enlarged by the addition of the clauses, "the Lord, the Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father" [FILIOQUE], "Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the prophets." These statements, as appears from Epiphanius, formed part of a creed already in use in some parts of the Church, and are obviously founded on the following texts:—Matt. xii. 31, 32; Acts v. 3, 4; 1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19; 2 Cor. iii. 17. Their acceptance by the Western Church is evidenced by the reply of Damasus, Bishop of Rome, to the letter of the Constantinopolitan Synod, communicating the enlarged creed. "If any one deny that the Holy Ghost is really and truly of the Father, as is the Son, that He is of the Divine Substance, and that He is very God,—that the Holy Ghost is Almighty, Omniscient, and Omnipresent, even as are the Father and the Son," or "say that the Holy Ghost was created or made by the Son," &c., let him be anathema [Theodor. v. 11]. The peculiar error known as Macedonianism has never apparently been revived in the Church. The Personality of the Blessed Spirit was denied by Socinus, as it is also by the modern sect of Unitarians; but His Personality once granted, the language of Scripture concerning Him is too high to admit the supposition that He can be other than Divine.

MAGIC. It being foreign to the purpose of the present work to attempt a history of the art of magic, it is sufficient for the purely theological view of the subject to consider it as professing to call into exercise, at the pleasure of man and by means of an external ceremonial, certain supernatural powers.

I. At the very outset then, and taking the best possible view of magic—supposing, that is, the intention of the magician to be good, and the powers he proposes to evoke altogether beneficent—the art appears to be a presumptuous and unwarrantable attempt to do that which, from the very nature of the case, can be in the power of God alone. To connect supernatural agencies with physical objects, with an external ceremonial, must be God's prerogative; and he who works by any such supposed connection is bound, for his justification, to shew the ordinance and promise of God. Unless he do this, his work, however beneficent in its purpose, is an unwarranted, and therefore a blasphemous, parody of sacraments. In the sacraments God has united the inward with the outward: and their solemnity and dignity shew, on the other hand, the depth of guilt incurred by those who without warrant assert another and similar union. That magic

in its best form is a parody of sacraments is seen in this, that they who deny sacramental grace class sacraments with charms and incantations.

Wherever there has been a general practice of magic there has been a recognised distinction between lawful and unlawful magic. Such lawful magic (we are speaking of the laws of a nation to which God's revelation has not come), practised with an allowable or praiseworthy design, points to those wants and necessities in our nature which are met by sacramental grace. And as we cannot conceive any real want in our moral and spiritual nature—any want arising out of the constitution of mind and body which God has imparted to us—unsatisfied by revelation, the existence among heathen nations of lawful magic is a proof that true religion must have its sacraments. Such magic, involving no immorality in its ceremonies, and practised for a good end, we may believe to have been one of the things which God winked at in the time of man's ignorance, to have been forbidden at the entrance of revelation, and to become a blasphemy, if continued either to supplant or to supplement true sacraments. When man is in possession of appointed means of grace, has learned the power of prayer, and received assurance of angelic ministrations, an attempt to call in supernatural agencies in a different way becomes both presumption and distrust.

II. The general corruption of the world made this comparatively innocent form of magic little more than a theory, and gave to the art an entirely different aspect. "Magi" became equivalent to "Venefici" and "Malefici:" and Magici Dii, the powers invoked by magic, came under St. Paul's decision, "that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to devils, and not to God." The purpose of magic became wicked, and its processes generally involved moral guilt. Theft, murder, lust, entered into the ceremonial which was to effect a compact with the Evil One.

In a history of magic it might be possible to avoid the question whether there has ever been or can be any really successful magic: here the question must be met. The answer which we venture to make to it is this: that there has never been any real subjugation of spiritual powers to the will of man, but that it may have pleased Almighty God to allow an exercise of Satanic agency to enter into the practice of magic (as if in consequence of its processes), for a meet retribution to those who sought to call up such agency, or for the trial through their means of the faith of the elect.

First, This theory may be rested upon the tenor of Scripture narrative and Scripture laws. In considering this, it is by no means asserted that it would be unworthy of the Spirit of God to bring His religion formally into opposition to a system of human imposture. That imposture (if magic were only such) was in itself a grave sin, very widely spread, and most pernicious. The magicians of Egypt, for example, if impostors, were not mere jugglers or conjurors: they were sinful misleaders of the people; and to confront them with true miracles involves in it no unworthy conception of the Deity. But the tenor of Scripture history, of the Mosaic laws, of the teaching of the Prophets, implies the possibility of a real entrance into magic of supernatural agency. In the New Testament, further, the Pythoness and her masters are not indeed properly magicians, but the reality of that spirit of divination at least prepares us to believe that a supernatural power may have been exhibited by Simon Magus, or among those who "used curious arts" at Ephesus. Most strong of all is the proof from the signs and wonders which shall try the elect [Matt. xxiv. 24], the miracles by which Antichrist will deceive mankind [Rev. xiii. 14]. The first preachers of the Gospel being certainly opposed by men who pretended to supernatural power through the arts of magic; these prophecies, asserting the reality of such signs and wonders in time to come, make it probable that there was some reality in the earlier pretensions.

Secondly, The theory in question is in analogy with God's dealings with man in other respects. God takes the worldly wise in their own craftiness, He makes the wicked reap as they have sown; and there is nothing incredible or difficult in the supposition that He may punish the attempt to call in supernatural power, by permitting evil angels to exercise their power, turning such permission to His own high purposes in proving thereby the faith of the elect.

There may be called into operation, perhaps, by the practice of magic, as by the practice of any sin for which men unite, spiritual influences other than the agencies of evil angels. "Who shall dare determine," asked Coleridge, "what spiritual influences may not arise out of the collective evil wills of wicked men?" To such influences Coleridge even gave the name of spirits, with the caution that spirits are not necessarily distinct persons, not necessarily souls or self-consciousnesses; that all minds are spirits, though it does not follow that all spirits are minds [*Literary Remains*, ii. pp. 211, 212]. But such influences, supposing them to exist, can only operate in and upon the mind: their agency cannot account for the external signs and wonders which Scripture teaches us to look for in the latter days. Such signs and wonders can be referred only to those evil angels who have at times, by God's permission, a certain power over the physical world.

The canons of the Church against magic call for no special notice. They are brought together and classified in Bingham [*Orig. Eccl.* xvi. 5].

But of great interest and importance is the question, In what way is the natural tendency of man to magical arts and superstitions to be met by the Church? The need of Exorcism before Baptism perhaps ceases in a Christian country, for it appears to have had reference to that larger power of Satan which appears to have prevailed among heathens and Jews, before the times of the Gospel, and which was subdued by degrees as Christianity spread. Mediæval exorcism, going

far beyond the authorized practice of the Church, only fostered the superstition whose effects it was designed to remedy, and the history of exorcism is but one degree less sad than the history of magic.

The less hurtful form of magic points to that in man's nature which requires sacraments, and the want is met by true sacraments. So that want in man's nature which gives occasion to amulets and charms, points to, and is met by, a true Church ceremonial. Keble's words are most true and wise on this matter: "All sensible things may have other meanings and uses than we know of; spiritual and heavenly relations, associations, resemblances, apt to assist men in realizing Divine contemplations; the Church (no one can say how far by celestial guidance at first) selected a certain number and order of sensible things; certain actions of the body, such as bowing at the Name of Jesus, and turning to the east in prayer; certain forms of matter, such as the cross and the ring, generally or always significant in themselves and very instructive, one might almost say needful, to children and men of childlike understanding and knowledge; such things as these the Church of God instinctively selected for her ceremonies, and combined them by degrees into an orderly system." These ceremonies are the Christian's amulets and charms; for if, as Keble goes on to represent them, they are a perpetual spiritual sacrifice, they bring, as does every true sacrifice, their proper blessing [Hooker's *Works*, pref. p. xc.]

Sacraments and ceremonies thus meeting and satisfying the spiritual wants of men, to them, in conjunction with true teaching regarding angelic ministrations, the Church trusts to correct the natural tendency of man to magical arts. When catholic doctrine regarding angels is lost superstition always appears. The enlightened nineteenth century has suffered from folly and superstition in attempts to connect the invisible world with the visible world, more gross and degrading than the rankest belief of our forefathers in witchcraft.

MAMMON. A Syriac and Rabbinical word for riches.[1] In Matt. vi. 24, mammon, or riches, is symbolical of the world, the second of the enemies renounced at Baptism: *οὗτο ἀργύριον λέγων φησὶ ψιλῶς οὕτως, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀργυρίου εἰς τὰς ποικίλας ἡδονὰς χορηγίαν* [Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. c. xii. sec. 71]. It is equivalent to the "lust of the eyes" in 1 John xi. 16; "the illusion" that is "produced in our higher mental nature by outward things seen otherwise than in the light of God" [Mill, *Sermons on the Temptation*, p. 60]. Whether the order of the three enemies be taken as in the renunciation at Baptism, the devil, the world, the flesh; or as by St. John, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, the pride of life, still the middle place is properly occupied by the world, which the Apostle represents as the seat of all the three. The pomps and vanities of the world naturally hold an intermediate position, as of a mixed nature, between the purely carnal appetite and the purely spiritual sin whose diabolical source is pride [Mill, p. 85].

In Luke xvi. 9, mammon means simply riches, for the righteous may possess and use it rightly. In ver. 3 the service of mammon is covetousness, *φιλαργυρία*, as Clemens Alexandrinus [*Strom.* IV. c. vi. sec. 30] interprets, referring to the passage in St. Luke, whereas, in the former passage, he has St. Matthew in mind, as the context shews. Mammon of unrighteousness is rightly interpreted by Schleusner not wealth unrighteously gotten, but wealth in its own nature unjust, as treacherous and playing its owner false. Comp. Prov. xi. 18, "The wicked worketh a deceitful work," turns out a thing which plays him false.

Thus we have the two characters of the service of the world that it is illusory and idolatrous: illusory, because it never realizes to him who actually tastes these objects of desire the hopes of good which the lusting eye conceived in them while distant; idolatrous, because it is the admission of a rival interest into that place in the heart which is reserved for God, and God only. And whatsoever homage is paid in our hearts to the world, as thus described, is paid in reality, and in the Divine esteem, to the hateful sovereign of it, to him whom our Lord and His Apostles so frequently term the ruler and prince of the world [Mill, *Sermons on the Temptation*, pp. 91, 95, 99].

One of the deepest thinkers of Queen Elizabeth's time gives this good advice:—

> "Mixe not in Functions God and Earth together;
> The wisdom of the world and His are two;
> One latitude can well agree to neither,
> In each men have their beings as they do:
> The world doth build without, our God within;
> He trafficks Goodness, and she trafficks sin."
> [Lord Brooke, *Remains*, 1670, p. 201.]

And the same writer describes those who strive to unite the two services:—

> "God and the world they worship still together,
> Draw not their lawes to Him, but His to theirs;
> Untrue to both, so prosperous in neither,
> Amid their own desires still raising feares:
> Unwise, as all distracted powers be,
> Strangers to God, fooles in humanitie."
> [*Works*, 1633, p. 82.]

But the unrighteous mammon may be righteously used. Almsgiving, its sincerity being attested by fasting, is animated by prayer, becomes one of the angels of intercourse and commerce between God and man, and hereafter receives the faithful into everlasting habitations.

MANICHÆISM. Manes, the originator of this heresy, was born in Persia about the middle of the third century [A.D. 260]. St. Epiphanius says [*Adver. Hæres.* 46 *sive* 66] that his name was Cubricus, and that he was the slave of the widow of a certain Terebinthus or Buddas of Babylon, who had inherited books of Oriental philosophy from Scythianas, a Saracen merchant. Cubricus, who afterwards called himself Manes, was in early life ordained to the priesthood, but

[1] It is a mistake to suppose that there was an idol of this name in the East [see Smith's *Dict.* and Alford, *Note on Matt.* vi. 24]. Milton's personification in *Par. Lost* has probably spread this notion in England.

afterwards expelled from the Church for heresy. He was favourably received by Sapor, King of Persia [A.D. 270], but afterwards was compelled by Varanes [A.D. 271-276], one of his successors, to hold a public discussion with the Magi: he was defeated and put to an ignominious death [A.D. 277] as a teacher of a false religion. His system may be described as a fusing together of Zoroastrianism and Gnosticism with Christianity. He maintained, according to Persian Dualism, that there are two eternal principles of good and evil: that the world, or the matter of which it was composed, was created by the Evil spirit, and that our Lord did not possess a real or material body, or suffer on the Cross. He rejected the Old Testament altogether, and received such portions of the New as accorded with his system. He admitted some of the Apocryphal Gospels, though his own writings were considered by his followers of the highest importance, especially his "Epistola fundamenti," or the foundation of belief. He asserted that he was the Paraclete or Comforter promised by our Lord. His followers were divided into two portions—the hearers (auditores), and the elect (electi). Marriage was allowed to the former class, and they were not required to practise the more difficult rules of the sect, its hidden mysteries being also concealed from them. The elect abstained from flesh, eggs, milk, and wine, shewed the greatest care not to injure the lives of plants or animals, and lived in chastity and celibacy.

After the death of Manes his opinions spread rapidly throughout Persia, Egypt, and Palestine; being often referred to and refuted by the Fathers, especially by St. Augustine, who in early life belonged to the sect, and by St. Leo. Diocletian issued most severe edicts against them in Africa [A.D. 296] as being a Persian sect, and thus hostile to the Empire. "Nothing," says Milman, "is more curious in Christian history than the vitality of Manichæan opinions" [*History of Latin Christianity*, ix. 8, *ed.* 1867]. Though apparently extinct in the Eastern Church they reappeared in the seventh century under the name of PAULICIANS; and in the Western Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Manichæan opinions were held amongst sects called Cathari, Paterini, or Albigenses. [Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, &c. c. 54. Maitland's *Facts and Documents*, 1831. *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

MARANATHA. The Greek form of two Syriac words signifying "The Lord will come." It is found in 1 Cor. xvi. 22, where the expression is used to intensify and make more solemn the denunciation of Anathema against false teachers by remitting them to the judgment of the Lord at His second Coming.

MARCIONITES. An heretical sect who originated about the middle of the second century, and were so called from Marcion, son of the Bishop of Sinope. Professing the celibate life, Marcion seduced one of the virgins of the Church. He was excommunicated by his father, who refused, on his professed repentance, to readmit him to communion. Unable to bear the opprobrium of his immoral conduct, he went to Rome [A.D. 150], associating himself with Cerdo, the Syrian Gnostic; whose opinions generally he held, though with some variations [Epiphan. *Contr. Marc. Hær.* 22 *sive* 42]. He taught that there are three eternal principles:[1] the one, the Unnameable and Invisible, whom he called the good God; another who was visible, the Creator of the World and the DEMIURGE or Supreme Ruler, who was the God of the Jews; the third, the Devil, who held an intermediate place between them. The Demiurge, who was an imperfect Being, made, he said, this lower and visible world of matter (ὕλη), which was essentially evil: hence like the Docetic Gnostics he maintained that our Lord had not a real body, since He would thus have connected Himself with matter. His fundamental theory was the irreconcilable contradiction between the Law and the Gospel. He rejected the Old Testament altogether as proceeding from the Demiurge (the God of Judaism and not of the Gospel), and admitted only those portions of the New Testament not, as he supposed, corrupted by Judaism. He received only the Gospel of St. Luke and ten epistles of St. Paul (rejecting the pastoral epistles and that to the Hebrews), with many corrections and mutilations, excluding all the quotations from the Old Testament. He taught three baptisms for sin, and the transmigration of souls, and denied the resurrection of the body. An account of his opinions is given by Tertullian in his five books against Marcion; by Theodoret and St. Epiphanius (as quoted) and St. Irenæus [*Adv. Hæres.* lib. i. c. 28]. St. Epiphanius says that the sect had spread (in the fourth century) through Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Cyprus, Persia, and other countries. It survived other Gnostic sects, and was extinct in the seventh century. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

MARIOLATRY. The sin of rendering to the Blessed Virgin Mary that worship [LATRIA] which is due to God alone.

This word (which is only of recent introduction) is properly confined to the strict meaning now given, and ought not to be used, as it sometimes is, for every *cultus* whatever of the Blessed Virgin, or for a mere excess in that *cultus* when that excess does not transgress the bounds that separate the reverence which may be lawfully paid to a creature from the proper worship of the Creator.

A consideration of what is essential to Mariolatry will shew that neither the Eastern nor the Western Church is chargeable with this sin, however chargeable both, or large portions of both, may be with an excessive cultus. Some theologians, it is to be feared, have fallen into the sin (regarding which we shall endeavour to state the principles that must guide us in judging of any case produced); and the practice of certain portions of the Church going beyond its theory, has probably resulted in an ignorant, and there-

[1] Theodoret says that he held four unbegotten substances (οὐσίας) [*Hæret. Fab. Compendium*].

fore, it is to be hoped, a pardonable, commission of the sin.

That which constitutes Latria is the faith which recognises in the object of worship the first and original source of goodness and power. St. Peter trusted implicitly to the guidance of the delivering angel, but he recognised in him God's messenger. With such recognition the love and reverence for a celestial being could not pass into Divine worship. By the absence of this recognition must be explained the angel's refusal of worship in Rev. xxii. 9 when compared with the command of the angel in Josh. v. 14, 15, and his acceptance of worship after he had announced himself as captain of the Lord's host. An examination of this principle in detail will point out when cultus passes into Divine worship in the case before us.

[1.] The Blessed Virgin was not merely a physical but also a moral[1] instrument in effecting the Incarnation. [MARY, II. 2.]

[2.] The same sense that she is God's instrument must run through our consideration of her abiding glory in being Theotokos; through any contemplation which we may allow ourselves to entertain of the acknowledgment by the glorified Redeemer of His relationship to His mother. This abiding glory is the consequence of that first act whereby she became a moral instrument of our redemption; its greatness is involved in that act; and it submits to the same limitations.

[3.] These articles of pious belief are perverted when the Blessed Virgin is spoken of as if our redemption depended upon her "fiat," words in which we are in a fallacy led from the subordinate free-will of the creature to a free-will co-ordinate with the will of God. The subordination of a finite free-will to the Divine will, so as to secure the sure effecting of God's purposes on the one hand, and man's responsibility on the other hand, is one of the things too deep for our comprehension. In the opposite case of God's purposes effected by an unholy will St. Paul stops the mouth of the objector [Rom. ix. 19, 20]. But the vessel to honour and the vessel to dishonour both alike remain in their lower sphere, and do but work the purposes of Him who ordereth all things after the counsel of His own will. And it is a fatal fallacy which elevates the action of the holy human will into co-ordination with the Supreme Divine Will.

[4.] It is also a fatal fallacy which elevates that moral instrumentality of the Blessed Virgin into an action meritorious for the redemption of mankind. Such meritoriousness belongs not to any human action whatever. Yet this meritoriousness and the co-ordination of the will of the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Will must both be assumed if the intercession of the Virgin is raised to a rank in its nature above the intercession of other saints.

Every Catholic Christian believes in the intercession of the saints, and he will add, that of no created being can the intercession be so prevalent as is that of the mother of God. It is one thing, however, to pray to the saints to intercede for us, knowing that they are still members of the Church, and quite another thing to pray to the Mediator and to the Holy Spirit to intercede for us, recognising them as Divine Intercessors. For of this latter intercession the ground is that the Son has offered Himself a sacrifice for sin, that the Holy Spirit took part in the Incarnation, Sufferings, and Resurrection of the Son; and the manner is, that the wills of Him who makes and of Him who receives the intercession are co-ordinate, and perfectly one. Now if we exalt the intercession of the Blessed Virgin above that of a creature, we parallel her merits with the merits of Christ, her will with His will, which is one with the Supreme Will.

[5.] These two errors underlie all the teaching by which some writers on the glories of Mary assign to her "a co-operation, all along, in our Lord's own proper work of our redemption." God condescends to call us fellow-workers with Himself, when He employs us as moral instruments; but if a being *co-operates in the proper work* of the Redeemer, that being must itself be an original source of goodness, and, as such, associated with the Redeemer. The worship then founded upon [3] and [4] reaches beyond the limits of a due cultus, and passes into Latria, or the worship due to God alone.

[6.] In accordance with which are the statements of certain writers, logically in agreement with the worship they advocate, that St. Mary has been assumed into the Trinity, so as to make it a Quaternity, that "Mary is the complement of the Trinity" [Pusey's *Eirenicon*, ii. 167].

Such being Mariolatry, it must be considered that although, when ignorance can be pleaded, it may be an extenuation of the sin that it sprang originally out of reverence to her who is the mother of our Lord, yet, so far as there is knowledge, it is only an intensification of the sin that it is Mary, daughter of David, who is worshipped. For if we break the first commandment by equalling with God a being whom we declare to be altogether above ourselves, it is less derogatory to His honour than when we equal with Him one who is of ourselves. And the verity of our Lord's human nature requires that she of whom He assumes the substance of His flesh should be of the flesh and blood of which all the children are partakers. In the assumption of His Flesh from the Blessed Virgin, He has assumed that which is common to all. Great as is the glory to her, the highly favoured, there is no abiding union of the Son with her that does not exist also with all the redeemed. This follows from St. Paul's words just referred to, compared with our Lord's words, "whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my mother." The same conclusion follows also from the well-known Patristic principle that Mary is the second Eve, for, as such, she is the representative of the Church. Now it is not only in the old prophets but in the Apocalypse too, that the Church appears as the mother of Christ. In the old prophets, Isa xxvi.

[1] "Gaudet prudentissima Virgo, et auditis verbis Angeli consensit" [Bonaventura, *Med. Vitæ Christi*, c. iv.].

18, 19 [*cf.* Hos. xiii. 13, 14]; Isa. lxvi. 7, 8 [*cf.* liv. 1]: in the Apocalypse, for the woman who brought forth the man child and was driven into the wilderness must, primarily at least, be the Church. The Church then is Theotokos; and a deification of the Blessed Virgin will surely be found (by the two arguments which we have only indicated) to be a deification of the Church.[1] The sin of Mariolatry then is the paying divine worship to one who confessedly herself needed redemption, who, favoured above all by being the mother of our Lord, yet obtained with Him no more abiding union than is common to the Church which she represents.

No one can endure to think that of the three principal parts of the Church of Christ, the Greek, the Latin, and the Anglican, two (each very much larger than the third) are collectively guilty of Mariolatry. If the Latin Church be guilty, the Greek Church is guilty also. For "it cannot be denied that the orthodox Greek Church does even surpass the Church of Rome in their exaltation of the Blessed Virgin in their devotions" [Williams, in Pusey's *Eirenicon*, ii. 425].

It is beyond the range of the present article to detail on this point the doctrine and practice of the Greek and Latin Churches. It must suffice to say [1] that the authoritative statement in the Trent Catechism [cap. v. quæst. 8, and cap. vi.] proves that Rome is not chargeable with Mariolatry, while the proportion and character of devotions addressed to the Virgin shew an excess of cultus both in amount and intensity; [2] that the character of the present interpolated Greek service books shews a like excess; [3] that the real danger and difficulty lies in the quasi-authoritative teachings (private yet widely accepted) of Romish theologians, such as are produced in detail in Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon;* [4] that of these teachers, those cannot be acquitted of Mariolatry who have adopted the conclusions given above [sec. 6]; [5] that of other teachers, the devotional forms which are in themselves excessive, must be interpreted in accordance with the rest of their teaching, as *e.g.* Bonaventura's *Speculum B. V.* with his *Meditationes Vitæ Christi.* These statements of the nature and essential constituents of Mariolatry may be sufficient to guide the student in the consideration of any individual case proposed to him.

MARRIAGE may be described generally as the union of man and woman for continuation of the human race, for education of children, and for domestic life, and is to be regarded as a natural, a civil, and a religious contract.

I. *Marriage as a natural contract* is coeval with the human race, being the institution of the Creator Himself, Whose own words explain its nature and obligations, "It is not good that man should be alone, I will make him an help-meet for for him. . . . And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and He took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made He a woman and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh" [Gen. ii. 18, 21-24]. And God "blessed them and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth" [Gen. i. 28]. From these words the following deductions can be drawn. [1.] That marriage is a union between two persons and two persons only, not between many. [2.] That its character is free and voluntary, being a union of spirits and hearts, as well as of persons. [3.] That it is indissoluble, so that the two contracting parties can no more separate from each other than they can from themselves. [4.] That they have a mutual right over each other's persons. [5.] That the object of marriage is to produce children and to people the earth, parents being bound to nourish, and to do all in their power to preserve their offspring. [6.] That it is on marriage thus undertaken that God originally bestowed His benediction, on which the prosperity of families and the happiness of the human race depends.

All these points have been violated by the following practices, most of which have been not only tolerated by the laws, but defended by the philosophers of antiquity: adultery, polygamy, divorce, exposure and murder of infants, revolt of children against their parents. Some people have imagined a glimmer of the original sanctity of marriage to be seen in the existence of such deities as Hymen or Hymenæus among the Greeks, and Thalassius among the Latins; but to these and other deities the most infamous functions were attributed, and unlimited licentiousness marked the celebration of their festivals.

Marriage then is natural, because its object is to perpetuate the human species. In a Christian's eye (although as interfering with a life of contemplation it cannot be "de præcepto Christiano") it is even meritorious, as enabling persons to fulfil the purpose of God, and to promote the glory of the Redeemer, by peopling heaven with saints, as well as earth with the human race. But St. Paul foretells that in the latter days some should depart from the faith, forbidding to marry [1 Tim. iv. 3], which has been fulfilled by teachers and sects arising, who have held that marriage even in its natural aspect is an abominable thing. Among them may be mentioned the followers of Simon Magus, Carpocrates, Basilides [c. A.D. 125], Saturninus [A.D. 110-134], Cerdon [c. A.D. 150], the disciples of Tatian or Encratites [c. A.D. 180], the Marcionites [c. A.D. 140-176], the Manichæans [A.D. 271], &c. And in the present day in America there is a sect in existence which holds a similar view of the natural sinfulness of marriage, their life as a religious body being perpetuated solely by recruits from the world without.[2]

[1] It belongs to the statement of the true cultus of the Virgin to give the limitations of that cultus; but we may remark, that in this assimilation or quasi-identification of the Church and the Virgin we have a good guide and safeguard of that cultus.

[2] Hepworth Dixon's *America*. *Cf.* Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, II. ix.

II. *Marriage as a civil contract* is so regarded because the laws which settle the rights of husband and wife, father and son, the laws of succession to property, and many other points directly or indirectly connected with marriage, are left to the State, with this limitation, that any regulations which violate the objects for which marriage was instituted, and which come in conflict with the revealed will of God, should be considered *ipso facto* null and void. The civil power has shown a strong tendency to extend its province beyond these limits, and to encroach upon the religious aspect of Holy Matrimony. In England by 6th and 7th William IV., purely civil alliances before a registrar have been declared legal, which must be interpreted to mean that those who marry will undergo no disabilities political or civil, that their children will not be held to be illegitimate, that they themselves will be regarded, in the eye of the law, as man and wife; but a union unaccompanied by the sanction of religion can lay no claim to legality in a higher and spiritual sense. It has sometimes been argued, in opposition to this view, that among the Jews, under the old dispensation, marriage was a civil ceremony only; yet, although there is no distinctly religious marriage ceremony to be found in the Levitical code, those are hasty who infer thence that marriage was therefore a purely civil contract. And even if it was, we should be no more justified in arguing that it ought to be so now, than we should be right in drawing an inference in favour of polygamy or divorce among Christians, from their being permitted in a transient and bygone dispensation. But what gave the Jewish marriage a quasi-religious character, was the paternal or patriarchial blessing that accompanied it. When Rebekah consented to become Isaac's wife, her father and brother blessed her, saying, "Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them" [Gen. xxiv. 60], and the angel Raphael reminds Tobit, that the blessings and miseries attendant on marriage are in the hand of God [Tob. vi. 17]. Should the civil aspect of matrimony ever come to be regarded as the chief one, and the religious sanction be entirely abolished, the dissolution of morality and domestic ties which would be liable to ensue, would be such as are thus depicted:—

"I used to shudder whenever I heard the question of marriage discussed from a philosophical point of view. What different ways of seeing things! what variety of systems! what passions are set in play! We are told that the civil legislation is to provide for it: but is not this legislation in the hands of men, whose ideas, views, and principles, are constantly changing and contradicting themselves. Look only at the accessories of marriage when left to a civil legislation. Study the variations, contradictions, and abuses, which have been introduced into various nations at different periods, you will then know what the peace of families and of society will have to rely upon if human legislators are to be the absolute masters. It is then very fortunate, that on this important point we have a divine law superior to the enactments of men. Let us be careful not to place it in jeopardy by giving it any sanction but that of religion. But there are many who argue and pretend that the law is detestable; be it so: there is an equally large number who uphold it as being full of wisdom, and who could not be brought to change. This then is the confirmation of what I stated, namely, that society is divided on this point, according to the preponderance of views in different places. This preponderance would be liable to change from the various causes which render civil legislation unstable, and this great object, which for the peace and happiness of society, requires uniformity and constancy, would be liable to perpetual disputes. Religion has then rendered the greatest service to the human race, by imposing on marriage a law, to which the contradictions of men are obliged to submit, and this is not the only advantage which they draw from a fundamental code of morals which they are not permitted to alter."[1]

III. *Marriage as a religious contract* has been so regarded from the earliest days of Christianity, being itself an institution of a spiritual as well as of a natural kind. For it is the union not only of two natural persons, but of two responsible and spiritual beings, and its purpose and effect is the production of other beings who will, similarly with themselves, have a spiritual existence and be inheritors of eternal life; for as the visible Church on earth is replenished by the baptized children of Christian parents, and as from the visible will be selected the invisible Church of the redeemed, so human marriage is instrumental in adding to the family of God. In Holy Scripture, furthermore, marriage is spoken of as typical of the union between Christ and His Church [Eph. v. 31, 32], and from the first marriage between Adam and Eve, at which God Himself officiated, to the last marriage which shall hereafter take place, the heavenly union between Christ and His redeemed, the marriage of the Lamb and His Wife, it is always alluded to as the most sacred and indissoluble of ties. The following quotations are adduced in support of the statement that from the earliest times the religious character of the matrimonial alliance has been recognised.

Ignatius, writing to Polycarp early in the second century, says, "It becomes those that marry and are given in marriage to take upon them this yoke with the consent or direction of the bishop, that their marriage may be according to the will of God and not their own lusts."[2] Tertullian [A.D. 160-220] writes, "How shall I sufficiently set forth the happiness of that marriage which the Church brings about by her procurement, and the Oblation confirms, and the angels report when done, and the Father ratifies?"[3] St. Ambrose [A.D. 374-397], says, "As marriage must be sanctified by the priest's sanction and bless-

[1] *Lettres sur l'Histoire de la Terre et de l'Homme*, tom. i. p. 48.
[2] Ignat. *Epist. ad Polycarp.* n. 5.
[3] Tertull. *ad Uxor.* ii. cap. 9.

ing, how can that be called a marriage where there is no agreement of faith?" [Ambr. *Ep.* xix.] In the 13th canon of the fourth Council of Carthage [A.D. 398], it is ordered that the bride and bridegroom be presented by their parents and friends to a priest for benediction; and to prove the existence of a similar view of marriage later on and in our own country, we can refer to the laws of King Edmund [A.D. 946] respecting espousals, among which occurs the following: "The priest shall be at the marriage, and shall celebrate the union according to custom, with God's blessing, and with solemnity." It will be seen by the foregoing references how completely at variance with the spirit of early Christianity is the modern system of marriage by civil contract alone. In England, marriages contracted before a civil registrar without any ceremony of religion whatever are sanctioned and legalized, while in the United States marriages may be solemnized by Justices of the Peace in any place and at any hour, notice of the intention and the names of the contracting parties having been previously deposited with the town-clerk, or some other civil official.

IV. *Marriage as a Sacrament.* It is not, however, only as a religious contract, but also as a sacrament, that marriage is regarded by the Church of Christ; the English Church numbering it among the five lesser Sacraments, which are necessary for the particular states of life to which they refer, though not necessary for persons in general. This view of marriage is based by the Schoolmen on the expression employed by St. Paul when writing to the Ephesians [v. 32], τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν, or as it runs in the Vulgate, "Sacramentum hoc magnum est." Thus viewed, the external part or sign, the "pars sensibilis" is the expression of mutual consent, involving as is necessary in all sacramental ordinances, a real present intention; and the inward part or gift is the grace which unites the hearts, or according to another view, the grace to resist concupiscence, sometimes entirely, judging by St. Thomas Aquinas' remark, that carnal intercourse is not a necessary part of marriage, because there was none in Paradise. The following more general considerations are also urged from Scripture in favour of the sacramental theory. The union between husband and wife is spoken of as analogous to the union between Christ and the Church. The husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the Head of the Church, therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything [Eph. v. 23, 24]. Now, if this figure has any meaning it must be this, that the external signs of alliance between bride and bridegroom signify that there should henceforth exist between them a union as holy, as close, and as indissoluble as that between Christ and the Church, a union which could not be maintained without a special gift from God. That such a gift exists is made evident by St. Paul, who says, while drawing a comparison between marriage and celibacy, "Every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that" [1 Cor. vii. 7], and what would the gift be which is alluded to in the case of married persons, but the grace which unites their hearts and enables them to be fitting emblems of Christ and the Church? Again, the presence of our Lord at the marriage in Cana of Galilee [John ii. 1-11] is sometimes referred to as having elevated that ceremony into the dignity of a sacrament. Basing, then, its doctrine on such passages of Scripture, and confirming it by corroborative extracts from early Christian writings, the Church has ever leaned to the sacramental theory of Holy Matrimony.[1]

Considerable difference of opinion has existed as to what is the essential part of matrimony as a sacrament. The most general opinion is that the essential part, as well as the efficient cause, is the consent of the two parties, which must be expressed in words as the "pars sensibilis" of the Sacrament [Thom. Aq.], and must imply a real present and not future consent. Others would make the words of the priest the essential element whereby the marriage union is created, "Ego vos in matrimonium conjungo," &c.: in the English office, "Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder;" followed by the declaration of completed union, "I pronounce that they be man and wife together, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." If the previous consent had made the two persons man and wife, these words on the priest's lips would seem to be, strictly speaking, superfluous.

From primitive times it has been the custom to acquaint the Church beforehand with an intended marriage, which is evident from the passages above quoted. The object was to prevent unlawful marriages, not that the Church claimed any absolute power to grant or refuse leave to marry, but that in case a person was about to marry a Jew, or a heathen, or a heretic, or one within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity, &c., the marriage might be prevented, or at least not obtain the sanction of the Church.

The earliest allusion to the necessity of such notice in England is contained in the 11th canon of the Synod of Westminster [A.D. 1200], which enacts that no marriage shall be contracted without banns thrice published in Church. [Johnson's *Canons*, ii. 91.] The existing law of the Church of England is expressed in the 62d canon: "No minister, upon pain of suspension, 'per triennium ipso facto,' shall celebrate matrimony between any persons, without a faculty or license granted by some of the persons in these our constitutions expressed, except the banns of matrimony have been first published three several Sundays or Holy-days in the time of Divine Service in the parish churches and chapels where the said parties dwell, according to the Book of Common Prayer." The only substitute for banns recognised by the Church is an ordinary or special license. The power of granting the former has belonged to English bishops from a very early date, being

[1] For the Roman view see *Conc. Trident.* sess. xxiv. can. 1.

confirmed to them by 25 Henry VIII. 21. The right to grant special licenses, which are free from all restrictions as to time or place, was originally a privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as "legatus natus" of the Pope, and the power to grant them was continued and confirmed to the then archbishop and his successors by the Marriage Act of 1836.

V. *Marriage ceremonies.* Among the ceremonies associated with marriage, it is necessary to distinguish between those of the espousals and those of the marriage itself. The two are united in the service as it exists in the Prayer Book, but the espousals, represented there by the opening portion of the service, and concluding with the words of consent, "I will," were originally an entirely distinct service. It was a formal religious recognition of what is now termed an engagement, and took place sometimes months, sometimes years before the marriage itself; the violation of the promise then given (inasmuch as a promise of body is more important than any promise of money) being visited by severe penalties both civil and ecclesiastical. The exceptions were if one party embraced a religious life, or actually married another, for then the second party was free. Otherwise the civil law ordered that "if a man who had espoused a woman should afterwards refuse to marry her upon any frivolous pretence, that he did not like her morals or her pedigree, or any other such trifling objection, the woman might retain whatever gifts he had made her on espousal, and recover of him whatever more he had promised her upon the same score, though it was yet actually remaining in his own possession;" and on the other hand, "If the woman who was espoused at full age," that is, "when she was over twelve years of age, refused to make good her contract, or her parents or her guardians would not permit her to do so, or if a widow who was of age to make her own espousal contract afterwards fled from it, then they were not only to forfeit all their espousal gifts, but also to be amerced quadruple for their falseness and breach of contract."[1] The penalties imposed by the ecclesiastical law were of corresponding severity. The Council of Eliberis [A.D. 305] ordered that if any parents broke the faith of espousals they should for their crime be kept back three years from the Communion, and if either the man or the woman who were espoused were guilty of the same crime, they should undergo the same punishment.[2] The Council of Trullo [A.D. 692] decided that it was adultery for a man to marry a woman who was betrothed to another during the lifetime of him who had espoused her.[3]

And as this preliminary contract was held to possess a true binding nature, the ceremonies surrounding espousals were of a varied and impressive character. They were:—

1. The verbal expression of free consent.
2. Presentation of gifts, "arræ" or "sponsalia."
3. Giving and receiving a ring.
4. A kiss.
5. Joining of hands.
6. Settling a dowry in writing.[4]

[1] *Cod. Theod.* lib. 3.
[2] *Conc. Elib.* can. 54.
[3] *Conc. Trull.* can. 98.

At an indefinite period after the formal espousal followed its ratification in the formality of the marriage service itself. The previous quotations from Ignatius of Antioch and Tertullian testify not only to its religious character in the primitive Church, but also to the nature of the chief ceremonies which attended it. They were:—

1. The sacerdotal benediction. As this cannot be pronounced by a deacon, it has been inferred that matrimony should be solemnized by the priest alone, in accordance with pre-Reformation custom, and with the implied direction of the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer. Although the point has not been finally decided in any court of law, Chief Justice Tyndal declared such to be his opinion, and that of his brother judges, in giving evidence before the House of Lords on July 7, 1843.

2. The oblation of the Holy Eucharist. This practice, which invariably accompanied marriage in the first few centuries, appears to have fallen gradually into neglect, for Charles the Great enacted a law in the West [A.D. 780] that marriage should be celebrated in no other way but by prayers and *oblations* and sacerdotal blessing,[5] and by a similar enactment [c. A.D. 900] Leo Sapiens revived the same practice for the Eastern Empire.[6] At the Reformation the old custom was still retained by the rubric which ran thus, "The new married persons the same day as their marriage must receive the Holy Communion;" but these words were omitted [A.D. 1661] to suit the prejudices of the Puritans, and the present rubric was substituted, "It is convenient that the new married persons should receive the Holy Communion at the time of their marriage, or at the first opportunity after their marriage."

Among the lesser ceremonies surrounding matrimony are found a repetition of the kiss and joining of hands which had previously taken place at the espousals; the veiling of the bride;[7] the crowning of the newly married couple with garlands, which Chrysostom explains as emblematical of their victory over all unlawful pleasure;[8] and the conduct of the bride to and from church with pomp and music, which the same author condemns as inconsistent with the modesty of a Christian maiden and the simplicity of Christian matrimony.[9]

VI. *Impediments to Marriage* are of a twofold character. Firstly, there exist certain conventional restrictions as to days and hours on which the celebration of marriage is forbidden by the ecclesiastical laws.

> "Ecclesiæ vetitum, necnon tempus feriatum
> Impediunt fieri, permittunt juncta teneri."

The restrictions as to days, though not enforced

[4] Bingham, *Antiq.* bk. xxii. c. 3.
[5] Carol. *Capitular.* bk. vii. c. 363.
[6] Leo, *Novel.* 89.
[7] Amb. *Ep* 70.
[8] Chrys. *Hom.* ix. *in* 1 *Tim.* p. 1567.
[9] Chrys. *Hom. in* 1 *Cor.*

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by any post-Reformation canon, are of early date. The most ancient is found in the fifty-seventh canon of the Council of Laodicæa [A.D. 365], which forbids the celebration of marriage during Lent. A doubtful canon of the Council of Lerida [A.D. 524] is quoted,[1] forbidding their solemnization not only in Lent but also from the beginning of Advent to Epiphany, and during the three weeks preceding the Festival of St. John the Baptist. The Council of Selingstadt enacted by its third canon [A.D. 1022] that no marriage should take place from Advent to the sixth day after Epiphany, nor between Septuagesima and the Octave of Easter, nor in the fourteen days before the Festival of St. John the Baptist, nor upon fast days, nor upon the vigils of solemn feasts. The nineteenth Canon of the Council of Ravenna [A.D. 1311] is to the same effect. And so also is the existing forty-ninth Canon of the Church of Ireland [A.D. 1632]. The Sarum missal, which, among the variations found among the mediæval councils on this subject, should guide the practice of the English Church, mentions the following as the prohibited seasons: from Advent Sunday until the Octave of Epiphany; from Septuagesima until the Octave of Easter; from Rogation Sunday until six days after Pentecost.[2] An entry to this effect has been found in several almanacs of the last century, and in some post-Reformation registers. The custom is also mentioned in a charge of Archbishop Sharpe, delivered A.D. 1750.[3]

Restrictions exist, however, not only as to the season in which, but also as to the hours of the day within which the marriage-service may be legally solemnized. The following is the law of the Church of England on the subject, contained in the sixty-second canon.

". . . Neither shall any minister upon the like pain (three years' suspension) join any persons so licensed in marriage at any unseasonable times, but only between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon. . . ." The origin of the limitation is obscure; it was probably either [1] the desire to ensure publicity, or [2] the invariable association with matrimony of the Holy Eucharist, which might only be received fasting.

Secondly, there is a class of impediments not of a temporary, but of a permanent character, held by the Church to interfere with the essential validity of matrimony. Several of them, however, are now obsolete, others are doubtful, others retain the ecclesiastical but lack the civil sanction.

[1] *E.g.*, by Peter Lombard, *Sent.* lib. iv. dist. 32; by Gratian, *Caus.* xxxiii. quæst. iv. c. 10.

[2] "Et sciendum est quod licet omni tempore possint contrahi sponsalia, et etiam matrimonium quod fit privatim solo consensu: tamen traditio uxorum et nuptiarum solemnitas certis temporibus fieri prohibentur; videlicet, ab Adventu Domini usque ad Octavam Epiphaniæ; et a Septuagesimâ usque ad Octavam Paschæ, et a Dominica ante Ascensionem Domini usque ad Octavam Pentecostes. In octava die tamen Epiphaniæ licite possunt nuptiæ celebrari quia non invenitur prohibitum, quamvis in Octavis Paschæ hoc facere non liceat. Similiter in Dominica proxima post festum Pentecostes licite celebrantur nuptiæ, quia dies Pentecostes octavam diem non habet." See also the Sarum Missal.

[3] Blunt's *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 262.

They are summed up by St. Thomas Aquinas in the following lines:—

"Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen
Cultus disparitas, vis, ordo, ligamen, honestas
Si sis affinis, si forte coire nequibis,
Hæc socianda vetant connubia, facta retractant."

The last two lines also run thus—

"Amens, affinis, si clandestinus, et impos,
Si mulier sit rapta, loco nec reddita tuto."

Error. This is threefold; as to the person, fortune, or quality of one of the parties to the marriage, but only the first would render the contract null and void; as involving the absence of consent.

Conditio, e.g. nonage; it being not lawful for minors to marry without the consent of their parents or guardians. Slavery: the Theodosian code forbade freemen to marry slaves.[4] There is a canon of St. Basil prohibiting slaves from marrying without the consent of their masters.[5] Several other points may be quoted from the old Roman law, such as the regulation by which a widow was forbidden to marry within twelve months after her husband's death, and a guardian to marry his ward during her minority.[6]

Votum. A solemn vow of celibacy or chastity.

Cognatio. Consanguinity; not only certain blood-relationships, but also spiritual affinities falling under this head.

Crimen. Adultery,[7] pandary, and homicide, where one of the accomplices has taken the life of the husband or wife to whom he or she was united in order to marry again.

Cultus disparitas. Marriage between a Christian and an infidel or heathen, was unanimously denounced by the early Fathers,[8] who based their view mainly on two texts from St. Paul's Epistles [1 Cor. vii. 39], "only in the Lord," and [2 Cor. vi. 14] "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers." Marriages between Catholics and heretics are forbidden by several canons of the Roman Church as a breach of ecclesiastical discipline rather than as null and void.

Vis. Marriage contracted under the pressure of fear or violence, the consent of both parties being in that case at the most verbally not really obtained.

Ordo. The compulsory celibacy of the priesthood in the Roman Church is thus laid down by the Council of Trent: "Si quis dixerit clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos, vel regulares castitatem solemniter professos posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege ecclesiastica vel voto, anathema sit."[9]

[4] *Cod. Theod.* lib. iii. tit. 7, *de Nup.* leg. 1.

[5] Basil, can. xxxviii.

[6] *Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. 6.

[7] The Council of Tribur [A.D. 895] in its fortieth canon decides thus: but St. Augustine [*De Nup. et Concup.* lib. i. cap. 10] lays down the contrary.

[8] Cyprian, *Testimon. ad Quirin.* lib. iii. cap. 62. Hieron. *Ep.* xi. *ad Gerontiam*, in which these words occur, "Quod Paulus addit 'tantum in Domino,' amputat ethnicorum conjugia."

[9] *Conc. Triden.* sess. xxiv. can. 9.

Ligamen. A previous marriage. This is equivalent to a prohibition of polygamy.

Honestas. Previous espousals, or a previous marriage which has not been consummated.

Amens. Because an insane person is incapable of giving consent.

Clandestinus. Without the knowledge and sanction of the Church, which the first Christians were constantly exhorted to obtain.[1] The Council of Trent has the following enactment on the subject: "Qui aliter quam præsente parocho, vel alio sacerdote de ipsius licentia, et duobus vel tribus testibus, matrimonium contrahere attentabunt, eos sancta synodus ad sic contrahendum omnino reddit inhabiles, et hujusmodi contractus irritos et nullos esse discernit, prout eos præsenti decreto irritos facit."[2]

Impos. Because the procreation of children, one of the main objects of marriage, is defeated.

Rapta. It has been held that under certain circumstances a man could not marry a woman whom he has taken or enticed clandestinely from her home.

The number and variety of these impediments prove how high a dignity the Church has ascribed to marriage, and with what care she has from time to time fenced it round with every possible safeguard. [Divorce. Degrees, Forbidden.]

MARTYROLOGY. The name of the book containing the acts and passions of martyrs, as read during Divine Service, from a very early age of the Church. The historian Sozomen speaks of them in such a manner as to shew that each diocese had a martyrology of its own, particularly remarking that Gaza and Constantia in Palestine, each had ἰδίαι πανηγύρεις μαρτύρων although so close to each other [Sozom. *Eccl. Hist.* v. 3]. The martyrology was, in fact, an expanded form of the Diptych, but it kept more closely, perhaps, to the record of local martyrs in the first ages.

The acts and passions of the martyrs thus recorded were read in the churches to which they had belonged on their respective "natalitia" or anniversary days, the forty-seventh canon of the third Council of Carthage [A.D. 397] distinctly sanctioning the practice in the words, "Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur," after setting forth the canonical books of Holy Scripture. The practice is also often referred to by St. Augustine and others of the Fathers.

The earliest general martyrology is attributed to Eusebius, but this is not extant, though it was re-written by St. Jerome. One was written by the Venerable Bede, about A.D. 730, others by Florus of Lyons [A.D. 830], Waldenbertus, a monk of Treves [A.D. 844], Rabanus Maurus [A.D. 845], Ado, Archbishop of Vienne [A.D. 858], and Notker of St. Gall [A.D. 894]. But the great martyrology of the Western Church is that of Usuard, a French monk [A.D. 875], which was written at the command of Charles the Bald. This was compiled from the previous works of Florus, Bede, and St. Jerome, and is still the standard Roman martyrology. It was first printed in A.D. 1486, but has often since been reprinted, and is annexed to the great Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists.

An English martyrology was much in use before the Reformation, under the name of the Golden Legend. It was among the earliest of printed books in the fifteenth century, and was used for "Saints' days" homilies, in addition to the lives of the Saints read in the Breviary offices.

The "Menologion" of the Eastern Church answers to the Martyrology of the Western, but the "Menaion" is a book of a different character, containing the offices for Saints' days as well as the Acts of the Saints. The foundation of all the Greek menologia is that compiled in A.D. 886, by direction of the Emperor Basil. [Cave, *Histor. Lit.* ii. *Dissert.* ii.; Leo Allat. *De lib. Eccl. Græcor.*]

MARTYRS. A name given in early ages to those who suffered in the cause of Christianity, and by dying in its defence afforded the strongest testimony in proof of their belief in Jesus Christ and the truth of His religion. The suffering of martyrs was an especial cause of the propagation of Christianity,[3] so that it was a proverbial saying in the early Church, that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church.[4] Great honour was paid to them, for by their sufferings they were most intimately conformed to the example of their Lord. He suffered for them, and they shared His Passion by suffering for His name; and overcame by His indwelling presence and support the power of the enemy. The highest rewards in the heavenly kingdom, the Church believed, were bestowed upon martyrs.[5] They did not, when earthly trials and sufferings were past, join the other faithful in the Intermediate State, but were immediately admitted to Heaven.[6] The prayers of the Church were not offered for them as for others, but the welfare of the Church was commended to their intercessions.[7] Churches, or rather oratories or memorials, were built, in which their relics were deposited, and St. Augustine[8]

[1] Ignat. *Epis. ad Polycarp.* n. 5.

[2] *Conc. Trident.* sess. xxiv. cap. 1.

[3] Tertull. *Apol.* c. xii.

[4] "Semen est sanguis Christianorum" [Tertull. *Apol.* c. 49]. "Sparsus est sanguis justus, et illo sanguine tanquam seminatione per totum mundum facta, seges surrexit ecclesiæ" [S. August. *Enarr. in Psalm* xxxix. sec. 1].

[5] "Primus cum centeno Martyrum fructus est" [St. Cyprian, *De Habitu Ver.*].

[6] "Tota Paradisi clavus tuus sanguis est" [Tertull. *De Anima*, c. 55]. "Quanta est dignitas et quanta securitas exire hinc lætum, exire inter pressuras et angustias gloriosum? claudire in momento oculos, quibus homines videbantur et mundus, et aperire eosdem statim ut Deus videatur et Christus. Tam feliciter migrandi quanta velocitas! Terris repente subtraheris et in regnis cœlestibus reponaris" [St. Cyprian, *De Exhortatione Martyr.*].

[7] "Martyrum perfecta justitia est, quoniam in ipsa passione perfecti sunt. Ideo pro illis in ecclesia non oratur. Pro aliis defunctis fidelibus oratur, pro illis non oratur. tam enim perfecti exierunt ut non sint suscepti nostri sed advocati" [S. August. *Sermo* 286, sec. 5].

[8] *De Civitate*, lib. 22, c. 8. *Sermo* 286, *De Natali Martyrum Gervasii et Protasii.* St. Chrysostom mentions pilgrimages to the martyrs' shrines [*On the Statues*, p. 23,

and other Fathers relate many wonderful miracles wrought by them.

Faustus the Manichæan accused the Church of worshipping martyrs just as Pagans worshipped their gods. St. Augustine, disclaiming the practice, denies that martyrs were ever honoured with λατρεία, or the worship which is due to God only; they were honoured, he says, as holy men upon earth, but God only was worshipped with sacrifice. Pagans, he says, were idolaters by offering sacrifice to false gods, and such also would be Christians did they offer sacrifice to any but the true God. Martyrs were named when the Eucharistic sacrifice was offered, but it was not offered to them, but to God.[1] Also, for the same reason, Christians did not build temples or churches to the martyrs, but memorials [memoriæ], sacrifice not being offered to them, but only to God.[2] In another work he gives reasons why miracles were especially wrought at the memoriæ of the martyrs.[3]

Vigilantius reviled as idolatrous the honour paid to martyrs by burning lights in their "Memorials," and reverencing their relics, *pulvis vilissimus* as he calls them. St. Jerome, in replying to the charge, not only says that such usages have the sanction of the whole Church, but appeals, in their defence, to the undoubted fact, that miracles had been wrought by their relics or intercessions.[4] That the honour paid to martyrs in some cases exceeded rightful limits, cannot be questioned, and the Fathers, as St. Augustine, speak of the excess and riot with which their "birthdays" [natalitia] were sometimes celebrated—the martyrs, he says, are not honoured by your riotous feasting, "they hate your flagons and frying-pans."[5] Allowing that much excess and superstition prevailed, we feel no sympathy whatever with the uncatholic theories or rather calumnies of Vigilantius or Faustus the Manichæan. God was undoubtedly pleased, unless we reject all primitive testimony, to work many wonderful miracles in honour of the martyrs, and also that the faithful might be stimulated to imitate their virtues. The martyrs, it must be remembered, hold an especial place or position in the Primitive Church, which in latter ages we can only faintly and imperfectly understand or realize: nor ought we to feel surprise at the miracles which the Fathers generally relate, or at the enthusiasm with which the martyrs were honoured. Let us look at the service rendered by martyrs in proof of Christianity, trying to put ourselves in the position of those who not only witnessed but participated in the terrible conflict which was then waged between God and the powers of darkness. The martyrs were in the forefront of the battle; had they given way amidst their terrible sufferings, the cause of Christianity, humanly speaking, might have been finally lost. Had martyrs apostatized under torture, the heathen generally would have despised the new religion; but when they beheld the most cruel torments patiently endured—torments which apparently could only have been borne by supernatural or superhuman strength, then they confessed they saw before them as it were the divinity of the Christian faith. Thus to the constancy of martyrs we owe the early propagation of Christianity, and, perhaps, its present existence in the world. Only by bearing these facts, now so inadequately realized, in mind, can we duly estimate the honour paid to martyrs, and the enthusiastic love of their fellow-believers in the early Church.

Martyrdom, according to the primary import of the word, was the suffering and death of Christians in heathen persecutions in defence of the truth of the Gospel. But when heathen persecution ceased, and Christians, divided into rival communities, persecuted and put to death each other, then the word assumed a new meaning. The martyr no longer suffered in defence of Christianity in its conflict with heathenism, but in defence, perhaps, of his own peculiar opinions or errors. Thus in the Primitive Church the Donatists were put to death by the civil power, and their fellow schismatics claimed for them the name and privileges of martyrs. St. Augustine denies that the claim was a rightful one, and lays down the important truth that the cause for which the martyr suffers, and not the mere penalty of death, constitutes the only claim to the title.[6] Neither the schismatic nor the heretic

Oxf. trans.], and speaks of the demoniacs, poor, maimed, aged, blind, and those whose limbs were distorted, coming there for relief or healing [*Hom.* xi. *on* 1 *Thess.* Oxf. trans.]. St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his fourth oration against Julian, says, that in the oratories of the martyrs, and by their relics and intercession, demons were expelled, diseases cured, and future events predicted [tom. i. p. 590, Migne]. St. Basil in his oration on the forty martyrs, speaks of their relics as a tower of strength, and of the miracles wrought by their intercession [tom. ii. p. 217, Gaume]. And St. Gregory Nyssen, in his oration on the forty martyrs, calls them θεοῦ δορυφόροι καὶ πάρεδροι [tom. iii. 786, Migne].

[1] "Populus autem Christianus, Memorias martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebrat et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum societur, atque orationibus adjuvetur, ita tamen ut nulli martyrum, quamvis in Memoriis martyrum constituamus altaria. Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum assistens altari, aliquando dixit offerimus tibi Petre et Pauli et Cypriane; sed quod offertur, offertur Deo qui martyres coronavit apud Memorias eorum quos coronavit . . . . Colimus autem martyres eo cultu dilectionis, quo et in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei quorum cor ad talem pro evangelica passione veritatem paratum esse sentimus" [*Cont. Faustem*, lib. xx. c. 21.]

[2] *De Civitate*, lib. xxii. c. 10.

[3] *De Cura pro Mortuis*, c. xvi.

[4] *Cont. Vigilantium*, sec. 7, 8.

[5] Tom. v. c. 1251.

[6] St. Augustine, speaking of Donatist martyrs, says, "Videte ergo fratres; sic celebrate passiones martyrum ut cogitatis imitari martyres. Illi ut fructuosam haberent pœnam eligerunt causam. Attenderunt enim Dominum dicentem, non *Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur;* sed Beati *qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam* [Matt. v. 10]. Elige causam et non cura pœnam. Si autem non eligis causam, et hic et in futuro invenies pœnam. Non te commoveant supplicia et pœnæ malefacientium sacrilegorum, hostium pacis et inimicorum veritatis. Non enim illi pro veritate moriuntur, sed ideo moriuntur ne veritas annuncietur, ne veritas prædicetur, ne veritas teneatur, ne charitas diligatur, ne æternitas teneatur. O causa pessima! ideo pœna infructuosa. Non attendis qui te de pœna jactas, tres cruces fuisse quando Dominus passus est? Inter duos latrones passus est Dominus: pœna non decernebat sed causa decernebat. Ideo mar-

can be a true martyr. The death of a schismatic, separated like the Donatist from the communion of the Church, is merely "desperationis exitus;" and as St. Cyprian had said,[1] such *martyrs* can only hope to receive the penalty of the traitor and not the reward of glory.

During the Middle Ages many of the sect of the Albigenses, who were Manichæans,[2] and at the period of the Reformation, Anabaptists and others, endured in defence of their errors the sufferings of death with courage and constancy; hence their followers claimed for them the title of martyrs, and supposed that the truth of their opinions had been divinely sanctioned. But, according to primitive teaching, the title of martyrs did not belong to such sufferers at all: neither should we be deceived by the almost superhuman endurance sometimes exhibited; mere enthusiasm, obstinacy, or desperation, often furnishing terrible courage and support. We can hardly doubt that at the present day many Mahometans and Hindoos would endure in defence of their creed the torments of death with what would be ordinarily deemed supernatural endurance. Besides, it would be monstrous to suppose that God would afford supernatural strength to endure suffering, (thus *apparently* sanctioning their opinion) to martyrs whose beliefs are essentially opposed to each other; and still less to others, as the Manichæans, whose teaching is fundamentally opposed to the Christian Revelation. Let it not be thought that such reasoning is inconsistent, because it admits the courage and constancy of the martyrs in heathen persecutions as a proof of the truth of Christianity, and yet refuses to receive the same evidence in attestation of the truth of the Manichæan or Anabaptist creeds. Christianity did not exclusively owe its propagation in early ages to the constancy and endurance of martyrs, but to martyrdom endured in defence of the holy and heavenly doctrines of the Gospel, and attested by the pure and holy lives of the sufferers themselves. Martyrdom proved and confirmed the reality of the heavenly life which Christians lived upon earth. Their chastity, meekness, patience, love of their persecutors, and enemies, was a greater miracle in contrast with the prevailing wickedness of heathenism, than even the supernatural courage by which their faith was attested.

Should any be disposed to assign greater weight or importance to the constancy of modern martyrs than the firm persuasion which it exhibits of *their own* belief of their opinions, let them read the history of later deaths for religious opinion. They will find that Catholic and Protestant have died with equal constancy in defence of their creed. Calvinists, Anabaptists, and many other sectarians can shew the same testimony in confirmation of their opinions. Such testimony, in favour of such diverse and contradictory beliefs, is not to be regarded in the same light as the "witness" of martyrdom.

MARY. The relation of the Blessed Virgin Mary to the Saviour of the world, God and Man, gives to her a conspicuous position in theology; and her name has been the rallying point of controversies which have involved some of the essential truths of Christianity as well as its devotional life. In the present article it will be the object to shew, in as condensed a manner as possible, what this relation is in itself, and what are the consequences which follow from it: the personal history of the Blessed Virgin being first reviewed as it comes to us in actual historical record, and in probable historical tradition.

I. Personal History of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This begins in Holy Scripture with the abrupt announcement of her name, her espousal to Joseph, and her place of abode at the time of the Incarnation. "The angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a Virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the Virgin's name was Mary"[3] [Luke i. 26, 27]. The common tradition of the Church is that she was the only child of parents named Joachim and Anna, names which are known in the Old Testament form as Jehoiachim[4] and Hannah. This tradition is first found in the apocryphal Gospel of St. James, the "Protevangelium," which was probably written (according to Tischendorf) in the middle of the second century. Their names are also given by Epiphanius [*Hær.* lxxviii.], who wrote in the latter half of the fourth century [A.D. 374], and by St. John Damascene [*De Orthod. fid.* xv.]. Early paintings of St. Anna, with her name attached, occur in the Catacombs, and a church was dedicated to her as the mother of the Blessed Virgin, by the Emperor Justinian [A.D. 550]. That Mary was of the lineage of David is shewn by the words of the angel Gabriel in announcing to her the Conception of her Holy Child, "The Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David" [Luke i. 32].

There was also an injunction of Moses to the effect that every daughter of Israel possessing any inheritance [*cf.* Luke i. 56; ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς] in any tribe of Israel, should "be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father" [Numb. xxxvi. 8]; and although this may not have been universally observed, it is not unlikely that the genealogy of Joseph is given with reference to its observance in the case of the

tyrum vox est in illo Psalmo, *Judica me Deus.* Non timet judicium: non enim habet quod in illo ignis absumat; ubi totum aurum est flamma quid formidatur?" [*Sermo.* 325, *in Natali Viginti Martyrum*, sec. 2.]

[1] *Epist. ad Cornel.* lx. sec. 3. *De Unitate*, sec. 14.

[2] Milman, speaking of Manichæans put to death at Cologne in the twelfth century, says, "The calmness of the heretics in the fire, amazed, almost appalled their judges" [*Latin Christianity*, vol. v. p. 403, 1867].

[3] The Blessed Virgin's name is almost invariably spelt in the Hebrew form Μαριάμ in MSS. of the Gospels, the names of the other "Maries" being always spelt Μαρία, without the final letter. This seems to identify it with the name "Miriam," which is Μαριάμ in the LXX.

[4] The evident association between the names Jehoiachim, Jachim [Matt. i. 11, *marg.*], Eliachim [*cf.* 2 Kings xxiii. 34], and Heli [Luke iii. 23], has led many to infer that St. Luke gives the genealogy of the Blessed Virgin, and not of her husband Joseph. She is also spoken of as the daughter of Heli in the Talmud.

Virgin Mary. That she also had an association with the tribe of Levi is shewn by the fact that she was cousin to Elizabeth, "who was of the daughters of Aaron" [Luke i. 5]. Perhaps such an association was ordained that our Lord should be connected, at least, with the sacerdotal tribe, as well as belonging to the royal tribe of Judah.[1] [Aug. *de Consens. Evang.* ii. 2, 3, 4.]

The "Protevangelium" above referred to, the apocryphal Gospel of St. Matthew (or that of "the Infancy of Mary and Jesus"), and that of the "Nativity of Mary," contain a detailed story of the Blessed Virgin's early life. As it is told in the "Nativity of Mary," it has been incorporated into the "Golden Legend," and so far the additions to the Scriptural history are probably authentic tradition. The leading facts thus handed down are that "the blessed and glorious Mary ever Virgin" was of the family of David, her father Joachim's family belonging to Nazareth, and that of her mother Anna to Bethlehem. Mary was born at Nazareth (after her parents had lived twenty years without children), and as they had vowed to dedicate any offspring God should give them to His service, Mary was brought up in the Temple (after the example of Samuel) from three years of age. When she had completed the marriageable age of fourteen years, at which time, according to custom, she should have returned home for espousal and marriage, the high priest was warned in a vision to choose a husband for Mary according to a certain sign which was given, and Joseph, an aged man of the house and family of David, was the husband thus chosen from among many. Mary being then espoused to Joseph returned to Nazareth, while Joseph went home to Bethlehem to set his house in order for the marriage. The subsequent events associated with the marriage are narrated as they are given in Holy Scripture. [Cowper's *Apocr. Gosp.*, pp. 84-98.]

It was at Nazareth, some time between the espousal and the marriage, that Mary was visited by the angel Gabriel with the annunciation that she should become the virgin mother of the Son of God: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God . . . for with God nothing is impossible" [Luke i. 35, 37]. At the same time that the angel made this wonderful announcement, he also declared to her that her aged cousin Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias the priest, had been six months with child, and this evident miracle was at once so associated with that which was taking place in herself, that Mary "went into the hill country with haste into a city of Juda" to visit her cousin. The unborn offspring of Elizabeth at once gave token of his future mission as the herald of the unborn Christ; the Holy Ghost inspired Elizabeth to welcome Mary with the same joy as the Mother of the Lord; and the same Holy Ghost inspired Mary also to make a complete submission of her mind by the hymn "Magnificat," as she had previously made the complete submission of her will by the words, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it unto me according to Thy word" [Luke i. 38-55].

Mary abode with her cousin for about three months, returning "to her home" shortly before the birth of St. John the Baptist. It was probably about this time that her marriage with Joseph took place, as it is evident that the miraculous nature of her conception was not known beyond a narrow circle, and that she had been long enough the wife of Joseph for those who were ignorant of it to suppose that Jesus was born of their marriage. [Incarnation, sec. ii.]

After the birth of our Lord, there is little in Holy Scripture (or, indeed, in any traditions that are worthy of attention) that individualizes the Blessed Virgin, the narrative of her life being absorbed into that of her Divine Son. The very condensed record of the Annunciation gives us, indeed, a vivid impression of her holiness, devotion, humility, and faith: a holiness and devotion in act and will which made her a fitting tabernacle for the Incarnate God to abide in during the nine months that His Human Nature was passing through its earliest stage of existence; a humility which excluded all unworthy elation at the unparalleled dignity to which she was exalted; a faith which could believe in the possibility with God of what seemed so utterly impossible, according to human experience. It is consistent with these slight but significant indications of her great saintliness, that although she understood not her Holy Child's words, "Wist ye not that I must be about My Father's business," yet she "kept all these sayings"—this and others not recorded—"in her heart" [Luke ii. 49, 51], even as she had "cast in her mind" the annunciation made by Gabriel, and had "kept all" the "things" that were told by the shepherds, and "pondered them in her heart." Who can estimate the holiness produced in such a mother from hanging upon the words of such a Son!

During the ministry of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin is only three times mentioned. At the opening of that ministry, He seems to have revealed to her that His subjection to human parentage was at an end. Her faith told her that it was possible for Him to work a miracle, and she seems to have implied a request that He would do so, when she said to him at the marriage feast, "They have no wine." Our Lord's reply, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come," appears to disclaim from henceforth all influence of human authority over the action of His Divine Nature.[2] And, as if to make immediate amends for her unconscious error, she gave that direction to the servants which sounds like a typical lesson of obedience to His will,

[1] It is, however, to be remembered that Aaron and Eleazar, who were both of the tribe of Levi, took wives out of the tribe of Judah [Exod. vi. 23, 25], and that there may have been exceptions as to the rule in the case of others: so that it is possible Elizabeth may have been of the tribe of Judah, though called "of the daughters of Aaron," on account of her marriage to Zacharias.

[2] Irenæus supposes that the Blessed Virgin prematurely desired "participare compendii poculo," to receive the Cup of the Holy Eucharist. [Iren. *Adv. Hær.* iii. 7.]

"Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it" [John ii. 3-5].

A second time the veil is half drawn aside from the hidden life of the Blessed Virgin, when a message was brought to Christ in the midst of a large assemblage that she and His "brethren" stood without desiring to speak to Him [Matt. xii. 47]: when He calls, not hers, but their thoughts upward from earthly relationship to that of the Communion of Saints, stretching forth His hand toward His disciples and saying, "Behold My mother and My brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of My Father which is in Heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."

The next and last occasion on which the Blessed Virgin is mentioned in the Gospel, is when she stood by the Cross of Jesus [John xix. 25]. At that time the prophecy of Simeon, "Yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own heart also," seems to have been fulfilled as the "Mater Dolorosa" gazed on her Son, "stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted." Yet there may have been a more piercing sorrow conveyed in the loving words that, with all their love, conveyed a sense of renunciation to her, "Woman, behold thy son;" and to St. John, "Behold thy mother;" a second and final, "Wist ye not that I must be about My Father's business." Henceforth Scripture tells us nothing respecting the Blessed Virgin, except that she continued with the Apostles at Jerusalem during the interval between the Ascension and Pentecost [Acts i. 14]. The traditions of the Church also leave us almost entirely uninformed as to her subsequent life, Epiphanius representing that she lived and died at Jerusalem, ever in the loving care of the beloved disciple [Epiphan. *Hær.* lxxviii.]; and an epistle of the Council of Ephesus expressing a belief that she had died in that city, whither she and St. John had been driven by the siege of Jerusalem [Labbe. *Concil.* iii. 574.] Beyond such uncertain memories of the Blessed Virgin, we have no clear view of her from the time when Holy Scripture ceases to name her. Her part in the work of the Incarnation had been long ended; and, faith being satisfied, curiosity has no entrance into the cloud which veils her from our sight. [Perpetual Virginity. Assumption.]

II. The Blessed Virgin's position in the Economy of the Incarnation. We come now to consider what are the theological conclusions to be drawn from the history of our Lord's mother.

1. There is one fact which underlies and pervades the whole of this subject, and that is the fact of the unparalleled personal relationship which God was pleased to establish between the blessed Virgin and Himself. The daughter of humble parents, herself a simple village maiden, who was thought a fitting match for a working carpenter, she became the mother of the Saviour of men, the mother of Him who, in the first moment of His Incarnation in her womb, combined the Divine Nature with the Human Nature in His Person. [Theotokos.] Never were words more full of meaning than those of the angel, "Hail! thou that art highly favoured," for no grace or favour that God ever has bestowed on any human creature could approach to this. He blessed the patriarch Abraham with a very peculiar and high privilege when He made him the direct progenitor of the Messiah, and said to him, "In thy seed shall all the earth be blessed." The long line of Old Testament saints and servants of God, from Moses to John the Baptist, were highly favoured in being made instruments of His will, and in being appointed to herald His Advent. But there was a vast difference between the favour of being thus brought near to God as a prophet, or a distant progenitor of Christ, or a saint, and that of being brought into such nearness as is implied by maternal union. The full reality of such an union between the Second Person of the Eternal Trinity and a merely human person is so astonishing that the mind cannot fully take in either the surpassing condescension of the Son on the one hand, or the surpassing honour of the mother on the other hand. As the greatness of Divine condescension could reach no further than the Incarnation, so the greatness of human exaltation could reach no further, in the person of one only human, than to be made the instrument and vehicle of that Incarnation. This personal union between the holy mother and the Divine Child has, therefore, elevated the former to a relation with God, which sets her apart from saints who have become saints by the ordinary action of His grace; and as *apart* from them, so *above* them, for no human person having been ever so honoured by God as the Blessed Virgin Mary, none can ever be so worthy of estimation and honour with God's servants. It is no exaggeration to say, that by becoming the physical instrument of the Incarnation of God, the Blessed Virgin became the nearest of all created beings to the Divine Person; nearer than saints who glorify Him by their lives, nearer than martyrs who glorify Him by their deaths, nearer than angels who minister the dictates of His will.

2. It is to be remembered also that the Blessed Virgin was not only the physical but the moral instrument of the Incarnation. She was not the mere creature of fate, destined without any will of her own to be the mother of our Redeemer. That she had a free will like all other human beings is a consequence which follows from the fact that she was human, but it is also suggested (to say the least) by the narrative of her interview with the holy angel. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that she had the power to set her will in opposition to the will of God, as all other human beings have, and that she might have desired not to become the mother of Jesus. It is impossible to say how much or how little it cost her to say, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it unto me according to Thy word" [Luke i. 38]. There is no trace of her passing through any great temptation, such as that by which her Divine Son was tempted to give up the work of redemption. Yet there cannot be a doubt that the Annunciation was a trial of her

faith and a trial of her obedience in no slight degree. Her faith was tried by the prediction of a supernatural event far more astounding and incredible than that before which the faith of Sarah [Gen. xviii. 12-15] and of Zacharias [Luke i. 20] broke down, yet it survived the trial; and it was with reference to this that the Holy Ghost inspired Elizabeth to say, "Blessed is she that believed: for there shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord" [Luke i. 45]. Her obedience also was tried by a consideration such as must have arisen in her mind, as in the mind of any holy maiden, that what was predicted would certainly, when it came to pass, bring upon her a terrible shame and reproach from her affianced husband and from all around her; for it was not revealed to her that God had provided her marriage to Joseph as the means by which this shame was to be avoided. In this trial also she gained the victory, and the perfect submission of her will is indicated by the terse words, "Be it unto me according to Thy word." Thus she gave herself up entirely to God, believing that what would be impossible in the course of nature would be possible with Him by His supernatural power to overrule the course of nature, and voluntarily submitting to be placed in a position with reference to all around her which must seem one of degradation, shame, and sorrow.

It cannot for a moment be supposed that if the Blessed Virgin had failed to overcome in this trial of her faith and obedience, then the Incarnation would not have taken place, any more than one can dare to think that there could possibly have been a failure in the course of redemption through the temptation of our Lord. Yet, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the submission of her faith and will was morally instrumental in making her fit to become the vehicle from which our Lord took His manhood, and that she herself thus became a moral as well as a physical instrument in the Incarnation. Hence the ancient doctrine of the Church, represented by the words of Irenæus, written about a hundred years after her death: "As Eve was led astray by the word of an angel, so that she fled from God when she had transgressed His word; so did the Virgin Mary, by an angelic communication receive the glad tidings that she should bear God (ut portaret Deum), being obedient to His word. And if the former disobeyed God, yet was the latter persuaded to be obedient to God, in order that the Virgin Mary might become the 'advocata' of the virgin Eve.[1] And thus, as the human race fell into bondage to death by means of a virgin, so is it rescued by a virgin, virginal disobedience having been balanced in the opposite scale by virginal obedience. For in the same way the sin of the first created man receives amendment by the correction of the First-Begotten, and the cunning of the serpent is conquered by the harmlessness of the dove, those bonds being unloosed by which we had been fast bound in death" [Iren. *Adv. Hæres.* v. 19].

3. The question now arises, Whether the extraordinary sanctity of the Blessed Virgin, or her peculiar relationship to God as the moral and physical instrument of the Incarnation, have established her in any special relation towards mankind beyond that of a Saint whose memory is to be had in the very highest honour that may be given to a human person.

Holy Scripture gives us no definite guidance on this subject. The Blessed Virgin is hardly mentioned in the Gospel, as has been already shewn, after the childhood of our Lord had ended; and when she is mentioned at all, it is in such a subdued manner as might be expected in a narrative where the One Divine figure admits of no rival. In the Epistles there is no trace whatever of any reference to her beyond such as is to be found in the words, "God sent forth His Son, made of a woman" [Gal. iv. 4]. In the Apocalypse there is the vision of the great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" [Rev. xii. 1]. In the later ages of the Church this wondrous appearance has been often taken for granted as that of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and she is represented under this form in pictures which are intended to set forth the idea of her present position. It is difficult altogether to put aside the belief that there is some association between this vision and the person of the Mother of God, yet the ideas conveyed by the words, "she being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered," are very inconsistent with the Catholic opinion respecting the parturition of the Blessed Virgin. So also the idea of her having fled into the wilderness "where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days, . . . where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent," is equally inconsistent with any opinion that there has ever been in the Church as to the condition of the Blessed Virgin after her death. All the Fathers, indeed, interpret this vision primarily of the Church, and some few who assign it partly to the mother of our Lord, do so only with reserve and in a highly mystical sense. Notwithstanding, therefore, the popular pictorial interpretation of "the woman clothed with the sun, having the moon under her feet, and the twelve stars around her head," it is impossible to take this vision as any evidence whatever respecting the present condition of the Blessed Virgin, or her relation to Divine and to human persons.

Among the earliest Christian writers there is little said about the mother of God, until towards the time when the Nestorian controversy was to bring out more clearly the doctrine of the Theotokos. Yet among the writings of Methodius, who was martyred while Bishop of Tyre [A.D. 312], there is a sermon on the Hypapante (or the Festival of the meeting of Simeon and Anna, known in the West as the Purification), in which he gives to her some of those titles of honour which have become so familiar to later ages. "Blessed art thou, all-blessed, and to be desired of all. Blessed

[1] See the meanings given under PARACLETE.

of the Lord is thy name, full of Divine grace, and grateful exceedingly to God, mother of God, thou that givest light to the faithful. Thou art the circumscription, so to speak, of Him Who cannot be circumscribed; the root [Isa. xi. 1] of the most beautiful flower; the mother of the Creator; the nurse of the Nourisher; the circumference of Him Who embraces all things; the upholder of Him [Heb. i. 3] Who upholds all things by His word; the gate through which God appears in the flesh [Ezek. xliv. 2]; the tongs of that cleansing coal [Isa. vi. 6]; the bosom in small of that bosom which is all-containing; the fleece of wool [Judg. vi. 37], the mystery of which cannot be solved; the well of Bethlehem [2 Sam. xxiii. 17], that reservoir of life which David longed for, out of which the draught of immortality gushed forth; the mercy-seat [Exod. xxxv. 17], from which God, in human form, was made known unto men; the spotless robe of Him Who clothes Himself with light as with a garment [Psa. civ. 2]. Thou hast lent to God, Who stands in need of nothing, that flesh which He had not, in order that the Omnipotent might become that which it was His good pleasure to be. What is more splendid than this? What than this is more sublime? He who fills earth and heaven [Jer. xxiii. 24], Whose are all things, has become in need of thee, for thou hast lent to God that flesh which He had not. Thou hast clad the Mighty One with that beauteous panoply of the body by which it has become possible for Him to be seen by mine eyes. And I, in order that I might freely approach to behold Him, have received that by which all the fiery darts of the wicked shall be quenched [Eph. vi. 16]. Hail! hail! thou to whom the great creditor of all is a debtor. We are all debtors to God, but to thee He is Himself indebted. For He who said, 'Honour thy father and thy mother' [Exod. xx. 12], will have most assuredly, as Himself willing to be tested by such proofs, kept inviolate that grace, and His own decree towards her who ministered to Him that nativity to which He voluntarily stooped, and will have glorified with a divine honour her whom He, as being without a father, even as she was without a husband, Himself has written down as mother. Even so must these things be. For the hymns which we offer to thee, O thou most holy and admirable habitation of God, are no merely useless and ornamental words. Nor, again, is thy spiritual laudation mere secular trifling, or the shoutings of a false flattery, (O thou who of God art praised; thou who to God gavest suck; who by nativity givest unto mortals their beginning of being,) but they are of clear and evident truth. But the time would fail us, ages and succeeding generations, too, to render unto thee thy fitting salutation as the mother of the King Eternal [1 Tim. i. 17], even as somewhere the illustrious Prophet says, teaching us how incomprehensible thou art [Baruch iii. 24, 25], how great is the house of God, and how large is the place of His possession! Great, and hath none end, high and unmeasurable. For verily, verily, this prophetic oracle, and most true saying, is concerning thy majesty; for thou alone hast been thought worthy to share with God the things of God; who hast alone borne in the flesh Him, Who of God the Father was the Eternally and Only Begotten. So do they truly believe who hold fast to the pure faith" [Methodius, *Homil. in. Purificat.*; Clarke's transl.].

This impassioned burst of eloquence is a specimen of the strongest language which is used by the Fathers in speaking of the Blessed Virgin; as for example by St. Cyril of Alexandria. More than twenty epithets and titles are given to her in this passage, but all of them begin and end in the idea of the Theotokos, that is of the relation established by her maternity between herself and God. When it is even said that she gives light to the faithful, or that by nativity she gives to mortals their beginning of being, it is plain that these expressions refer to her giving birth to the Author of our spiritual being, and to her bringing the "Light of Light" into the world; and that the benefits which she has been the means of transmitting to the faithful are those arising from the one great benefit which she brought to them when she became the mother of mankind's Saviour. So it is with all such laudations of the Blessed Virgin that were uttered or written by the old Fathers. "She was 'the mother of Life,' because she was the Mother of Him Who is our Life; she was 'the gate of Paradise,' because she bore Him Who restored us to our lost Paradise; 'the gate of Heaven,' because He, born of her, 'opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers;' she was 'the all-undefiled mother of Holiness,' because 'the Holy One, born of her, was called the Son of God;' the 'light-clad mother of Light,' because He Who indwelt her, and was born of her, was 'the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world'" [Pusey's *Eirenic.* ii. 27]. It may be confidently asserted that there are no statements respecting the Blessed Virgin, no epithets or titles in any of the Fathers down to the time of St. Bernard, which are not of this character, magnifying her because of her maternal relation to Christ, and setting her before Christians as an object for their love and veneration, because she had been, in the long distant age of Christ's Conception and Birth, the instrumental means by which their Saviour had come to accomplish the work of salvation.

[4.] In much more recent times than those of the Fathers a school of Roman Catholic theologians has arisen which has attributed to the Blessed Virgin a kind of mediatorial position between Christ and mankind, and even a kind of authority over her Divine Son by reason of her maternal relation to Him. This theory has been developed in still more recent times into the idea that Christ, the one Mediator between God and man, can only be effectively approached through the intervention of His mother, and that through her all grace and pardon proceed from Him to men. Thus she is looked upon not only as the vehicle of salvation in past time, when she gave her substance for the Incarnation of the Saviour, but also as being so at present, and for

all time, by a present relationship which is altogether different from, although it has arisen out of, that act of maternity. This is a purely speculative induction (unsupported by Holy Scripture or the teaching of the Fathers), from two premisses, the one, that the Blessed Virgin, like all other saints, is an intercessor with God for His people; the other, that she is still, as from the first moment of the Incarnation, truly Theotokos, the mother of Him Who is God. Both these premisses are sound, but the induction from them that the Blessed Virgin mediates between Christ and mankind is utterly unwarranted. It is, logically, a false induction; theologically, it is in direct opposition to the first principle of Christianity that a Mediator is one who unites Divine nature and Human nature in one Person; and, lastly, it is dogmatically forbidden by express words of Holy Scripture, "There is one God, and One Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus" [1 Tim. ii. 5]. The growth of an extravagant system of devotions founded on this false induction has been so rapid, and involves so grave a departure from sound Catholic worship of Christ as our only Fountain of mercy and grace, that it has become very necessary for theologians to reconsider the grounds on which honour is to be given to the Blessed Virgin above all other saints, what are the limits beyond which that honour cannot be carried without attributing to her a Divine nature that she does not possess, and what are the true logical conclusions which can be drawn as to her present relation towards God and man. [Immaculate Conception. Incarnation. Theotokos. Perpetual Virginity. Assumption. Hyperdulia. Mariolatry.]

MASS. The ancient English form of *Missa*, the Latin name for the sacrifice and sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. "Missa" is a word of great antiquity in its present sense, though its derivation is much disputed. It is found as early as the fourth century in a letter of St. Ambrose to his sister Marcellina, "Ego mansi in munere, Missam facere cœpi, dum offero, raptum cognovi," &c. [Ambros. *Ep.* xxxiii.]. It is also found in one of the epistles of St. Gregory [Gregor. *Ep.* iv. 34], and in the Penitential of St. Theodore [*Pœnitent.* ii.]. The following are the three principal derivations given for the word.

[1.] From the Anglo-Saxon mæſſe, *a feast*, in which sense the word is of more ancient date than the Institution of the Eucharist. It seems probable that the ancient word is embodied in such names as Christ*mas*, Michael*mas*, Martin*mas*, but it is very doubtful whether the suffix as thus used has any reference at all to the Holy Eucharist: and it is much more probable that the coincidence of the Anglo-Saxon mæſſe, *a feast*, with Mass and Missa, *the Holy Eucharist*, is purely accidental.

[2.] From the Hebrew מַשָּׂה, *Missah*, which signifies an oblation, as in Deut. xvi. 10. This derivation would tend to shew an association between the original idea of the Eucharist and the oblations of the Jewish ritual, but it is extremely improbable that the Hebrew word should have found its way into every language of Europe and yet be entirely absent from the liturgical vocabulary of the Oriental churches.

[3.] From the "Ite, missa est" of the ancient Liturgies of the West, which was equivalent to the Ἐν εἰρήνῃ Χριστοῦ πορευθῶμεν, "Let us depart in peace," of the Greek Liturgies. But the words "Ite, missa est," have two senses given to them by ancient writers. Thus in Micrologus it is said, "In festivis diebus Ite missa est dicitur, quia tunc generalis conventus celebrari solet, qui per hujusmodi denuntiationem licentiam discendi accipere solet" [Micrologus. xlvi.]. St. Thomas Aquinas, on the other hand, explains the phrase as meaning that the sacrifice of the Eucharist has been sent up to God by the administration of angels [Thom. Aq. iii. qu. 83, art. iv.]. Both these meanings are combined in a very ancient Exposition of the Mass, printed by Hittorpius: "Tunc demum a Diacono dicitur *Ite, missa est*, id est, Ite cum pace in domos vestras, quia transmissa est pro vobis oratio ad Dominum; et per angelos, qui nuncii dicuntur, allata est in Divinæ conspectum Majestatis" [*Expos. Miss. ex vetust. cod. in* Hittorp. 587].

The proper technical sense of the word "mass" may therefore be taken to be "offering" or "oblation;" and this is, in fact, a very ancient name for the Holy Eucharist. In the first vernacular Liturgy of the Church of England [A.D. 1549], the name was retained in the title, which ran, "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass." It was dropped in the revised Book of 1552, and has not been much used in the Church of England in more recent times. [Liturgy. Eucharist. Real Presence. Transubstantiation.]

MATERIALISM. A system of philosophy founded on the theory that the results which theologians and metaphysicians in general attribute to the operations of soul and spirit, are results of the operation of matter. The brain is supposed to be the organ of thought and will, in the same sense in which the muscles are the organs of motion; and man's intellectual superiority to animals is owing only to superior formation of the brain and superior habits of education. "Soul" being, therefore, only a name for corporeal matter in the act of thinking and willing, it is absurd to speak of its immortality in any other sense than that in which we speak of matter as indestructible. Disorganization of the corporeal matter which thinks and wills, is its resolution into some other form of matter which is not capable of thinking and willing, and hence the death of the brain is the death of the soul. The logical morale of such a system is given by St. Paul in the typical form "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die;" "let us enjoy life while it lasts;" the ethics of Materialism being necessarily Epicurean, and contained in the one question, "What are the particular means by which each individual person can most enjoy life?"

The Materialism of modern times, although associated with that against which Tertullian, Origen, and others of the Fathers contended, and

with the still more ancient theories respecting the eternity of matter, may be said to have been founded by the Deistical school of the last century, whose principles were developed to their full extent by Diderot, Holbach and their coadjutors in the notorious *Système de la Nature*, which was published in London under the pseudonym of the then deceased Mirabaud, Secretary of the Academy, in the year 1770. The fundamental hypothesis of this book is that matter and motion are the sum of all existing things; motion being resolved into attraction and repulsion, the combinations and oppositions of which mould matter into form, and also produce the results attributed to will and mind, according to eternal and unchangeable laws. Man is matter so moulded, and his brain evolves will and thought by means of the forces of attraction and repulsion, which act upon its material substance. Theism is merely a chimerical theory which the fear and wonder of man have invented to explain phenomena that he could not understand: and a fully educated man, that is a Materialist, must necessarily be an Atheist. The only law is necessity.

Materialism thus deals with subjects which involve the whole course of Christian Theology, the allegations of which it denies from beginning to end; but the principal features of it are considered under separate articles in various pages of this Dictionary. The nature of matter and its relations to the Creator will be found under Matter and Creation: under Soul and Spirit will be found a refutation of the theory that they have no existence separate from material substance: its atheistic principles are dealt with under Theism; and its theory of "necessity" is refuted in Fatalism and Free-will.

But there is an essential weakness in the logic of Materialism which must at once condemn it *in toto* in the judgment of any independent reasoner. For while matter and motion are said to comprehend all existing things, it can give no account whatever of the origin either of one or the other, and falls back on the puerile argument, that since they exist now and within the range of all human experience they must have existed always. Until Materialism can give some rational account of an original impetus out of which motion arose, and of a primal cause for the existence of matter, all its reasonings are simply illogical and worthless.

MATRIMONY, HOLY. [Marriage.]

MATTER. The metaphysical history of this term, like that of most others, begins with Aristotle: its theological significance may be said to begin with the first two verses of Genesis.

And of the two questions in which the account to be given of this philosophic term comes into relation with religious subjects, one, the more familiar to ancient thought, these verses decisively answer. To the modern question, also, they are by no means irrelevant.

These questions may be thus stated; taking the one more recently started first, as the more fundamental; though its solution is less necessary in reality than in appearance to that of the other.

Matter

I. Does matter really exist? If so, how? On this point there are three principal theories; the popular one, recognising the objective existence of matter, but embarrassed by considerable difficulties in explaining what the existing thing is: the Idealism of Berkeley, recognising (what may, for distinction, be called) its real subjective existence: and the Idealism of the Sensationalist school, which doubts or denies its real existence, as distinct from its properties, or the groups of phenomena belonging to it.

II. How does matter come to exist? Is it self-existent or self-originating, *i.e.* either existing eternally, or if not eternally, yet existing from no cause external to itself? Or is all matter, in the first instance as well as in its modifications, the work of a mind?

A third question might be mentioned, subordinate to the last, or at least connected with it in much ancient speculation:

III. Has Matter ever existed abstracted from those conditions of concrete form in which we meet with it?

It is not of course intended here to discuss those metaphysical problems as such. The second is the only one, of which a particular solution is *directly* important to religion: but the others have a certain theological interest, and this it will be necessary to point out.

I. Popular language, in spite of Berkeley's own appeal to popular opinion, must be admitted to be framed on the hypothesis that matter exists in itself, independently of any mind perceiving it: and theologians have in general been content to accept popular language on the point, so that the language of theologians represents the popular opinion. But as Berkeley's system does not, when understood, contradict any of the ordinary facts of experience, so the language of theologians, like that of other non-Berkeleyans, does not become meaningless in consequence of the system being accepted. For a system invented or advanced from a theological motive, it affects theology singularly little.

It can hardly be denied, that a belief in the *reality* of matter, however reality may be defined, is necessary to orthodox Christianity. The narrative of the Creation becomes meaningless, or at least deceptive, if the things created be no more than "permanent possibilities of sensation," things that *would* be perceived, or rather groups of phenomena that *would* make impressions, *if* there were any minds placed ready to observe them, which there are not: and, to tell the truth, even Berkeley's system confuses or obscures the notion of creation. The existence of a material substance means, according to him, that some mind or minds are affected with certain sensations, from a cause external to themselves. Now in *this* there is nothing to conflict with Christian doctrine: when we say that God created all material substances, we shall mean, on this hypothesis, that He is the sole and ultimate cause of the laws, external to created minds, whereby their consciousness is modified in the various ways which we ascribe to the presence of matter.

So far, then, all is clear. If Berkeley has not yet given any support to the doctrines of religion, he certainly has not assailed them. But when we come to the part of his theory which was to confute Atheism, it is more possible to bring him into collision with that Revelation which he undertakes to defend. Matter, it is said, exists in virtue of being perceived by a mind: *e.g.* "my inkstand exists," means "my mind has a group of sensations, simultaneous or successive, which I describe as seeing and feeling a glass inkstand, hearing it ring when struck or thrown down, &c., or otherwise as being conscious of the presence of a hard, smooth, round, hollow body, of a heavy, greyish, transparent substance." But if I go out of the room, I believe that my inkstand still exists, though no longer perceived by me. What do I mean by this, on the Idealist hypothesis? We have rejected the answer, "You mean that you believe that, if you went into the room again, you would again experience the same sensations." In the first place, I do *mean* more than that, though I am unable to prove that anything more than that is true. And further, as has been said above, unless the inkstand exists when not seen, how is it true that the Creator caused the flint, sand, alkali, copper and zinc ore, &c., of which it is made, to exist ages before they were discovered and used, and sustains the manufactured product of His works in being now?

To these objections the Sensationalist has no answer: the Berkeleyan has. "When you say that the inkstand exists in your absence, you mean that when it is not perceived by your mind, it is perceived by some mind or other. Your only notion of existence (except the existence of a mind, a conscious subject) is of existence as the object of consciousness of a mind. If you believe, as you doubtless do, that matter exists absolutely, not only in relation to the finite minds that perceive it, you are bound to admit that there is an infinite mind, which always perceives all matter existent, even what is perceived by no other mind."

Injustice is done to Berkeley by a Sensational philosopher, if he regards the negative part of his system, the denial of an objective substratum to material phenomena, as separate from this, its positive part. Berkeley was a real Idealist, not a mutilated or inconsistent Sensationalist; and any one who denies an objective substratum to matter, but does not recognise its absolute existence as an object[1] of consciousness to a necessarily existing mind, is not taking half Berkeley's system and leaving the other half, but framing a new one, suggested, it may be, by Berkeley's, but essentially different from it. His religious philosophy was not an amiable excrescence on his metaphysical, but an essential correlative to it; and therefore his system has no sceptical tendency. Neither does it seem fair to charge it with a tendency to Pantheism;[2] for God is distinguished adequately, on the one hand, from the created objects, *i.e.* groups of ideas, which He perceives; on the other, from the created minds which He causes to perceive the same objects. But it seems doubtful whether the system, sublime as is the picture it gives of the Creator's relation to His universe, does not really, by implication, lower our view of His Nature and His dealings with it.

What, on this hypothesis, do we mean when we say that God made the material world? That He caused, and, having begun, continues to cause, created intelligences to receive certain impressions, under certain laws of sequence and co-existence. But more than this. We mean also that God Himself, when He created, began to perceive certain ideas as real. Now this is almost shockingly contradictory to the generally received notion of an eternal present in the Divine mind: and it is hard to see that it does not contradict the doctrines of His eternal foreknowledge and immutability. Doubtless, God began (on this hypothesis) to be conscious of the world at His own mere will, and not, as we do, from an external cause. But His Nature seems lowered, if we confess that by His creating we mean that He caused certain ideas to become present to His Mind, which therefore were not present to it before. We have, in fact, a curious converse of Pantheism. Pantheism (as the term is commonly used) merges the personal God in union with the universe, a universe consisting of matter, or spirit, or both. Here the personality as well as the spirituality of the Eternal is preserved; but instead of His being so merged in the world as to deify it, the world is so merged in Him as to introduce its own finite and mutable qualities into His Nature.

Creation is a mystery on any hypothesis. On any hypothesis, God, at some finite time, came into new relations with things that are not God. He assumed new characters (as those of Creator, Preserver, Ruler, Judge) which He had not before; and we must believe this to be without any change in His Nature, or even in His purpose. Whether this necessary difficulty is aggravated by the above form of stating it; whether the theory of creation in the Divine Mind implies more of a change of nature than that of a creation of things external to it, may be a question. It is one that at least deserves to be stated. If it be admitted that Idealism is not logically opposed to Christianity on this ground, there remain only two slighter objections to it.

Existence has, on this hypothesis, a twofold aspect. Things material exist, absolutely as being perceived by God, relatively as being caused by God to be perceived by His sensitive creatures. Now if, to avoid the objection above stated, it be said that while creation existed eternally in the purpose of God, and that His works were always known to Him, yet it may be said that creation had a beginning in time, when God first made it known to other intelligences than His own. In itself, no doubt, this would be inadequate as an account of creation, however it might be a fair

[1] The modern metaphysical use of the words "object" and "objective" makes it difficult to use them consistently in discussing Berkeley's philosophy. Here "object" is not used as really a correlative term to "objective."

[2] Mansel's *Prolegomena Logica*, App. B.

defence against the charge of introducing change into the Divine purpose or thought. And it just stops short of making the world eternal, though it comes dangerously near to it. It may be added that the hypothesis of a subjective creation is not invented on behalf of this system. One of the recognised explanations of the double account of the creation in Genesis is that the former or Elohistic narrative describes the order in which God's purpose was made known to the holy angels, the second that in which it was executed.

But the reality (in whatever sense) of the material universe is presupposed, not only in the doctrine of the creation, but in that of the Sacraments, insomuch that "Matter" is used as a technical term in relation to them, describing one of their essential requisites. Speaking generally, any hypothesis that allows the reality of matter would be sufficient, and therefore the Idealist, since it does make matter, in an intelligible sense, real. The command to use certain material substances, and the promise of certain spiritual effects to follow on their use, is not evacuated if we describe their use as "taking the known means to occasion, to our own mind and others, including the Divine, certain states of consciousness." But it seems hard to see how the theory can fail to affect the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. If the presence of a body means the fact that its bodily properties are manifest to all intelligences capable of observing them, then a presence of a body, real but not sensible, becomes self-contradictory. If, however, the point be urged with sufficient boldness, that absolute truth is *not* "truth relative to all intelligences," but truth relative to the Infinite Intelligence, then it is of course possible to believe, that God regards that as present which man does not recognise as present by the ordinary test of manifesting the properties, in manifesting which bodily presence consists; and this will, by an adherent of the system, be regarded as constituting a real but not sensible presence.

II. Whether matter exists only in virtue of minds to which it bears relation, or whether it exists in itself, the source of its being must be determined. For not even, if it be said that matter is a mode of the mind of a spirit, is it yet proved that matter is not self-caused or eternal: it might be a necessary mode of an eternal Spirit's thought, and so co-eternal with His being. However, the motives that have led to the belief in the eternity of matter have been, in general, such as would involve a belief in its independence. It is conceding either too much or too little, to make matter merely the thought of God, yet a thought which He never was without, and without which He could not have existed. Eternal matter was usually conceived as an antitheistic power, whether active or passive; sometimes so passive, as to be no more than an imperfect medium for the divine operation. It is hardly worth while to frame a system, in which matter should have a subjective eternity; since such a system has never yet been received. It has already been pointed out, however, that such a system is a conceivable corollary of Berkeley's. But, supposing matter to be something external to the Divine Mind which (all Theists will probably admit) knows or contemplates it, what is the relation between the two? Is one the work of the other, or are they both independent?

Strictly speaking, there are three possible answers to this question: viz., that matter is the product of mind, that mind is the product of matter, and that the two are independent. But the second, in this exact form, has probably never been maintained. Matter, being inactive, cannot be conceived as producing, unless it be first personified. Materialism, however, or regarding mind as a *mode* of matter, is a fair representative of this view. Setting this on one side, we come to the choice between the two other alternatives, that matter is the work of mind, and that it is co-eternal with mind—between Theism and Dualism.

The Jewish and Christian religions are Theistic: most other religions of any claim to depth or speculative value are Dualistic. Attempts to import Dualism into Christianity have been numerous, but it has in every age been so obvious that the hybrid system was inconsistent,—that if Christianity was a coherent system, its authoritative documents denounced Dualism, and its instinctive consciousness rejected it—that it is unnecessary to reopen a question which is practically extinct. All who claim to be, strictly speaking, Theists, would now admit the prerogative of creation to belong to God in the fullest sense. It will be enough here to classify the forms of Dualism which have either been opposed to the Theistic doctrine of Christianity, or which it has been sought to amalgamate with it, as they refer to the subject before us, all of them being separately and fully noticed elsewhere. [Dualism.]

[1.] The Buddhist Dualism assumes two eternal and impersonal principles, matter and spirit. Finite and (eminently) human nature exists in virtue of the union or collision of the two; they are not only the good and evil, but the positive and negative elements of existence: existence consists in partaking of both, as the Hegelian system makes it consist in the union of Being and Nothing. The victory of the human spirit is to be free from matter, and one with all pure spirit; but since matter as well as spirit is necessary to existence, this pure Being, though not conceived as Nothingness, is indistinguishable from it.

[2.] The Manichæan Dualism (to use the name of its most famous and permanently vital form, for a system not confined to the Manichæan sect, or those affiliated to it) assumes two eternal principles, matter and spirit, of which both are more or less distinctly *personified*. The strange and grotesque mythology by which the Manichæans (in the stricter sense) accounted for the intermixture of good and evil in the world, may have been meant to be understood allegorically; but this is hardly likely—the allegory is too vivid to have been less than a myth, in the minds of its hearers,

if not of its inventors. Two powers which make war on each other, which devour and assimilate from each others' substance, or create and beget from their own, are strangely personal if regarded as abstractions: indeed, the best reason for thinking them so is, that if the Manichæan cosmogony be taken literally, the Eternal Spirit is wonderfully carnal. But because a system is unphilosophical or inconsistent, if understood in the natural way, it does not follow that it ought to be understood otherwise: there being such things as inconsistent systems. It, however, is to be remembered that Manichæanism always maintained an esoteric doctrine, which *may* have allegorized the known gross one.

[3.] The Platonic Dualism (if one may take a title from a single enunciation of it—it does not appear to have been a consistent or permanent conviction with Plato) assumes an eternal personal Spirit, acting on an eternal impersonal matter. Out of this, He produces all things that are: not deriving them from His own being, lest He should impoverish Himself, yet being in a real sense their author. Matter is conceived as negatively but not positively evil—unable to be made entirely good, even by the entirely good Spirit—and passively but not actively resisting His will.

[4.] The general character of Gnostic systems was not strictly Dualistic. They assumed two eternal principles of spirit and matter, of which the first at least was conceived, more or less distinctly, as personal: but matter was made into finite beings, not by the action of the eternal Spirit, but of a created or generated one; who, though not eternal, held a place so exalted as to be practically a third God; and usurped, more or less, the bad eminence of the eternal matter, since in opposition to orthodox Christians, it was necesssary to distinguish Him from the eternal Spirit. [Demiurge.]

The most ancient form of Dualism, the Persian, does not come in for consideration here; as its antithesis is not between spirit and matter, but between light and darkness. Owing to its antiquity, the distinction between personal and impersonal principles is not formulated in it.

III. The third and fourth of the forms of Dualism just enumerated make their cosmogony depend on the distinction devised by Anaxagoras, and formulated by Aristotle, between matter and form. If matter be conceived as eternal, and yet a creation by a spiritual Being be in some sense admitted, this is necessary. If matter be believed to be itself the work of a Spirit, it is possible, but by no means necessary, still to believe that He first created matter, and then formed it. Such was perhaps the general view of the Scholastic period in the widest sense of the term: the belief recognised absolute creation by God out of nothing, while it left a meaning for the Aristotelian distinction which was familiar. And it seemed to derive direct support from the narrative of the Creation in Gen. i. 2. But it is evident that the word "without form," in this passage, is not to be pressed in so strict a philosophical sense: if the meaning of the word were less general, it would still follow from the fact, that the "formless" matter is already called (not the universe merely but) "the earth." It therefore follows, that the scriptural or Christian doctrine of Creation admits, but does not require, the complication of this intermediate step. It probably is ignored by almost all modern thought on the subject: in the last age of Scholasticism, Sir Thomas Browne still continued to assume it, and his critic Digby thought it needless.

MATTER, SACRAMENTAL. The external and visible substance used in the administration of a sacrament, as distinguished from the internal and spiritual substance, and from the verbal form used. [Baptism. Eucharist.]

MEANS OF GRACE. This expression is common in popular language, and is once used in the Book of Common Prayer, the "General Thanksgiving" containing the words, "We bless Thee . . . above all for Thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, for the means of grace; and for the hope of glory." As thus used it is a comprehensive expression which includes all substances, agencies, and operations, by which the redemption accomplished for all by Christ is made available for those who accept the benefit of it. In the popular sense it signifies everything which promotes the religious life, such as prayer, preaching, sacraments, &c. In a more strictly theological sense the "means of grace" are the *instrumenta* by which Christ conveys grace to the soul. The sacraments and sacramentals may properly be so called, but the term can only be very loosely applied when used respecting the instruction given in sermons, the good gained by meditation, or the reflex action on the soul of devout prayer.

MEDIATION. The signification of the word "mediate," *to interfere as an equal friend to both parties*, suggests both the office of our Blessed Lord and His fitness for exercising it. It will be necessary to consider, *first*, The necessity for mediation; *secondly*, The fitness of our Lord by nature for exercising this office; and, *thirdly*, The manner in which it is exercised.

I. The Necessity for Mediation. The necessity for mediation arose from the effects of Adam's fall. Man, as originally constituted, was fitted to be the mediator between God and all created things. Although his body was derived from the dust of the earth, he had a higher nature inbreathed by God Himself. In this his life differed from the rest of the animal creation, for we never read of any one of them that God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Like the other creatures he had a natural body, σάρξ, but he had also a reasonable soul, ψυχή. This last attribute was immeasurably superior to any possessed by the animal creation, for the soul that God had made could never die. It was the seat of conscience and reason, of wisdom and invention. But superadded to this was the divine πνεῦμα, by which man was made partaker of the nature of God. By reason of this last gift he was enabled without premeditation to give names

to every living thing expressive of its properties and uses, so that whatsoever Adam called it, that was the name thereof. Hence, too, he was enabled to detail the process by which Eve had been formed out of a rib taken from his side. St. Cyprian interprets the words "God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life," concerning the gift of the Holy Ghost, in which he is said to have been anticipated by the ancient Jews of our Saviour's time.

It was the possession of the πνεῦμα which was the connecting link between God and man. Through it divine graces flowed into the human nature, and man was enabled to approach God, as our first parents were accustomed to do, when He walked in the garden in the cool of the day. They required then no mediator between their Maker and themselves, since by the indwelling presence of this Divine πνεῦμα, the breath of life, man was himself a mediator; the middle term through which communication passed from heaven to earth, and earth to heaven, being contained within his own nature.

But with the Fall this gift was lost. In the day he sinned he died, for he forfeited the Divine πνεῦμα, and therefore our first parents hid themselves from God's presence, because they had now need of a mediator. This need of a mediator, and its partial supply, was set forth in all the ordinances of old. Prophets were mediators between God and man; priests, both of the Patriarchal and Levitical age, were mediators between man and God. The law was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator. The people said to Moses, "Speak thou with us and we will hear, but let not God speak with us, lest we die." To Moses the promise was made, "Thy brother shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be to him instead of God." As respects God's dealings with man, Moses was a mediator between Jehovah and the children of Israel; but as respects man's dealings with God, Aaron was their appointed mediator, for "he was taken from among men, in things pertaining to God to offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins." One side of the mediatorial office was shewn in the long line of prophets, who spoke to men in God's stead; and the other in the priestly order, which descended from generation to generation, until the One Mediator between God and man, the God-Man, Christ Jesus, appeared on the earth. The fall of man was the loss of personal union with God, but all that Adam lost was destined to be restored in Christ, Who is the Mediator of the better covenant. In Him the breach which sin occasioned was healed, and the privilege of union with God restored to men.

II. The Fitness of our Lord by Nature for exercising this Office. Our Blessed Lord was fitted by the constitution of His nature to exercise the office of Mediator. Indeed the fulfilment of this office was the result of His Incarnation, for He, Who in one Person was perfect God and perfect Man, must of necessity be a Mediator, since the two parties between whom reconciliation must be made were equally represented in Himself. The Church, therefore, has always insisted with greater vehemence on the doctrine of the Incarnation than on the many doctrines which flow from it; for to those who rightly believe the Incarnation of our Lord, His Mediation, Atonement, and Intercession, will appear as its natural consequence. Those who deny our Lord's Divinity might believe that He was a Mediator in the sense in which Moses, or Aaron, or the Jewish priests were temporally appointed to the office, but it would not follow that, from the constitution of His nature, He was the Mediator of the human race, or that His mediation must continue as long as the union of that nature lasts. If either the Divine or the Human Nature of our Lord be denied one term in the mediation is lost, and if the two natures be confused, a *tertium quid* is substituted for His two distinct Natures. Both parts are thus lost, for He would be the representative neither of the Divine nor the Human Nature, but of a new nature which partook of both and yet was neither in its full integrity. The truth of the Incarnation being granted, our Lord's fitness for the office of Mediator follows as a necessary deduction.

He was the second Adam. As Adam had been originally created in communion with God in consequence of the Divine πνεῦμα, so the Man Christ was in communion with God in consequence of the co-existence of the Deity in His Person. The Deity imparted to His Humanity the fulness of grace, and therefore the Man Jesus Christ was perfect in holiness. As Adam was the father of the human race, and transmitted to all his posterity all the attributes of his humanity, shorn, as it had become, of original righteousness and inheriting the guilt of sin by reason of the Fall; so the second Adam imparts to the members of His Church the new nature which He had purified by its reunion with the Godhead. The transmission of the old nature is by generation, but the new nature is imparted by regeneration. It is the participation of the new nature which is implied in the term "members of Christ," "branches of the vine," &c. St. Anselm has noticed that, whilst man was redeemed by the Son of God entering Adam's line and purifying his nature, the fallen angels could not be so saved, as they had no common nature, which was transmitted from one source, but had been created independently of each other. Bishop Pearson says, "'He took not on Him the nature of angels,' and therefore saved none of them, who for want of a redeemer, are 'reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.' And man once fallen had been, as deservedly, so irrevocably, condemned to the same condition, but that He took upon Him the seed of Abraham. For being as we are partakers of flesh and blood, we could expect no redemption but by Him who likewise took part of the same; we could look for no Redeemer, but such a one who by consanguinity was our brother" [Pearson, *On the Creed*, vol. i. p. 218].

III. The Manner in which the Mediatorial Office is exercised. Our Lord's mediation, being

the natural result of that twofold nature in which He manifested Himself to men, implies a twofold action, [1] His relation towards men, and [2] His relation towards God.

[1.] *The acts of His mediation on earth were*, first, to reveal God's will; secondly, to exhibit Himself as a pattern for the imitation of mankind; thirdly, to fulfil all righteousness; fourthly, to offer sacrifice for sin.

1. As God the Mediator spoke more distinctly than the Prophets had ever done before—that which He received of the Father He shewed unto His disciples—His precepts, His exhortations, His explanation of the scheme of redemption, were divine revelations made to men. As God, He was the Fountain of Truth, and as man, He was enabled to speak to men.

2. In exhibiting Himself as a perfect model of righteousness and obedience, He shewed by His example what God would have His children be, so that the actions of His life are a rule of imitation for His people.

3. His righteousness was not only a perfect example for the imitation of mankind, but it was also an offering to God. Whilst his righteousness, considered as a model, was part of His mediation as God to man; as an offering, it was no less a portion of His mediation as man to God, since His holy life was an offering up by Him of a sweet savour acceptable to God. It was an offering which no mere man had ever yet been able to present. It represented the obedience which man owes to his Maker, and was typified in the peace-offerings provided under the Mosaic dispensation. It is this obedience which supplies the imperfections of our own, and its merits shared with men make their works acceptable to God. This righteousness is imparted to mankind through their union with Christ, for as the guilt of the First Adam was transmitted to his posterity, so the righteousness of the Second Adam is handed on to His people.

4. *a*] Before man could do works pleasing to God, it was first necessary that atonement should be made for sin. In men sacrifice for sin must precede the offering of a holy life, but in our Lord's case this process was reversed. In Him the offering of a holy life preceded the atonement for sin, because He was sinless. His holy life was therefore not only an acceptable offering to God, but it was a preparation for the great priestly act which He performed upon the Cross. Although the negative holiness of innocence He possessed from the time He was conceived in the womb, yet the positive holiness of righteousness attained a growing perfection, for He was made perfect by the things that He suffered. Both priest and victim were representatives of a perfect humanity. God required expiation for sin, and no other priest and no other victim would have satisfied that claim.

b] It has been a question amongst theologians, "Why God should have required a sacrifice for sin?" The law was, "the soul that sinneth it shall die," and "without blood there is no remission of sins." The reason of this law is variously stated. St. Anselm asserted that it was not fitting that God should forgive sin without punishment [*Cur Deus Homo*, i. 12]; but this view, as far as it is grounded on *à priori* arguments from the Divine Attributes, was combated by the later Schoolmen, and is not sanctioned by the writings of the earlier Fathers. St. Athanasius grounds the necessity of expiation on that which is beneficial for man [*Orat.* ii. *cont. Arian.* sec. 68; *De Incarn.* vi.]. It was beneficial for man that the truth of God's Word should be vindicated, that he might learn to trust alike in His promises and His threats. It was beneficial for him that he should learn the enormity of sin from the magnitude of the expiation required and the ransom paid, and that the love and gratitude, inspired by the means by which the sacrifice was provided, should be a fresh inducement to obedience. We may, therefore, conclude with Hooker, "The world's salvation was, without the incarnation of the Son, a thing impossible; *not simply impossible*, but impossible, it being presupposed that the will of God was no otherwise to have it saved than by the death of His own Son." [Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* V. li. 3.]

c] He who offers sacrifice is a priest. Since a priest is a mediator in action, and Christ was a Mediator by nature, He was by nature fitted to be priest. As the second Adam, He was the representative of the human race, the only one who could offer an acceptable sacrifice, because He alone was without sin. He must be man to offer sacrifice for men, and He must be God, for His consecration consisted in the uniting of the Divine to the Human Nature.

d] As the priesthood of Christ was the result of the union of the two natures, so also was the efficacy of the sacrifice. The sacrifice was none other than the body of the Second Adam, the representative of mankind. It was human, and therefore could be offered for the sins of humanity. It was Divine, and therefore of illimitable extent and transcending value. "We may look first to the Divine and then to the human side of His character, and see why this was the only real sacrifice which could be presented to God. For by reason of His Divine Nature had the sacrifice of Himself such intrinsic value, that the representative of mankind could offer it effectually in mediation for our race. For, from Christ's Divinity there flowed such consecrating virtue, as made Him a fitting *Priest*, and such atoning efficacy as made Him a sufficient *Victim*." [Wilberforce *on Incarnation*, p. 229.]

[2.] *The acts of our Lord's mediation after His Ascension.*

1. That which He does on man's behalf to God is summed up in the word "Intercession;" and to the article on the Intercession of Christ reference may be made. [Intercession of Christ.]

2. His action as Mediator towards men may also be summed up in the words, "His Presence."

a] When our Lord was upon earth, in the prospect of His Ascension, He promised that His perpetual presence should remain with His Church on earth: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto

the end of the world." He spoke, moreover, of His absence and return, and the restoration of His presence depending on His departure to the Father. This could not refer to His Divine Presence, which never could be absent from any part of creation, and was in Heaven even whilst He dwelt as the God-man on earth. It must, therefore, have had relation to the presence of His Deified Humanity with His Church and with His people on the earth. That which His Humanity received from His Divine Nature, it was part of His mediatorial work to hand on to the Church as His body, and to His people individually as the members in particular. The fulfilment of the promise of His presence depended on the mission of the Comforter, for as the original union of the Divine and Human Nature in Christ was effected by the operation of the Holy Ghost in His Conception, so was also the union of Christ with His people to be effected by the same power. His Human Nature, purified and sanctified, is thus by the operation of the Holy Ghost imparted to His people, and is the means whereby we are made partakers of the Divine Nature. The inseparable union which existed between the Divine and Human Nature in our Lord rendered this diffusion of His Human Nature possible; but its presence is not after a carnal, but after a spiritual manner. His bodily form was removed to Heaven, and will be seen no more on earth until He comes to judgment; but after His departure His presence was more intimate, because it was of a more spiritual kind than it had been before. Whilst He was on earth He conversed with men as a man, but when He had ascended He could dwell in them and receive them into a real unity with Himself. "When the Son of man," says St. Leo, "betook Himself to the glory of His Father's Majesty, He began in some ineffable way to be nearer by His Divine power, for the very reason that, according to His Humanity, He was removed further off." And it was to this more intimate union that He referred St. Mary Magdalene on the day of His Resurrection, when He bade her touch Him not, for He had not yet ascended to the Father. "I would not have you come to Me," explains St. Leo, "in bodily wise, nor recognise Me by carnal touch: I put you off to something higher, I prepare you for something greater: when I am ascended to My Father, then you shall touch Me in a more true and perfect manner, when you shall lay hold of that which you do not touch, and believe that which you do not behold." [St. Leo, *Serm.* lxxii. 4. Bp. Moberly *on the Great Forty Days*, p. 90. Bp. Andrewes, *Serm. for Easter* xv.]

It is in this presence that the spiritual life of the Christian consists; and the sacraments and ordinances of the Church are the channels through which it is conveyed. The work of the Holy Ghost is still used in making them effectual to that end. "By one spirit we are all baptized into one Body;" and in the Holy Eucharist the Holy Ghost is again the operator, whereby the sacred elements become the Body and Blood of Christ. Hence the invocation of the Holy Ghost which is found in the ancient liturgies, and which, though absent in the Roman and in our own, was restored in the Scotch office. In baptism we first receive the renewed nature of our Lord; for, as through birth the corrupt nature of the first Adam is transmitted to us, so in baptism, our second birth, the renewed nature of our Blessed Lord is imparted to us. We become members of the family of which He is the Head, even as before we were members of the race which derived its origin from Adam. In the Holy Eucharist not only is that acceptable sacrifice offered, which, uniting with our Lord's work in heaven, is the perpetuation of the sacrifice on the Cross, but we feed upon the sacrifice, even as the Israelites fed upon the paschal lamb, when we eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, and thus are made one with Him and He with us. Christ's mediation is therefore, in all things, our real bond of union with God, and supplies the place of that which Adam lost.

b] The end and object of this Presence of Christ through His mediatorial office, is that He may be the great fountain of holiness and truth to His people.

1. In God alone dwells absolute holiness. This holiness, imparted to the human nature of our Lord through its union with the Divine, constituted Him the Holy One of God, and all that He thus receives He imparts to His people, for "God hath made Him Head over all things to the Church, which is His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." This imparted holiness is perfect, supplying the lack of ours, and in this shall Christ "present the Church unto Himself, a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but holy and without blemish." It was to this that St. Paul trusted when he prayed that he might "win Christ and be found in Him, not having his own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ."

2. Besides this imparted righteousness through the mediation of Christ, there is also an infused holiness, which, equally with the first, proceeds from our union with Him; for without Him we can do nothing, and "the branch cannot bear fruit except it abide in the vine." It is that grace which sanctifies the human will, which gives strength to human weakness, which forms Christ within us and makes us in all our actions like unto Him.

3. Christ the Mediator is also the source of knowledge. As God is the fountain of holiness, so is He also the source of knowledge. He is a God of Truth, for to be the depository of truth is amongst the mysterious laws of His inscrutable existence. Knowledge is the reception of Divine Truth. Adam possessed it before the Fall, but lost it through his sin. Its restoration was a part of our Lord's mediatorial work. "The Word," or communication of truth, was one of His titles, and that He might communicate it to men was one of the objects of His Incarnation. "The

Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us, and we beheld His glory as of the only begotten Son of God, full of *grace* and *truth*—of His fulness have we all received, and grace for grace: for the law was given by Moses, but *grace and truth came by Jesus Christ*" [John i. 14-17]. The Divine Word took on Him our flesh that He might without the intervention of any mere human prophet or lawgiver communicate truth to men. His humanity provided a common nature through which His Divine Truth could be communicated. As the Word He spoke when He was upon earth—for the things, He said, which He had heard of God, He spake unto His disciples; but this communication of Divine Truth was not confined to His sojourn here below, for He expressly promised that it should be continued after He was ascended. This was to be effected through the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost, "When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth, for He shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear that shall He speak. He shall glorify Me, for He shall receive of Mine and shall shew it unto you" [John xvi. 13, 14].

Although the Holy Spirit is the immediate agent, yet the Incarnate Word is no less "the Truth" than He is "the Way" and "the Life." The Church derives Her knowledge of Divine things through Her union with Christ, which is effected by the perpetual operation of the Holy Ghost.

This knowledge is [*a*] objective and [*b*] subjective.

a] That which is objective is made known by Holy Scripture and by the authority of the Church. Holy Scripture was handed down by our Lord's disciples to their successors as a complete system of external truth, which through the one Mediator was delivered from God to man [Wilberforce *on the Incarnation*, p. 478]. Much with respect to its interpretation, statements of doctrine and rules for practice, was left to the authority of the Church, that Christians might hear the voice of the Word spoken through the Church. When the Church spoke collectively through the decrees of her Œcumenical Councils, the promise was realized that the Church, which is the Body of Christ, would be guided into all truth through the operation of the Spirit and the indwelling of the Word; and Christians received the decisions arrived at by those Councils as the voice of the Mediator spoken to them through His Body, the Church.

b] Knowledge is also subjective. This is the gift which, derived from their union in Christ, enables Christians to receive the objective truth which is conveyed to them through the instrumentality of Holy Scripture and the authority of the Church. The natural heart is incapable of receiving Divine Truth, but the gift of knowledge which flows from the indwelling of the Mediator imparts that wisdom which is from above, which enables the understanding to comprehend the truth and to believe that which is too mysterious for explanation, as well as to apply it to the guidance of life. And since this subjective knowledge, which is imparted to individuals, is subordinate to the objective truth revealed to the Church, it can give no possible sanction to the wild claims which are so often made for the supremacy of private judgment.

[3.] *The Mediator will also be the Judge of all men.* "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son" [John v. 22]. He Who has ascended into Heaven, and is now acting as our Intercessor there, whilst His spiritual Presence is also on earth, will come again at the last day to be our Judge. "There is," says Bishop Pearson, "an original, supreme, autocratorical, judiciary power; there is" also "a judiciary power delegated, derived, given by commission. Christ as God hath the first together with the Father and the Holy Ghost; Christ as man hath the second from the Father expressly, from the Holy Ghost concomitantly. For 'the Father hath given Him authority to execute judgment, because He is the Son of Man;' not simply, because He is a man, therefore, He shall be Judge (for then by the same reason every man should judge, and consequently none, because no man could be judged if every man should only judge), but because of the three Persons which are God, He only is also the Son of Man; and therefore for His affinity with their nature, for His sense of their infirmities, for His appearance to their eyes, most fit to represent the greatest mildness and sweetness of equity, in the severity of that just and irrespective judgment" [Pearson *on the Creed*, i. 350, 351].

He will still be our Mediator then. As God, His knowledge is perfect; as man, His sympathies are unfailing. As man, we shall behold Him, and His righteousness will be our plea for acceptance. In that day those who are united to Him in the union of His Body will have confidence, since He, in whom they lived and died, will still be their refuge.

[4.] *The glory of the Saints in Heaven is derived from Christ's mediation.* The Transfiguration on Mount Tabor was a foreshadowing of the glory of the Resurrection, for those who sleep in Jesus "will awake up after His likeness, and be satisfied with it. They will be like Him, for they shall see Him as He is." Then the glory of His Deity shone through the veil of His human nature, and His humanity was irradiated with the glory of the Godhead, but that glory He transmitted to others; for Moses and Elias, the respective types of quick and dead, were seen with Him in glory. It was the glory reflected from His visage which shone on their countenances; and so in the description of the heavenly city we are told that "it hath no need of the sun to lighten it, for the Lamb is the light thereof." The saints are described as stars which shine with different degrees of brightness according to their nearness to their Lord. We may therefore conclude that the glory of the Godhead imparted to the human nature of our Lord will be reflected on all the members of His Body, the Church; and that they will hereafter shine with His glory, as the stars

of heaven now borrow their light from the brightness of the sun.

Thus does the doctrine of our Lord's mediation wrap itself round every stage of our life. It explains the need of sacraments, and, by so doing, it humbles pride and exalts humility. It teaches us how Christ is our all in all. It raises our hope and encourages our confidence, leading up our hearts to Him Who sits at the right hand of our Father's throne as our Mediator, and is preparing a New City of God for us where the glory which was lost in Adam will be more than restored in Him.

MELCHITES. A name originally given to the orthodox members of the Egyptian Church by the followers of Eutyches. [MONOPHYSITISM.] It is derived from the Syriac word "melec," which signifies "king," and was intended as a reproach [*q.d.* "Erastian Royalists"] to those who had accepted the Council of Chalcedon after it had been ratified by the Emperor. The name is still borne by a community of monks in Syria, who repudiate the Jacobite heresy with which the East is overrun.

MELETIAN SCHISM. One of the schisms of the early Church, somewhat similar in character to that of the Donatists. It arose in the beginning of the fourth century, and originated in the following circumstances. During the persecution under Diocletian, Peter, Bishop of Alexandria and Metropolitan of Egypt, passed sentence of deposition on Meletius (or Melitius), Bishop of Sycopolis, an important city of the Thebaïd, on the charge, among other crimes, of having apostatized from the faith by sacrificing to the heathen deities. Meletius, denying the charge, paid no attention to the sentence, but retorted upon Peter that he had been guilty of undue leniency in dealing with the lapsed. On the question which was in the right, as regards the facts authorities are conflicting, but the more trustworthy are on the side of the metropolitan. Supported by numerous followers in his own diocese however, Meletius not only continued to exercise the authority of Bishop, but even took upon himself to ordain clergy, which, by the rules of the Egyptian province, could not canonically be done without the consent of the metropolitan. Thus was formed a schismatical body, the distinctive feature of which was hostility to the Alexandrian bishop. Even after the death by martyrdom of Peter, this hostility continued under his successors, Achillas and Alexander, till on the rise, under the last named bishop, of the heresy of Arius, the Meletians, purely, as it would seem, from the spirit of opposition, set themselves thoroughly in the wrong by joining the Arian party.

The schism spread through Egypt, though not, it appears, to any extent beyond it, and at the Nicene Council [A.D. 325], formed, after the Arian heresy, the next subject which engaged the attention of the assembled Fathers. The manner in which Meletius and his followers were dealt with by the Council, perhaps, on the ground that they were free from actual heresy, is an example of leniency and firmness. Meletius was allowed to retain his rank as bishop, but was confined to his own city, and forbidden to exercise any episcopal functions. The clergy ordained by him were, on submission to reordination, to be readmitted to communion, and to be allowed to exercise their ministry, but to rank after those who had received canonical ordination. These measures, however, were not fully successful, as Socrates and Theodoret, who wrote in the first half of the fifth century, both speak of the schism as being still in existence in their time. Soon after that period it must have died out. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

MENÆA [Μεναῖον]. A Greek Office Book of the Eastern Church containing all the changeable parts of the Services used for the Festival Days of the Christian Year. It is usually arranged in twelve volumes, one for every month, but the whole is sometimes compressed into three volumes. The Menæa of the Eastern Church nearly answers to the Breviary of the Western Church, omitting, however, some portions of the Services which the latter contains, and inserting others which are not in the Breviary. [Zacchar. *Bibliothec. Rit.*; Neale's *Eastern Church*, 829.]

MENOLOGY. [MARTYROLOGY.]

MERIT. [CONDIGNITY. CONGRUITY.]

MESSIAH. [CHRIST.]

METAPHORICAL interpretation is included under the *literal*. A *metaphor* is an interchange of ideas, of which one is said to represent the other, without altering thereby the grammatical position or import of the sentence. Thus, Ps. cvii. 30, "He bringeth them into their desired haven," *i.e. refuge*. The process in the case of the *trope* (τροπός, in its *literal* sense), which, however, is included under the *metaphor*, differs as follows: In the *metaphor* what is *sensible* may be spiritualized—as "Ye are the salt of the earth;" in the *trope*, on the other hand, the more *sensible*, or, as it were, *tangible* expression is used in place of the abstract—as [1 Sam. ii. 33] "in the flower of their age," *i.e.* in their *youth*. [TROPOLOGICAL.]

METEMPSYCHOSIS. Metensomatosis, the term used by Irenæus [tom. i. p. 192, Cambr. ed.], expresses more accurately the idea of a transmigration of souls after death. The notion may be traced back to a remote antiquity; having taken its rise in the natural abhorrence with which the human mind recoils from the idea of a total annihilation of the soul by death. The analogy of nature also favoured it, "*Mutat terra vices.*" In many systems, as in that of the Vedas, the Avesta, the Jewish Cabbala, and the Platonic theory, it marked a belief in the eternal preexistence of the souls of men. Nothing, it was held, can be created out of nothing, neither can any existent substance suffer annihilation. Therefore, when the union of body and soul was dissolved, a fresh sphere of action was found for the latter in other bodies, of which it was successively the animating principle. Wherever the notion occurs in the intellectual systems of antiquity, it may be traced back to India, or rather to Central

Asia, from whence it was imported into the Punjab, and extended itself also in a westerly direction among the Aryan families of the human race. Thus when Asiatic hordes overran Egypt, and drove back the race of Ham, the notion obtained in Africa a local habitation. Herodotus [ii. 123] speaks of it as the ancient belief of Egypt; and there was no essential distinction between the Indian and Egyptian theories of transmigration. They are both based upon Pantheism. Life, of whatever kind, in the Indian theory, is an emanation from the one source of life. The material world is but Máyá, illusion; the aggregate of appearances with which Brahma invests himself are the embodiment of his thought; subject and object form one Brahma. Each individual life in this system is an associated ray of the light of the universe, and, as life, it continues to exist under an infinite succession of apparent form, whether human or brute, or even as vital principle in the vegetable and mineral world; for there is life in everything, and the moral fitness developed under one phase of life determines the contingencies of the next. Those who are gradually raised above the impurities of this state of existence approach more nearly to their liberation, and are rewarded in the end by the blessedness of annihilation in the mere glory of Brahma. The Pantheism of Egypt took a more concrete form, and Polytheism was there developed, which Greece adopted as the basis of her poetry and religion. Matter was believed to be a substantial reality; and the material form that was once united with spirit in the one being of man, was believed to maintain that connection so long as the material form remained. Hence the Egyptian practice of embalming the dead, to arrest the passage of the soul into other forms. The transmigration of the soul was in no sense held to be a purifying dispensation, but was the necessary consequence of its existence. The vital spark could not be quenched, but during three thousand years it passed through every form of life, until it resumed once more the human form, and passed away to the isles of the blessed [Herod. ii. 123]. The transmigration of souls was also a tenet of the Persian religion before the time of Zoroaster [Franck, *Et. Or.* 243], and was derived, with the language of the Avesta, from Indian sources. Pherecydes of Syros, who lived before the age of Zoroaster, taught the doctrine, and Pythagoras received it in Babylon from the Magi.

In the system of Plato it had a remedial function. Men of effeminate character reappeared as women in their next condition of trial. The slave of passion became the brute that he most closely assimilated; and as reason recovered its ascendancy, the first condition of humanity was regained [*Phædr.* 248, *C. D. E.* 249; *Tim.* 42. *B.C.*; see also Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 123]. From Babylon the Jews received the notion of transmigration, which they termed Gilgula hanneshamoth. [CABBALA.] Josephus [*B. J.* II. viii. 13] ascribes to the Pharisees a qualified belief in the metensomatosis of souls; the just being reinvested with a human body, the evil consigned to their place of punishment. They were half-instructed disciples who put the question to the Lord, "Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" renewed existence in this case being supposed to be penal.

It is not surprising that a notion adopted by Persia and Greece, and not ignored by Judaism, should have formed a distinctive tenet also of Gnosticism. Basilides, and Carpocrates [Iren. Cambr. ed. i. 207] both adopted it. It is doubtless to these heretical notions, rather than to any floating misbelief among primitive Christians, as Franck imagines [*La Cabbale*, p. 245, f.], that St. Jerome alludes, when he says that a belief in the transmigration of souls lurked in the early Church, "abscondite quasi in foveis viperarum" [*Ep. ad Demetr.*]. Lactantius also indicates the ravings of heresy when he says that it was "sententia deliri hominis" [vii. 12]. Origen, however, did not scruple to avow the tenet; a belief in the pre-existence of souls being necessary, as he imagined, to explain the apparent anomalies in the Divine government of the world; at the same time, however, he is careful to say that Plato was not the master that he followed, but that a far higher and purer doctrine was taught by him [π. ἀρχ. i. 7]. Yet it is certain that Plato, with whose writings he was intimately acquainted, gave the first impulse to his heterodox teaching as regards a metensomatosis of souls. The work in which these errors are mainly contained is the treatise περὶ ἀρχῶν, in four books. It was written as a confutation of the dualistic theories of Valentinus and Marcion, with whom evil was inseparable from matter and co-eternal with the principle of good. Origen sets himself, therefore, to account for the evil that abounds in the world on principles drawn from the philosophy of the schools, vindicating at the same time the fullest freedom of will for man. The Creator, he said, called into being a vast number of perfectly similar spirits, who, as being short of perfection, and free to act, fell more or less from the standard of purity according to which they had been created. They were therefore embodied in various disciplinal forms of matter, according to the ratio of their degeneration; thus they became angels of various rank, the souls of men and star spirits; for he held with Plato that the stars were animated with a soul of intellect, of which they are the beautiful prisons. Even the human soul of our Lord he declared to have been such a spirit, but on account of its highest excellence united inseparably with the Godhead. All other spirits are in a state of flux, improving or degenerating according to their own free choice, to whom the pains and sorrows of existence are all remedial; even the Spirit of evil is capable of improvement, and will at some time cease from his hostility to all good, when, his evil will having been annihilated, God will be all in all. But a Platonic ἀπειρία of long ages is required to work out these results; for as this world is the last of an infinite series of antecedent worlds, so is it the first of others that shall succeed; and as there never has been a time without an universe, so no limit can

be imagined to the creative power of the Deity, and for long ages the purification of created spirits will be carried on in every varying form of existence. He states expressly, however, that a belief in the absolute eternity of matter is wholly atheistic [*Comm. in Gen.* περὶ ἀρχ. ii. 4. See Gieseler, *K. Gesch.* sec. 31; Fleury, *H. Eccl.* v. 54; Redepenning's *Origen;* Ritter, *Chr. Phil.* i. 465]. In Northern Europe the Druidical priesthood of the Celtic races [Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 14] made the transmigration of souls an article of the credenda of their religion, having adopted it in all probability from the continually westward flowing stream of Indo-Germanic population. In later days Herder and Lessing have spoken of the notion with a respect which it in no degree deserves.

METHODISM. This name was originally given to a movement for the revival of religion which was begun in the Church of England in the middle of the last century. The movement has ended in later times in the formation of several sectarian bodies, and the system of Methodism has ceased to have any organic unity with the Church in which it arose

I. METHODISM AS A MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCH. Methodism is for ever associated with the name of John Wesley, whose strong will, unwearying industry, power of organization, great preaching ability, and, last but not least, personal excellence, enabled him to originate the system, and to guide its fortunes for more than half a century. He was one of three brothers, sons of the Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire, who all received their education at public schools and at Christ Church. The eldest and youngest, Samuel and Charles, were Westminster scholars, and became students of Christ Church. John, the second of the three, was at Charter House School, and after taking his degree at Christ Church, became a Fellow of Lincoln College. He was born June 17th, 1703, being eleven years younger than his brother Samuel, and five years older than Charles. His life extended over nearly the whole of the eighteenth century, and he died at the great age of 88, on March 2nd, 1791.

John Wesley never held a cure of souls, having been ordained on his Fellowship, which he held from 1726 to 1751. In the latter year, at the age of forty-eight, he married a widow lady of some fortune, and with four children, and could, of course, hold his Fellowship no longer; but the nature of the work he had taken up quite precluded him from settling down in a parish;[1] and for the remaining forty years of his life he had no official connection with the Church, though constantly officiating within its walls. About the time that John Wesley became Fellow of Lincoln College he was also associated with an Oxford "Society for the Reformation of Manners," one of the many which then existed throughout the country. For a short time he became curate to his father, but on his return to College as tutor in 1727, he organized a small body of religious young men, who agreed to read together (Sunday evening being given to Theology), to visit the prisoners at the Castle,[2] and the sick poor in the city, to observe Wednesday and Friday as fast days, and to communicate frequently. The undergraduate persiflage of the day eventually fastened on this little community the name of Methodists, a name by which the Puritans were known early in the 17th century, and which was afterwards extended to all the communities founded by Wesley. For a time the religious zeal of John Wesley sought a field for its exercise in mission work, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent him to Georgia, one of our North American colonies, then in its early infancy. But his attempt to revive the ritual and discipline of the Church brought him into trouble, which was aggravated by the imprudent manner in which (whether rightly or wrongly) he refused the Holy Communion to a lady to whom he had been betrothed, but who had subsequently (after some misunderstanding with Wesley) married a Mr. Williamson. Hopelessly failing in his mission work, he returned to England in February 1737-8,[3] and it is from this time that the history of his religious revival begins.

Wesley's mind was not of the highest order, and he was entirely wanting in originality of thought, so that, being of an extremely warm and zealous temperament he was very susceptible of intellectual and religious bias from those with whom he came in contact. On his voyage to Georgia, and during his sojourn there, he had been much influenced by friendship and intercourse with the Moravians. Immediately on his return to England he met with a German named Peter Böhler, belonging to the same sect. From the Moravians he learned those ideas about assurance and instantaneous conversion which have ever since given their colour to Methodism, and some of the practical details of the system were borrowed from the same source. The first mention of these special doctrines is found in his account of his first landing in Georgia, in February 1736. "My brother," said Mr. Spangenberg, one of the Moravian pastors, "I must ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" "I was surprised," writes Wesley, "and knew not what to answer. He observed it and asked, 'Do you know Jesus Christ?' I paused, and said, 'I know He is the Saviour of the world.' 'True,' replied he, 'but do you know He has saved you?' I answered, 'I hope He has died to save me.' He only added, 'Do you know yourself?' I said, 'I do.' But I fear they were vain words." During the few weeks of Wesley's intercourse with Böhler, he was "clearly convinced of unbe-

[1] The same circumstance made his married life extremely miserable, and even scandalous. He and his wife separated finally in their old age, about 1772, and Mrs. Wesley died in 1781.

[2] "They had prayers at the Castle most Wednesdays and Fridays, a Sermon on Sunday, and the Sacrament once a month" [Watson's *Life of Wesley*, p. 40].

[3] George Whitfield sailed to join his friend just as Wesley was landing in England, but he spent only three months in Georgia. Charles Wesley, who had accompanied his brother, returned in 1736.

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lief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved with the full Christian salvation." The climax was reached in the "conversion" of his brother Charles, on May 21st, and of himself, on May 24th and 25th, 1738, his own "conversion" being completed during the afternoon service of the latter day, at St. Paul's Cathedral, when the choir were singing the anthem, "My song shall be alway of the loving-kindness of the Lord; with my mouth will I ever be shewing forth Thy truth from one generation to another." Three weeks afterwards, on June 13th, 1738, he and his brother went with some friends on a summer tour, during which they visited Herrnhut, the Moravian settlement near Mayence, where they arrived on August 1st. Remaining here for some weeks, he became familiar with the system of the Moravian sect. In September they returned to London, and both the Wesleys again began to preach about conversion and assurance as frequently as possible in every church to which they could get access.[1] Thus the Methodist movement was energetically set on foot in the form of what would, in more modern times, have been called a "mission," voluntarily undertaken by two English priests in the parish churches of London.

A month later, on October 13th, 1738, Wesley wrote from Oxford to Dr. Koker at Rotterdam, "His blessed Spirit has wrought so powerfully both in London and Oxford, that there is a general awakening, and multitudes are crying out 'What must we do to be saved?' So that till our gracious Master sendeth more labourers into the harvest, all my time is much too little for them." This stage of Methodism he wrote of thus in the Minutes of Conference for A.D. 1765: "*Q.* What was the rise of Methodism so called? *A.* In 1729 my brother and I read the Bible, saw inward and outward *holiness* therein, followed after it, and incited others so to do. In 1737 we saw 'This holiness comes by *faith*.' In 1738 we saw 'We must be *justified* before we are sanctified.' But still *holiness* was our point, inward and outward holiness. God then thrust us out, utterly against our will, to raise a *holy* people" [*Minutes of Conf.* i. p. 50, ed. 1812]. This next stage may be also traced in his own words, written in the Minutes of A.D. 1766. "In November 1738, two or three persons who desired to flee from the wrath to come, and then seven or eight more, came to me in London, and desired me to advise and pray with them. I said, 'If you will meet on Thursday night, I will help you as well as I can.' More and more then desired to meet with them, till they increased to many hundreds. The case was afterwards the same at Bristol, Kingswood, Newcastle, and many other parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It may be observed the desire was on *their* part, not *mine*. My desire was, to live and die in retirement. But I did not see that I could refuse them my help and be guiltless before God" [*Minutes of Conf.* i. p. 58, ed. 1812].[2]

The "prayer meetings" thus established were supplementary to the Church services, and do not appear to have been held, at first, on Sundays. Those in London were principally held in a Moravian meeting-house in Fetter Lane, until Wesley and the Moravians quarrelled in 1740, but probably Wesley's own lodgings were also frequented for the purpose.

At the end of April 1739, Wesley went to Bristol to assist Whitefield, and two days after his arrival, on May 2nd, he adopted the plan of out-of-door preaching, by means of which the latter had attracted such vast crowds around him. Ten days afterwards he laid the first stone of his first preaching-house, the "New Room," in the Horse Fair, Bristol, but before it was completed he had opened the "Foundry" in Moorfields (an old cannon foundry), for the same purpose; the house next door being taken for his own residence, which became the headquarters of his system. From this time preaching-houses began to increase in number very rapidly, and with them arose a definite organization of the Methodists into a body which they named "The United Society;" a name doubtless copied from the "Unitas Fratrum" of the Moravians. Wesley's own description of this is given in the Minutes for A.D. 1766. "In a few days, some of them said, 'Sir, we will not *sit under you* for nothing. We will subscribe quarterly.' I said, 'I will have nothing, for I want nothing. My fellowship supplies me with all, and more than I want.' One replied, 'Nay, but you want £115, to pay for the lease of the Foundry. And likewise, a large sum will be wanting to put it into repair.' On this consideration I suffered them to subscribe. And when the Society met I asked, 'Who will take the trouble of receiving this money, and paying it where needful?' One said, 'I will do it and keep the account for you.' So here was the first *steward*. Afterwards I desired one or two more to help me as stewards, and in process of time a greater number" [*Min. of Conf.* i. p. 59, ed. 1812].

The original purpose for which these preaching-houses were erected was that of providing places in which the Wesleys and their clerical coadjutors might preach at any time without requiring the permission of a parochial clegyman, and in which also the prayer meetings and other gatherings of the Society might be held. But while they increased in number Wesley's clerical coadjutors diminished instead of increasing in number, and thus a supposed necessity for lay-preachers arose, although, like most other developments of Methodism, lay-preaching was forced upon Wesley by others rather than designed by himself. He appointed John Cennick to take charge of his Kingswood Society, and Thomas Maxwell to undertake the same post at the

[1] In his journal he mentions seven in which he had preached between May 7th and 19th, 1738, and in the same year, he records that he had preached at St. Antholin's, St. Botolph's, Islington, and St. Clement's in the Strand, on one Sunday, October 29th.

[2] A very similar account of the origin of Methodism is given by Wesley in the "Rules," drawn up and signed by him and his brother, on May 1st, 1743.

Foundry. They were laymen, and were enjoined not to preach, though they were permitted to pray and expound the Scriptures in his own absence. While Wesley was at Bristol in 1741, Maxwell began to preach, without any authority from him, at the Foundry. At first he was very angry, hastening up to London to stop the innovation, but he soon resigned himself to the influence of others, and allowed the system of lay-preaching to be developed to any extent, provided the preachers were subject to his appointment and control.

Eventually the preaching-houses developed into chapels, which were looked upon as rivals instead of auxiliaries to the parish churches. The lay preachers also called themselves ministers, claiming to possess sacerdotal powers, and setting themselves up as rivals to the parish priests. Thus, the system which had originally been carried out by clergymen of the Church of England, was at last entirely changed through the admission of "lay-co-operation;" and as the original clergy died off, the lay-element entirely exterminated the clerical element from Methodism.

The intentions of Wesley in respect to the association of his revival movement with the Church of England, are shewn by many passages in his writings, and by the rules which he imposed upon his followers. "Do we separate from the Church?" was one of the questions asked in the first Conference, which was held in 1744. The answer was "We conceive not. We hold communion therewith, for conscience' sake, by constantly attending both the Word preached, and the sacraments administered therein" [*Min. of Conf.* i. 9, ed. 1812]. "In every place," say the Minutes of 1749, "exhort those who were brought up in the Church constantly to attend its service. And, in visiting the classes, ask every one, 'Do *you* go to church as often as ever you did?' Set the example yourself. And immediately alter every plan that interferes therewith. Is there not a cause for this? Are we not unawares, by little and little, tending to a separation from the Church? O remove every tendency thereto with all diligence. [1] Let all our preachers go to church. [2] Let all our people go constantly. [3] Receive the sacrament at every opportunity. [4] Warn all against niceness in hearing, a great prevailing evil. [5] Warn them likewise against despising the prayers of the Church. [6] Against calling our Society *a church*, or *the Church*. [7] Against calling our preachers *ministers;* our houses *meeting-houses;* (call them plain preaching-houses.) [8] Do not license them as such. The proper form of a petition to the judge is, 'A. B. desires to have his house in C. licensed for public worship.' [9] Do not license yourself, till you are constrained; and then not as a *Dissenter*, but a *Methodist* preacher. It is time enough, when you are prosecuted, to take the oaths. Thereby you are licensed" [*ibid.* p. 57].

Seventeen years afterwards, in 1766, the same strong protest was made against being thought Separatists. The question is asked, "Are we not then Dissenters?" And the answer, an unusually long one for the minutes, is as follows: "We are irregular:—[1] By calling sinners to repentance, in *all places* of God's dominion; [2] by frequently using *extemporary prayer*. Yet we are not *Dissenters* in the only sense which our law acknowledges: namely, persons who believe it is sinful to attend the service of the Church: for we do attend it at all opportunities. We will not, dare not, separate from the Church, for the reasons given several years ago. We are not *Seceders*, nor do we bear any resemblance to them. We set out upon quite opposite principles. The Seceders laid the very foundation of their work, in judging and condemning *others*. We laid the foundation of our work, in judging and condemning ourselves. They begin everywhere, with shewing their hearers, how fallen *the Church* and *ministers* are. We begin everywhere, with shewing our hearers how fallen they are *themselves*. And as we are not Dissenters from the Church now, so we will do nothing willingly which tends to a separation from it. Therefore let every assistant so order his circuit, that no preacher may be hindered from attending the church, more than two Sundays in the month. Never make light of going to church, either by word or deed. Remember Mr. Hook, a very eminent and a zealous Papist. When I asked him, 'Sir, what do you for public worship here, where you have no Romish sermon?' He answered, 'Sir, I am so fully convinced, it is the duty of every man to worship God in public, that I go to church every Sunday. If I cannot have such worship as I would, I will have such worship as I can.' But some may say, 'Our own service is public worship.' Yes, *in a sense:* but not such as supersedes the church service. We never designed it should. We have a hundred times professed the contrary. It presupposes public prayer, like the sermons at the University. Therefore I have over and over advised, Use no *long prayer*, either before or after sermon. Therefore I myself frequently use only a collect, and never enlarge in prayer, unless at intercession or on a watch-night, or on some extraordinary occasion. If it were designed to be instead of church service, it would be essentially defective. For it seldom has the four grand parts of public prayer; deprecation, petition, intercession, and thanksgiving. Neither is it, even on the Lord's day, concluded with the Lord's Supper. The hour for it on that day, unless where there is some peculiar reason for a variation, should be five in the morning, as well as five in the evening. Why should we make God's day the shortest of the seven? But if the people put ours in the place of the Church service, we *hurt* them that stay with us, and *ruin* them that leave us. For then they will go nowhere, but lounge the Sabbath away, without any public worship at all. I advise, therefore, all the Methodists in England and Ireland, who have been brought up in the Church, constantly to attend the service of the Church, at least every Lord's day" [*ibid.* p. 57].

In 1768, also, the twelfth minute is, "Lastly, [1.] Let us keep to the Church. Over and above all the reasons that were formerly given for this, we add another now from long experience; they that leave the Church, leave the Methodists. The clergy cannot separate us from our brethren, the Dissenting ministers can and do. Therefore, carefully avoid whatever has a tendency to separate men from the Church. In particular, preaching at any hour which hinders them from going to it. Let every assistant look to this. [2.] Let all the servants in our preaching-houses, go to Church on Sunday morning at least. [3.] Let every preacher go always on Sunday morning, and, when he can, in the afternoon. God will bless those who go on week-days too, as often as they have opportunity" [*ibid.* p. 82]. In 1785, under the date of September 4th, he writes: "Finding a report had been spread abroad that I was going to leave the Church, to satisfy those that were grieved concerning it, I openly declared in the evening, that I had now no more thought of separating from the Church than I had forty years ago" [Wesley's *Works*, iv. p. 320]. Two years later, on January 2nd, 1787, he writes in his journal:—"I went over to Deptford, but it seemed I was got into a den of lions. Most of the leading men of the Society were mad for separating from the Church. I endeavoured to reason with them, but in vain; they had neither sense nor even good manners left. At length, after meeting the whole Society, I told them, 'If you are resolved, you may have your service in Church hours; but, remember, from that time you will see my face no more.' This struck deep; and from that hour I have heard no more of separating from the Church" [*ibid.* p. 357]. Respecting the Conference of 1789, he writes, about eight months before his death, "The Conference began: about a hundred preachers were present, and never was our Master more eminently present with us. The case of separation from the Church was largely considered, and we were unanimous against it." And among his very last words to his preachers were the fervid ones, "Be Church-of-England-men still. Do not cast away the peculiar glory which God hath put upon you, and frustrate the design of Providence, the very end for which God raised you up" [*Armin. Meth. Mag.* 1790, p. 234].

These extracts, and they might be greatly multiplied, are enough to shew that Wesley from the beginning to the end of his work, that is for more than half a century, believed himself to be labouring in close communion with the Church, and that he wished all his followers to continue in that communion. It may be added that he was never subjected to any ecclesiastical censure, that he had about twenty-five clergymen, beneficed and unbeneficed, as coadjutors, that he was kindly received by several of the bishops, that he often assisted in Divine service, that in the latter years of his life he had more invitations to preach in churches than he could find time to accept, and that the last entry in his journal is to the effect, that on October 24th, 1790, he had preached at Spitalfields Church in the morning, and at St. Paul's, Shadwell, in the afternoon.

It is evident, therefore, that the originator of Methodism regarded it, to the last, as an organization ancillary to the parochial system of the Church. It was viewed in the same light by many of his immediate followers, and the original rule as to the attendance at Church and the Holy Communion was observed by "old-fashioned Methodists" for thirty or forty years after the death of their founder. Had the rule been generally observed, and according to the intention of Wesley, Methodism would have brought a great blessing to the Church, and would have preserved a far higher character for spirituality than has belonged to it in later times.

II. The Schismatical Aspect of Methodism. But the system which Wesley established did, in fact, contain elements of schism from the very first, and his own acts cannot by any means be adjudged to be so clear from schism as he alleged, and probably supposed, them to be.

The very position which he assumed was essentially sectarian. Having been ordained on his Fellowship, and never being charged with any cure of souls, he acted throughout his life without that Mission which, in every branch of the Church Catholic, is considered essential to the pastoral office. He was charged with this want of proper jurisdiction in 1762 by (of all people in the world) "Beau" Nash, who being a social, if not a magisterial, leader at Bath, required Wesley to state on what authority he, as a clergyman of the Church of England, was acting when preaching there. "By the authority," replied Wesley, "of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the now Archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid hands upon me and said, Take thou authority to preach the Gospel" [Wesley's *Works*, xxvii. 88]. But, of course, ordination does not qualify a Fellow of a College to say (as he did on another occasion) "the world is my parish;" and Wesley garbled the quotation from the Ordination service by omitting the very important words "in the congregation, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed." He may never, perhaps, have seen a curate's license, and probably knew nothing about the form of institution to a cure of souls, but it is surprising that he should have given so false a turn to such solemn words, even with the knowledge which he did possess. He was originally misled, perhaps, by some words spoken by Archbishop Potter, whom he consulted in 1734, as to the duty of taking his father's benefice of Epworth, which the elder Mr. Wesley earnestly entreated him to do. "It doth not seem to me," said the Archbishop, "that at your ordination you engaged yourself to undertake the cure of any parish, provided you can, as a clergyman, better serve God and His Church in your present or some other station." At a later date his true position was more clearly put before him by Gibson, Bishop of London. "Are you a licensed curate?" asked the Bishop, when Wesley claimed a right to act on an ignorant and presumptuous opinion by rebaptizing Dissenters [Re-Baptism], and by preach-

ing when and where he pleased. "No," replied Wesley, "but I have leave of the proper minister." "But do you know," said the Bishop, "that no man can exercise parochial duty in London without my leave? If any one does it, it is only *sub silentio*." "But you know," said Wesley, "that many do take that permission, and you yourself allow it." "It is one thing to connive," said the Bishop, "another to approve. I have power to inhibit you." "Does your Lordship exact that power? do you inhibit me?" "Oh! why will you push matters to an extreme?" was the gentle remonstrance; and the Bishop concluded by saying, "Well, Sir, you knew my judgment before, and you know it now."

At the first Conference of 1744, the question was asked, "In what view may we and our helpers be considered?" to which Wesley answers, "Perhaps as extraordinary messengers, designed by God to provoke others to jealousy" [*Min. of Conf.* i. p. 14, ed. 1812]. In 1785, he writes: "I exercised that power, which I am fully persuaded the great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church has given me" [*ibid.* p. 190], the par ticular power referred to being that of ordination. In 1790, he emphatically repeated to the preachers: "Ye were fifty years ago, those of you that were then Methodist preachers, *extra*-ordinary messengers, not going in your own will, but *thrust* out, not to supersede, but to provoke to jealousy the ordinary messengers." These statements, made at the interval of half a century, shew clearly what plea Wesley used in justification of his conduct. But the plea was an evasion of the truth. For such an extraordinary mission could only be conveyed by some supernatural communication of it from the Chief Bishop, in Whose power alone it is to give it; and Wesley never stated, nor does he seem to have believed, that he had received such a communication. It was his impression, or opinion, or persuasion, that he had an extraordinary mission; but if such a persuasion is to have weight, without any further evidence, the whole principle of Apostolical Succession is given up, a principle which—in the case of others—Wesley urged very strongly.

Excellent man as he was in many respects, there can be no doubt that Wesley fell into the grievous error of becoming a schismatic priest, and that his work failed in attaining a true hold upon the Church in a large measure through this original and fundamental defect. Whether that work could have been done at all in subjection to the system of the Church is a question on which it would be useless to speculate.

In the early stages of Methodism its founder was able to control, in some degree, the impatience with which his lay agents regarded the restrictions laid upon them. But as we have seen, they forced him to permit them to preach as early as 1741, and lay-preaching became from that time a conspicuous feature of his system.

At a later date Wesley gave permission to the preachers to use the Book of Common Prayer in the preaching houses, as he explains in a paper dated from Bristol, on July 22nd, 1786: "Perhaps there is one part of what I wrote some time since which requires a little further explanation. In what cases do we allow of service in Church hours? I answer, [1] When the minister is a notoriously wicked man; [2] When he preaches Arian, or any equally pernicious doctrine; [3] When there are not churches in the town sufficient to contain half the people; and [4] When there is no church at all within two or three miles. And we advise every one who preaches in the Church hours, to read the Psalms and Lessons, with part of the Church prayers: because we apprehend this will endear the Church service to our brethren, who probably would be prejudiced against it, if they heard none but extemporary prayer" [*Min. of Conf.* i. p. 191, ed. 1812].

This permission was further extended by the Minutes of 1788, when it was ordered that "The assistants shall have a discretionary power to read the Prayer Book in the preaching houses on Sunday mornings, where they think it expedient, if the generality of the society acquiesce with it; on condition that divine service never be performed in the Church hours on the Sundays when the Sacrament is administered in the parish church where the preaching house is situated, and the people be strenuously exhorted to attend the Sacrament in the parish church on those Sundays" [*ibid.* p. 208].

Before he died, Wesley heard his lay-preachers (more logical than himself) clamouring for permission to administer the Lord's Supper in the preaching houses; as had been done by Wesley himself and by other Methodist *priests* in impatient resistance to the unjust conduct of some of the clergy in refusing the Holy Communion to those of their people who were enrolled as Methodists. Wesley preached and published a sermon on the subject just before his death, in which is the following passage:—"In 1744, all the Methodist preachers had their first conference; but none of them dreamed that the being called to preach gave them any right to administer Sacraments; one of our first rules was given to each preacher: 'You are to do that part of the work which we appoint.' But what work was this? Did we ever appoint you to administer Sacraments? To exercise the priestly office? *Such a design never entered into our mind; it was farthest from our thoughts;* and if any member had taken such a step, we should have looked upon it as a palpable breach of this rule, and consequently as a recantation of our connexion. I wish all you, who are vulgarly termed Methodists, would seriously consider what has been said, and particularly you whom God has commissioned to call sinners to repentance. It does by no means follow hence, that you are commissioned to baptize and to administer the Lord's Supper. Ye never dreamed of this for ten or twenty years after ye began to preach; ye did not then, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, seek the priesthood also; ye knew no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. Oh, contain yourselves within your own bounds."

This indignant remonstrance was, however, much weakened in its force by the fact that Wesley had not "contained himself within his own bounds." In 1784, he had gone through the mock ceremony of ordaining "elders or presbyters" for America, and of giving to Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury commissions as "superintendents," which they understood in the sense of consecration to the Episcopate; they and their successors, to the present day, calling themselves "Bishops."[1] It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Wesley's remonstrance had little effect. At the next Conference after he had been laid in the grave, that is in 1792, the following odd document was the result of the continued agitation:—"*To the Members of our Societies, who desire to receive the Lord's Supper from the hands of their own Preachers.*

"Very dear Brethren,—The Conference desire us to write unto you, in their name, in the most tender and affectionate manner, and to inform you of the event of their deliberations concerning the administration of the Lord's Supper.

"After debating the subject time after time, we were greatly divided in sentiment. In short, we knew not what to do, that peace and union might be preserved. At last one of the senior brethren (Mr. Pawson) proposed that we should commit the matter to God by putting the question to the lot, considering that the Oracles of God declare, that 'the lot causeth contentions to cease, and parteth between the mighty:' and again, that 'the lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord:' and considering also that we have the example of the Apostles themselves, in a matter which we thought, all things considered, of less importance.

"We accordingly prepared the lots; and four of us prayed. God was surely then present, yea, His glory filled the room. Almost all the preachers were in tears, and as they afterwards confessed, felt an undoubted assurance that God Himself would decide. Mr. Adam Clarke was then called on to draw the lot, which was, 'You shall not administer the Sacrament the ensuing year.' All were satisfied. All submitted. All was peace. Every countenance seemed to testify that every heart said, 'It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good.' A minute was than formed according to the previous explanation of the lots, that the Sacrament should not be administered in our Connexion for the ensuing year, except in London. The prohibition reaches the clergy of the Church of England as well as the other brethren.

"We do assure you, dear brethren, we should have been perfectly resigned, if the lot had fallen on the other side. Yea, we should, as far as Christian prudence and expediency would have justified, have encouraged the administration of the Lord's Supper by the preachers; because we had not a doubt but God was uncommonly present on the occasion, and did Himself decide. Signed, in behalf of the Conference, Alexander Mather, *President.* Thomas Coke, *Secretary.*" [*Min. of Conf.* i. 262, ed. 1812.] This was followed up at the next Conference, in 1793, by two other addresses, dated from Leeds, on August 6th and 8th; in which, while professing that "we have no design or desire of making our societies *separate churches*," and "we have never sanctioned ordination in England, either in this Conference or in any other, in any degree, or ever attempted to do it;" the point demanded was granted, on the ground that if the preachers were not permitted to administer the Lord's Supper the societies would be broken up [*ibid.* 278-282]. Since that time "ordinations" have been long adopted, and in 1836, the ceremony of imposition of hands was introduced, in imitation of Catholic ordinations.

From this narrative it will be seen that a schismatical position has been definitely and deliberately adopted by the Methodist Societies, and that they have superseded the Episcopate, the Priesthood, and the Altar, of the Church from which they originally sprang, by a Presbyterian ministry, and by an ordinance which, in the absence of a priesthood, is only a human imitation of the divinely instituted Eucharist.

At the time of Wesley's death, in 1791, the Methodist Society numbered 136,000, in England, Ireland, Scotland, America, and the West Indies. In England there were about 58,000, viz., 35,000 in the Northern Counties, 12,000 in the West of England, 3,000 in London, and 8,000 distributed over the remaining parts of the country. Four-fifths of the whole number, therefore, were in the North and the West of England. In an early stage of their history a large body had followed Whitefield, and became Calvinistic Methodists. Since Wesley's death his own followers have been broken up into several sects. For further details respecting these, and the original community in its sectarian form, the reader is referred to the *Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.

MIDRASH, from the verb "darash," to make research, means that thoroughgoing "investigation" which a subject receives from the teacher (Haddarshan), that it may be placed in a clear light before the taught. Wherever the word occurs in the Hebrew Bible it does not mean an indefinite search for that which may or may not exist, but "research" with respect to that which is ready to hand, but the nature of which cannot be known without careful pains: such as the works of God, His Will, Law, Commandments, &c. The term Midrash is founded on the use of the verb in Ezra vii. 10: "Ezra had prepared his heart to seek [lid' rosh] the Law of the Lord, and to do it." Thus, in apparent allusion to this text, the Talmud says "Midrash is not the chief matter, but action" [*Aboth.* i. 17]. It is the Hebrew equivalent for "story" [2 Chron. xii.

[1] It is right to state that a very well-informed personal friend of Wesley wrote as follows, when severely criticizing Southey's *Life of Wesley*, in 1820: "I blame Mr. Wesley's conduct respecting the Church of England, toward the close of his life at least, as much as Mr. Southey himself; yet sure I am the poor old man was utterly unconscious of duplicity or prevarication. If Mr. Southey had known as much of those transactions as even I had happened to do, he would as much as ever have condemned the conduct, but he would have pitied the otherwise venerable person, who was thus mysteriously permitted to be the dupe of his own weakness and of other men's arts." [*Remains of Alex. Knox*, iii. p. 470, ed. 1837.]

23, xxiv. 27]. Thus the word may be considered to represent the act of study, exposition, and any book that contains the result of such study, the body of such exposition. The Midrash-house was the rabbinical school of instruction. It was by means of this Midrash, or research into the hidden meaning of the written Word, that the Law was made binding on the whole inner life of Judaism, in all its complicated interests and conditions. It dates in its most simple form perhaps from a Mosaical antiquity. It was more fully developed after the Captivity by Ezra, the men of the Great Synagogue, and the Tanaite series of teachers that was foreclosed on the compilation of the Mishna, in which its results as authoritative HALACOTH were embodied. "What is the essence of the Mishna?" the Talmud asks in its usual catechetical way; "Rabbi Meir affirms it to be Halacoth, or Mosaical constitutions; Rabbi Jehuda says that it is Midrash" [*Kiddushin*, 49 A.]. But Midrash as an entirety is not comprised in the Talmud. It expressed any and every ancient exposition on the Law, Psalms, and Prophets; disquisitions that took the form of allegorical illustration, homiletics, or practical commentary. The Talmud enjoins that a blessing be invoked before every act of study of Midrash as well as of Torah and Talmud [*Berachoth*, ii. 6]. Midrash was the source of light Haggadic narrative as well as of the authoritative Halacah [HAGGADAH. HALACAH]; and the innumerable commentaries and figurative expositions of the sacred text all go by the same generic name; which may thus be said, in its most general meaning, to express the whole uncanonical Jewish literature, including Mishna and Gemara, or Talmud, down to the compilation of the book Jalkuth in the thirteenth century. From that time the term gradually ceased to be applied to rabbinical writings. Midrash therefore is venerable from its antiquity. Modern Judaism presumes not to give it further development. Exposition now assumes the name of D' rasha. [Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr. d. Jud.*; Jost.]

MILLENNIUM. The prophetic period of a thousand years spoken of in Rev. xx. 1-7.

The Millenarians, or Chiliasts, accepting this prophecy literally, hold, that after the destruction of the powers symbolized by the beast and the false prophet, Satan will be "bound," *i.e.* his power will be suspended for the period of a thousand years, or for the period represented by a thousand years; that there will be a first resurrection of martyrs, and of those worthy to share the martyr's crown; that for the thousand years these will live and reign with Christ on earth, in free communion with the heavenly powers; that after this will be the general resurrection. There are on both sides many shades and varieties of teaching, but the crucial point is that of the first and second resurrection. Some undoubted Millenarians (*e.g.* Mede) assert a glorious Presence of Christ, but not the "visible converse" of a personal reign; and the accepting as literal, instead of explaining as metaphorical, the first resurrection stands as the test of Chiliasm.

The doctrine of the Millennium is of Jewish origin. "The idea of a kingdom of Christ upon earth, which should endure for a thousand years, passed from Judaism into Christianity" [Dollinger, *Hist. by Cox*, i. p. 194]. "Though the ancient Jews had no distinct knowledge of such an order in the resurrection as *first* and *second*, but only of the resurrection in gross and general, to be *in die Judicii magni*, yet they looked for such a resurrection, wherein those that rose again should reign some time upon earth, as appeareth, Wisd. iii. 1-8" [see also 2 Esdras ii., the interpolation of a Jewish Christian]. "This opinion is here and there also dispersed in the Chaldee paraphrase and in the Talmud, as of ancient tradition. . . . In fine, the *second* and universal resurrection, with the state of the saints after it, now so clearly revealed in Christianity, seems to have been less known to the ancient Church of the Jews than the *first*, and the state to accompany it" [Mede, *Works*, ii. 943]. The opponents of Chiliasm, Jerome in particular, commonly raised the objection that Chiliasm was Judaizing. By Judaizing they appear to have meant interpreting the prophecies in a carnal sense. But Judaizing, in the sense of carrying on into the later dispensation the divine truth of the earlier dispensation, is not an objection to any proposed doctrine, but rather a necessary mark of its truth. What doctrine of Christianity was not prepared for and ushered in by Judaism?

There are very distinct proofs of belief in a Millennium among the early Christians, but these seem to indicate rather that this prophecy of the Apocalypse (in which culminated such prophecies of the Old Testament as Isa. xxvi. 19; Ezek. xxxvii. 12; Jer. xxiii. 5-8; Dan. vii. 27), was generally received in its literal meaning, than that Chiliasts were mere Judaizers. Papias,[1] Justin,[2] Irenæus,[3] Tertullian,[4] Nepos,[5] Victorinus,[6] Lactantius,[7] Cyprian,[8] are among the best known authorities, but other testimonies might be quoted, and may readily be found in Lardner's *Credibility*, and Cave's *Historia Literaria*. Papias, "John's hearer, and the associate of Polycarp," is indeed commonly said to have been the author of Millenarianism. "He was the cause," writes Eusebius, "why most

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39. See also c. 36.

[2] *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. lxxx. See the passage with notes in Mede, p. 664. Mede puts in ὃν before τῆς καθαρᾶς . . . γνώμης. For which see Maitland's *Eruvin*, p. 186. Daillé puts in μὴ. So does Münscher, *History of Dogmatics*, ii. 455. Dollinger, *Hist. by Cox*, i. p. 195, note: which note see in opposition.

[3] *Adv. Hær.* v. 34-36.

[4] *Adv. Marc.* iii. p. 499. *De Resurr. Carnis*, p. 397. *De Monogam.* p. 682; Rigault's ed.

[5] Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 24. See Lardner, *Credibility;* St. Dionysius, i. c. 43.

[6] Victorinus Petavionensis; Routh's *Rel. Sac.* iii. 458; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 147.

[7] *Instit. Div.* vii. c. 14, 24. Regarding the seventh Chiliad of the world, see Mede, p. 1091. Note the distinction in c. 24, between the life of those who shall be raised from the dead, and of those who will be alive at the coming of the Kingdom.

[8] *De Exhort. Mart.*, pref.; and at the end, where he quotes Mark x. 29, 30 and Rev. xx. This piece has, by some persons, been erroneously attributed to Hilary, but is now generally acknowledged as the undoubted production of Cyprian. Smith's *Dict.*

of the ecclesiastical writers urging the antiquity of the man, were carried away by a similar opinion; as, for instance, Irenæus." But, as Maitland [*Eruvin*, p. 170] pertinently asks, How could respect on the score of antiquity be felt by Irenæus, who was Papias' contemporary. "The truth, I believe is," continued the same writer, "that it was not the antiquity of the *man*, but the antiquity of the doctrine which prevailed." To the general prevalence of the doctrine, Justin's testimony is express and full,[1] and may, with that of the other authorities referred to, be summed up by a reference to the Formula Doctrinæ, Διατύπωσις, of the Council of Nicæa,[2] which says, "We look for new heavens and a new earth, when there shall have shone the appearing and kingdom of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ: and then, as Daniel saith, the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom. And the earth shall be pure, holy, the earth of the living, and not of the dead (which David foreseeing with the eye of faith, exclaims, I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living), the earth of the gentle and lowly. For, blessed, saith the Lord, are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth: and the prophet saith, the feet of the poor and needy shall tread it." [Gelasius Cyzicenus, *Comment. Actorum Nic. Concil.; De Diatyposibus Ecc. Sermo Dogmaticus*, cap. xxxi. viii.; *De Providentia Dei*, p. 42; and in the Greek original which follows the Latin, p. 44. See also the chapter *De Resurrectione.*]

It is easy to see that this doctrine of the Millennium is very open to perversion and misrepresentation. The new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness are naturally, perhaps inevitably, described in the old prophetic language of temporal felicity, and such language is easily perverted so as to imply sensuality. There can be no doubt that some, perhaps many, held the doctrine in a carnal sense, but it is a misrepresentation to attribute that sense to such writers as, *e.g.* Irenæus. His well-known passage [v. 23] regarding vines with ten thousand branches, &c.[3] is in fairness to be interpreted by prophecies such as Isa. vi. 2, lxv. 21, Baruch iv. 36, and v., and by our Lord's words, Matt. xxvi. 27, with which he connects it, as also by his own words, "Through Him shall the righteous become accustomed to partake in the glory of God the Father, and shall enjoy, in the kingdom, intercourse and communion with the holy angels, and union with spiritual beings." So Lactantius' familiar words "rivers of milk and wine,"[4] borrowed from the old descriptions of the reign of Saturn, are explained by what follows: "Quæ vaticinia eorum cum paulatim fama vulgasset, quoniam prophani a sacramento ignorabant quatenus dicerentur, completa jam esse veteribus sæculis illa omnia putaverunt; quæ utique fieri complerique non poterant homine regnante." [Lactant. vii., *De vita beata*, cap. 23.] Augustine, moreover, speaking of the sensual ideas of some Millenarians, distinctly adds that others did not hold such a carnal beatitude; that he himself once held the opinion of the latter, and that to hold their opinion was tolerable. He then proceeds: "Sed cum eos qui tunc resurrexerint dicant immoderatissimis carnalibus epulis vacaturos in quibus cibus est tantus et potus, ut non solum nullam modestiam teneant, sed modum quoque ipsius incredulitatis excedant, nullo modo ista possunt nisi a carnalibus credi. Hi autem qui spiritales sunt istos ista credentes χιλιαστὰς appellant Græco vocabulo, quod verbum e verbo exprimentes nos possumus Miliarios nuncupare" [*De Civ.* xx. 7].

Coming then to the opposition which was offered to the Millenarian opinions of the early Chiliasts, we have to consider, first, whether the arguments of their opponents are really directed against the correct doctrine, or only against the perversion of the doctrine; secondly, whether the opponents of the doctrine, as correctly stated, may not have been led by the spirit of controversy to mix up the correct statement with the perversion. Thus Origen "attacked severely the doctrine of a Millennium." His words [*De Principiis*, ii. 11] are (after speaking against the notion of corporeal delights): "Those, however, who receive the representations of Scripture according to the understanding of the Apostles, entertain the hope that the saints will eat, indeed, but that it will be the bread of life. . . . By this food of wisdom the understanding is restored to the image and likeness of God, so that . . . the man will be capable of receiving instruction in that Jerusalem, the city of the saints." But these words are not inconsistent with the notion of a life, although a life on earth, in which the spirit will be so superior to the body, that the righteous shall enjoy intercourse and communion with the holy angels, and union with spiritual beings. Origen was the first, so far as we know, who opposed the doctrine of a Millennium. His work [*De Principiis*], just now quoted, was written at Alexandria, probably, *i. e.* before A.D. 216. In the reign of Gallienus [A.D. 260-268], "Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, taught that the promises given to holy men in the Scriptures should be understood more as the Jews understood them, and supposed that there would be a certain Millennium of sensual luxury on this earth" [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 24, Cruse's transl.]. He composed a work, *Refutation of the Allegorists;* Dionysius of Alexandria answered him in a work, *On the Promises.* Dionysius' words that "Nepos asserts there will be an earthly reign of Christ, that in many other respects he accords with and loves Nepos, on account of his faith and industry, and

See, for what may be said in favour of a different conclusion from his words, Whitby's *Treatise*, vol. ii. of his *Commentary*.

[2] This is at least a very early statement of Nicene doctrine, and was probably taken by Gelasius Cyzicenus from the older writings which were the foundation of his history.

[3] Whitby writes [*Treatise*, p. 691] that he is informed by some learned persons that the words cited by Irenæus from Papias are to be found in Jewish writings.

[4] The significance of milk and honey was as familiar to the ancients as that of wine is to us. "Inde [from the Font] suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus." [Tertul. *De Corona*, p. 121; Rigault.]

his great study in the Scriptures," compared with the title of Nepos' book, make it probable that the "sensual luxury" is merely a flourish or misrepresentation of Eusebius, and that Nepos only advocated a reign of Christ upon earth. Even of the Millenarians of Arsinoe, whom we may well suppose to have been less spiritual in their conceptions than Nepos himself, Dionysius says only that they persuaded the brethren "to expect what is little and perishable, and such a state of things as now exists in the kingdom of God." This does not amount to a promise of sensual luxury. Augustine's statement is that Nepos taught "sanctos cum Christo in delitiis regnaturos." He had just before reported of Tertullian and Lactantius that they agreed with Papias in looking for that "quod ad cibum vel ad potum pertinet." We may suppose the deliciæ of Nepos to be equally innocent.

The controversy is much embarrassed by the constant reference made to heretics. This begins with Caius' report of Cerinthus [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 28 and vii. 25]. Mosheim has shewn the utter improbability of Caius' accusation, that Cerinthus promised a Millennium of sensual luxury [Mosheim's *Commentaries* by Vidal, i. p. 341, note]. He states that to prior ages the accusation was utterly unknown—that no doubt it originated with Caius and Dionysius, who with a view to suppress the doctrines of Chiliasm, made it appear that Cerinthus was the author of it; and, further, that he was a distinguished patron of vice and iniquity. Professor Jeremie writes, "The Millennium was also held by the Marcionites," &c. [*Encyc. Metrop.* xi. 161, note.] It was held by the Montanists, and it is said that there is no trace of the doctrine in Tertullian's works before he became a Montanist. But there is no proof whatever that he received the Millenarian doctrine on the authority of the new prophecy.[1] In all these cases the question is not whether heretics held the doctrine, for they may have retained it as a part of the truth which their heresy did not lead them to deny; but whether the heresy was so connected with the doctrine, that in the condemnation of the former the latter is also condemned. Of all such cases, the most important (next to that of Cerinthus), is that of Apollinaris; because a supposed condemnation of Millenarianism in the person of Apollinaris by a Council at Rome [A.D. 374] has greatly influenced the Church of Rome in rejecting the teaching of the early Fathers. The words of that council, however, as given in Mansi, contain not a word regarding this doctrine: nor is there anything in the heretical tenets of Apollinaris to connect them with the doctrine.[2]

But that Chiliasm is a doctrine liable to be seized and perverted by fanaticism is very clear, as the later records of the Church too largely shew; and when fanaticism was added to heresy it is probable that the doctrine suffered accordingly. Whether it suffered in the hands of the Montanists in general does not appear. The asceticism of Montanus would forbid his advocacy of a sensual Millennium; and certainly the doctrine did not suffer in the hands of Tertullian.

The liability of this doctrine to perversion made peculiarly necessary the wise reserve which our Lord commands [Matt. vii. 6], and the exercise of such reserve is perhaps to be discerned in Origen's words, as quoted by Whitby, "They were only some that held this doctrine, and that so clancularly, that it had not yet come to the ears of the heathen" [*Philocalia*, c. xxvi. p. 99]. The absence of Millenarian doctrine from the writings of the Apostolic Fathers may be probably accounted for by this consideration. It seems, further, as if this reserve had extended to the Apocalypse itself, and caused in some degree, the lateness of its reception by the Church, with the doubts concerning its author. For the most part they who rejected Millenarian doctrine rejected or doubted the Apocalypse, as Dionysius, Eusebius, Caius. Origen and Jerome being distinguished exceptions. "Lücke suggests, in explanation of the omission of the Apocalypse from the canon by the Synod of Laodicæa, that possibly the churches of Asia Minor, especially that of Cappadocia, had excluded the Apocalypse from public reading in the Church, on account of the countenance which it had been made to give to the errors of Montanism" [Alford, *Proleg. to Rev.* viii. 1].

After the period we have been considering, little is heard of Chiliastic doctrine in the Church. The agitation at the end of the tenth century was a panic arising from the notion that the thousand years of Rev. xx. were to be dated from the birth of Christ, that Satan was therefore about to be loosed for his final effort, and that the day of Judgment was at hand; but such a notion is quite contrary to the doctrine of Chiliasm, the essence of which is the reality of the first resurrection. The popular belief of the time would have thrown that first resurrection to the date of our Lord's birth.

From time to time advocates of Chiliastic doctrine appeared: and one author mentioned by Gerhard [*Loci Theolog.* tom. ix.; *De Consummatione Sæculi*, cap. vii. sec. 76, p. 164] should be noticed, because his book *Onus Ecclesiæ*, A.D. 1524, was published in the Roman obedience "cum approbatione superiorum."

But it was the fate of the doctrine to be again brought into discredit through its perversion by fanatics. The Anabaptists proclaimed the coming reign of Christ on earth, and by their hideous excesses and crimes destroyed whatever chance there was at the Reformation for a calm consideration of the doctrine. Against the Anabaptists was directed the 17th clause of the Augustan Confession, A.D. 1531, "Damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt Judaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum, pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubique oppressis impiis." The Anathema was repeated in nearly the same words

[1] For the supposed connection of Millenarianism with heresy, see Maitland's *Eruvin, Essay on the Millennium.*

[2] For the Chiliasm of Apollinaris, see Epiphanius, 77, III. xxvi. Epiphanius does not believe the sensuality of Apollinaris' Millennium.

in 1540, with the addition, "Scimus enim quod pii debeant obedire præsentibus magistratibus," &c. [*Sylloge Confess.* 1837, pp. 128, 176]. The authors of Socinianism, Spiritus of Holland and Lælius Socinus, appear to have sprung from the Anabaptists: and the Anabaptist perversion of Millenarian doctrine in some degree passed into Socinianism. The course and extent of its influence is traced in Gerhard, and need not be followed here.

In England, Millenarian doctrine singularly appears in Edward VI.'s Catechism, 1553 [Randolph, *Euch. Theol.* i. p. 34, *Two Liturgies and Documents, Parker Soc.* p. 520]. "Antichrist is not yet slain. For this cause do we long for and pray that it may at length come to pass and be fulfilled, that Christ may reign with His saints according to God's promises: that He may live and be Lord in the world, according to the decrees of the Holy Gospel, not after the traditions and laws of men, nor pleasure of worldly tyrants." "Atque vivat et dominetur in mundo" is the Latin. So [Rand. p. 22, *Two Lit.* p. 510] there is also described the purification by fire of the whole world, which shall then be brought to its full perfection. "The lesser world, which is man, following the same, shall likewise be delivered from corruption and change. And so for man this greater world (which for his sake was first created) shall at length be renewed, and be clad with another hue, much more pleasant and beautiful. *Master.* What then remaineth? *Scholar.* The last and general doom. For Christ shall come: at Whose voice all the dead shall rise again," &c.

Two causes would combine to suppress this teaching, the recurrence to Romish doctrine under Mary, and the discredit cast (however erroneously) on the doctrine of the Millenarians by the Anabaptists. In like manner, the excesses and rebellions of the Fifth Monarchy men would in later times tell against the teaching of Mede and his scholars. One other discredit to Millenarian doctrine is the weakness which leads so many to affix a date to the Millennium, a weakness seen not only in men whose names have passed into a proverb for their rash and presumptuous interpretations of the Apocalypse, but even in such a theologian as Bengel, who named the year 1836 for the commencement of this period [Hagenbach, *Hist. Doct.* ii. 462; Clarke's transl.].

In conclusion, the reader is referred to Alford's *Note on Rev.* xx. 4-6, asserting the necessity of accepting St. John's words regarding the first resurrection in their literal sense, not according to the spiritual interpretation now in fashion. "If the first resurrection is spiritual then so is the second, . . . but if the second be literal then so is the first, which in common with the whole Primitive Church, and many of the best modern expositors, I do maintain, and receive as an article of faith and hope." [C. Maitland's *Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation.* 1849.]

MINOR ORDERS. [Orders, Minor.]

MIRACLES. The events denoted by this term are designated in the New Testament as δυνάμεις (expressing the *objective* idea of the miracle), as τέρατα (the *subjective*), as σημεῖα (the signs of the Divine Kingdom)—[see Acts ii. 22; 2 Cor. xii. 12]. Miracles, together with Prophecy, are the direct and fundamental proofs of revealed religion; they alike supply, with special energy, the "demonstration of the Spirit, and of power" [1 Cor. ii. 4]—the one in the department of action, the other in that of knowledge. What is commonly called "the supernatural" includes both. Now the only distinct meaning of the word *natural* is *stated, fixed,* or *settled,* "since what is *natural* as much requires and presupposes an intelligent agent to render it so, *i.e.* to effect it continually, or at stated times, as what is *supernatural* or miraculous to effect it for once."[1] A miracle, accordingly, in its very notion, "is *relative* to a course of nature; and implies somewhat different from it, as being so;"[2]—it results from the exercise of a power which is not included among the ordinary forces of nature. On this admitted fact, Hume's famous argument against miracles rests; and from this same fact the answer to that argument may be derived. "A miracle," writes Hume, "is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined."[3] In order to maintain this position, the objector must assume that no power exists in the universe except that with which the abstraction termed *nature* is endowed. Such a supposition, however, denies the existence of an Author of nature. Admit, on the other hand, that an Author of nature—that God—exists, and it is *irrational*[4] to deny the *possibility* of His intervening in order to vary nature's ordinary course, whatever opinion may be held as to the *probability* of such an intervention. Hume erroneously defines a miracle to be "a violation of the laws of nature." The laws of nature "are not *violated* when a new antecedent is followed by a new consequent; they are *violated* only when, the antecedent being exactly the same, a different consequent is the result."[5] The assertors of a miracle do not contend "that when the extraordinary event which they term miracu-

[1] Butler's *Analogy,* part i. ch. i. Having described "the general method of divine administration," Bishop Butler thus replies to the objection, "'But all this is to be ascribed to the general course of nature.' True, this is the very thing which I am observing. It is to be ascribed to the general course of nature; *i.e.* not surely to the words, or ideas, *course of nature;* but to Him who appointed it, and put things into it: or to a course of operation from its uniformity or constancy called natural; and which necessarily implies an operating agent" [*ib.* ch. 2].

[2] *Ib.* part ii. ch. 2.

[3] *Essays,* "*Of Miracles,*" part i.

[4] "What ground of reason," asks Mr. Mozley [*Bampton Lectures, On Miracles,* p. 39], "can we assign for our expectation that any part of the course of nature will the *next* moment be like what it has been up to *this* moment, *i.e.* for our belief in the uniformity of nature? None. . . . No reason can be given for this belief. It is without a reason. It rests upon no rational ground and can be traced to no rational principle."

[5] Dr. Thomas Brown, *On the Relation of Cause and Effect,* note E.

lous happened, the previous circumstances were the same as at other times when no such event was consequent. . . . On the contrary, they contend that the difference of the effect, as proved by the evidence of their senses, or of indubitable testimony, in the same way as the truth of any other rare phenomenon is established, implies an extraordinary cause." In this reasoning, the truth of the first principles of Theism is assumed; and, on this assumption, the evidence of the Deity's asserted agency, in any particular instance, is to be regarded in the same manner as the evidence of any other extraordinary event that is supposed to have resulted from any other new combination of physical circumstances. We cannot surely think ourselves justified in rejecting that evidence "because the physical power to whose agency the extraordinary event is supposed to bear witness, is the greatest of all the powers of nature."[1] The force of this reasoning is thus pointed out by Mr. J. S. Mill: "A miracle (as was justly remarked by Brown) is no contradiction to the law of cause and effect; it is a new effect, supposed to be produced by the introduction of a new cause. Of the adequacy of that cause, if present, there can be no doubt; and the only antecedent improbability which can be ascribed to the miracle, is the improbability that any such cause existed."[2]

Mr. Mill suggests a difficulty of another kind. No evidence, he observes, can prove a miracle to any one who did not previously believe the existence of a Being possessed of *supernatural* power; and, even admitting the existence of such a Being, the alternative of an unknown *natural* agency remains; for, with the knowledge which we now possess of the general uniformity of the course of nature, there is an antecedent improbability in every miracle. The supposition of an unknown natural agency, at which Mr. Mill here hints, is a favourite one with those who love to taunt theology with an undue jealousy of physical science. And yet, what little force this objection really possesses will appear manifest on considering an acute remark of Dean Mansel: "In whatever proportion our knowledge of physical causation is limited, and the number of unknown natural agents comparatively large, in the same proportion is the probability that some of these unknown causes, acting in some unknown manner, may have given rise to the alleged marvels. But this probability diminishes when each newly discovered agent, as its properties become known, is shewn to be inadequate to the production of the supposed effects, and as the residue of unknown causes which might produce them becomes smaller and smaller."[3] The progress of physical science, in fact, enables the Christian apologist to retort this argument against miracles, founded on the assumption of "an unknown *natural* cause."

In order to establish the fact of a miracle, there is required, as stated above, either the evidence of the senses or of trustworthy testimony. The nature of this proof is set forth in the usual treatises on the evidences of Christianity; let it suffice here to indicate the fallacy latent in another well-known argument of Hume. "No testimony," he asserts, "is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish. And even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior." The weakness of this reasoning has been thus pungently exhibited by Archbishop Whately: Hume's "argument respecting miracles stated clearly and in regular form would stand thus:—Testimony is a kind of evidence very likely to be false. The evidence for the Christian miracles is testimony; therefore it is likely to be false. Now, it is plain that everything turns on the question whether what is meant be *all* testimony, or *some*. The former is what no one in his senses would maintain. . . . But if the meaning be *some* testimony, this is true enough, but involves a gross fallacy: '[some] testimony is likely to be false; and the evidence for the Christian miracles is [some] testimony,' proves nothing."[4]

From what has been said it appears that it is impossible even to comprehend the general argument against *all* miracles, except on the principles of the Atheist, or, one may add, the Epicurean. It may be at once admitted that if there is no God, or if He regards not the affairs of men, there can be no miracle; and it is on assumptions such as these, although seldom avowed, that the opposition to miracles has mainly been founded.

St. John [chap. x. 37, 38] records the saying of Christ: "If I do not the works of My Father, believe Me not. But if I do, though ye believe not Me, *believe the works*." But why, it has been often asked, is the word of a teacher believed to be of Divine authority, because he is enabled to work a miracle? It is because we have a natural conviction that all the attributes of God are inseparably united; or rather, that our notions of His attributes are only different ways of conceiving the Supreme Excellence, Whom we cannot represent to ourselves in that perfect oneness which belongs to His nature. This principle irresistibly leads us to think that whenever the *power* of the Creator is displayed, His Wisdom and His Goodness must also be present, and that the worker of a miracle must have been commissioned by God.[5] [PROPHECY, SUPERNATURAL.]

MISHNA. The term Mishna expresses the traditional exposition of the Law, compiled by Judah the Holy, and completed about A.D. 219.

Various derivations of the term have been given. That supplied by the Rabbinical Lexicon, Shulchan Aruch, is probably the true one, referring the name to the word "Sheni," "second." The Mishna, or Oral Law, תּוֹרָה שֶׁבְּעַל פֶּה, being second to the Written Law, תּוֹרָה שֶׁבִּכְתָב. Mishna is distinct

[1] Brown, *Relation of Cause and Effect*, note E.
[2] *A System of Logic*, 4th ed. vol. ii. p. 159.
[3] *Aids to Faith*, p. 14.
[4] *Notes on Paley's Evidences*, p. 33.
[5] Bishop Hampden *On Miracles*, p. 236.

from Mishneh, which signifies a copy [Josh. viii. 32]. The Mishna had its origin in traditional glosses upon the Law; and its compilation became a matter of necessity when Judaism in the dispersion assumed a cosmopolitan character. The Midrashim that were developed after the Captivity, embracing Haggadic narrative and Halacic constitutions [HAGGADAH. HALACAH], represented a body of traditional exposition of high authority, which increased rapidly and required the life-long study of a numerous body of Sopherim, or Scribes, to digest and hand on without loss to succeeding generations. There was danger that the Jews of the dispersion would depart from their ancestral laws and customs. Their altered relation also, as inhabitants of regions so different from the climate of Palestine, rendered some modification of the letter of the Law necessary, if its spirit was to be observed; and a vast increase of expository matter was, from this cause, added to the already bulky decisions and placita that had been handed on by word of mouth from one generation to another. The Temple service being lost, the synagogue became the centre of the Jewish system; it was at once a place of worship, a judgment-hall, and a school. The plan had this advantage, that wherever Jewish families settled down they could carry with them their religion and hedge themselves in from the world without. The tabernacle in the wilderness was not more completely "stained with the variation of each soil," than were the newly developed applications of Mosaic principle, that were struck out by the Jews in adapting themselves to the different climates under heaven. While the Temple yet stood, the gift of tongues on the first Pentecost of the Christian Church declared how wide had been the people's wanderings. These were indefinitely increased on the final submerging of the Jewish polity. The necessities of one locality were not those of another; Babylon and Sora, Pumbeditha and Nehardea involved different social conditions from Alexandria and Rome, Corinth and Asia Minor. If the Law had been a body of dogmatical teaching its application would have been equable and universal; but it was essentially a system of observance, consisting of principles of action domestic and religious, varying of necessity with the believer's habitat. All this accumulated experience and results, flowing in from every quarter, met together in the Mishna and Talmud, and were marked with every variety of social condition, language, and habits, through contact with humanity in every phase of its existence. Traditional principles received from the very foot of Sinai may, even in their origin, have been as the echo of antecedent tradition, reaching yet further back to Abraham the friend of God, and to the very cradle of the human race, when the traditions of paradise had not wholly died away. The Jews claim a Sinaitic origin for the Hilkoth of the Wise. And it may be observed, that in a certain sense our Lord appealed to such tradition in answer to the Sadducæan deniers of the resurrection. The resurrection of the dead was a doctrinal Halacah deduced from the designation of the Most High as the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, *i.e.* not the God of the dead but of the living. The Talmud declares that Abraham, by a prolepsis of obedience [Gen. xxvi. 5], observed the whole Law in every minute particular [*Kedushin, close of Mishna*]. Portions of his observance in ritual matters were very possibly reflected in the Law. Thus traditional matter in some form accumulated from the earliest times; and by a later constitution it was forbidden to commit these dicta to writing; partly that they might not be confounded with the inspired Word, partly because the keen intellects of the Great Synagogue feared the narrow and cramped spirit of a written exegesis, and preferred leaving freedom of action to successive doctors. A certain degree of elasticity was thus preserved to oral tradition, and the possibility of progressive improvement was guaranteed. The faulty would die out, the sound would be retained, and become the centre for fresh hermeneutical and judicial ramification. Necessity at length compelled the use of parchment and ink, for the world that should be possessed by the seed of Abraham was being gradually subdued to the Church of Christ. If the tide was to be breasted, some strong bond of union must be created, some principle that might penetrate Judaism through and through, and give it the spirit as of one man, and in every position of doubt and difficulty speak to the sons of Abraham in their hearts—"This is the way, walk ye in it."

Tradition that had proved so sure a principle of union in the Schools must now be extended out for the benefit and safeguard of the whole people, and thrown around as a shield to protect them. There was sufficient reason of old for the injunction that tradition should be preserved memoriter; but it was no longer in operation. The purpose had been answered, and a mass of traditional decisions and expositions of Scripture had accumulated that was beyond the grasp of the most tenacious memory; all that was of value must be put on record or it would perish; onward growth was no longer desirable, if only the rich legacy of the wise might be retained. Simon ben Gamaliel, the father of Jehuda the Holy, had added to the digest of HILLEL matter that had since grown up, and Jehuda early in life followed in his father's steps, and lived to see the completion of the Mishna [A.D. 219], for which the way had been so intelligently pioneered. Hillel, grandfather of Gamaliel the instructor of St. Paul, had digested the traditional Halacoth under eighteen heads; these Jehuda rearranged under six Sedarim [*Juchasin*, 56 A; *Seder Haddoroth*, 91 c]. With Jehuda the series of Tanaim, or "reiterators" of oral tradition, closed, having commenced with Simon the Just, born B.C. 180. Tradition having now been fixed in a written form, its teachers were termed "Amoraim," or "spokesmen;" the Amora's duty under the Tanaim having been to repeat the Tana's utterances to the class as Methurgeman, or interpreter. The earlier elements of the Mishna are indicated as the "words

of the Soferim;" but the relics of every age are thrown together in very much the same kind of admired confusion as the salvage of a fire or the waifs of a wreck. So much of it as related to the Temple service was already overdated, and a mere object of antiquarian interest. A knowledge of the Mishna soon reached the Christian Fathers, by whom it was termed δευτερώσεις. Jerome first mentions it [*Ep. ad Algas.* qu. 10]; "I cannot declare how vast are the traditions of the Pharisees, or how anile their myths, called by them δευτερώσεις [Mishnaioth]; neither would their bulky nature permit the attempt; moreover, many of them are so vile that I should blush to produce them." Epiphanius also says, but with a dislocation of text [*Hær.* xv. *Jud.*; also *Hær.* xiii. 26]: "The Jews have had four streams of those traditions that they term δευτερώσεις—the first bears the name of Moses the Prophet; the next they attribute to a teacher named Akiba; the third is fathered on a certain Andon or Annon, whom they also call Judas [Hannasi]; and the sons of Apamonæus [Asamonæi] were the authors of the fourth." So, too, Augustine, writing shortly before the date of the Jerusalem Talmud, says, "Beside the Scriptures of the Law and the Prophets, the Jews have certain traditions belonging to them, not written but retained in memory, and handed down from one to another, named δευτερώσεις" [*c. Adv. Leg. et Proph.* ii. 1]; and again [*b*], "Deliramenta Judæorum ad eas traditiones quas δευτερώσεις vocant pertinentia." The Fathers could hardly have remained ignorant of a movement that had been made, as Maimonides says [pref. *Zeraim*], with the express purpose of checking the further growth of Christianity. The relation of the Mishna to the Gemara is given under the article TALMUD. [Jost, *Gesch. des Judenth. u. seiner Secten.* Fürst, *Die Juden in Asien.* Geiger, *Das Judenthum.* Zunz, *Gottesd. Vorträge d. Juden.* Chiarini, *Le Talmude.* Herzog, *Art. Thalmud.* Articles on the Talmud in the *Quarterly Rev.* Oct. 1867, and *Christ. Remembr.* Oct. 1868. Ewald. *Volk. Isr.* Milman, *Hist. Jews.*]

MISSA. [MASS. LITURGY.]

MISSA CATECHUMENORUM. That portion of the ancient liturgies at which Catechumens were permitted to be present. It consisted of the Prefatory Prayer, the Hymn, the Little Entrance, the Trisagion, the Epistle and Gospel, and the Prayers after the Gospel. Before the Great Entrance, or Procession of the Elements to the Altar, all the Catechumens were obliged to leave the Church, with such words of dismissal as those used in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, "As many as are Catechumens depart; Catechumens depart; as many as are Catechumens depart; let none of the Catechumens remain." The Catechumens being still unbaptized, it was not considered fitting that they should witness the actual celebration of the Holy Eucharist, though they were permitted to take part in the earlier prayers of the Liturgy, and to hear the reading of Holy Scripture. [CATECHUMENS. DISCIPLINA ARCANI. BONA, *Rer. Liturg.* i. 16.]

MISSA FIDELIUM. A term for the latter part of the Liturgy, as distinguished from that portion at which alone Catechumens were allowed to be present. [MISSA CATECHUMENORUM.]

MISSA PRÆSANCTIFICATORUM. A Eucharistic Office, in which the Great Oblation is made and Communion administered with Elements consecrated at a previous celebration.

The forty-ninth canon of Laodicea [A.D. 314, according to Baronius and Leo Allatius; A.D. 352, Brun; A.D. 367, Johnson; about A.D. 363, Gieseler, *q.v.*] states that bread ought not to be offered during Lent, save on the Sabbath-day and Lord's-day. The fifty-second canon of the Council in Trullo, or "Quinisext" [A.D. 692], renews this canon, and orders the use of the rite of the Presanctified every day in Lent, except on Saturday, the Lord's-day, and the Feast of the Annunciation.[1] The present practice of the Eastern Church accords with this regulation, excepting that the Liturgy of St. Basil, not of the Presanctified, is said on Maundy Thursday and on Easter Eve. [Neale, *Hist. of East. Church*, part I. chap. vii. p. 713.] The present rite is called, from a not very certain reason, from Pope St. Gregory the Great. It may be seen in Goar's *Euchologium*, and, translated, in Neale. [See also in Renaudot, *Liturg. Or. Collectio*, I. p. 76, ed. 1847, "Alia apud Ægyptios ex Liturgia Præsanctificatorum Apostoli Marci post perceptionem sanctorum mysteriorum."] For the rite itself, the reader must be referred to these books, as its essentials only will be given here, as stated by Neale, who says that, technically speaking, the office of the Presanctified is merely an addition to the usual Vespers.

In the Prothesis of the Sunday preceding, when Reservation is to be made, the priest, having as

[1] The authority of the Trullan Canons becomes of great importance in reference to this subject. Jenkins (Margaret Professor, Cambridge, chaplain to Bishop Lake, Nonjuror) wrote on this point: "The Greeks maintain against the Latins that this Council was general; they allege that the Pope's legates were present and subscribed its canons, which the Pope himself indeed afterwards refused to do; but the Council styles itself General; and if want of the Pope's approbation could hinder it from being so, it was sometime before the fifth could deserve that title, however it came by it at last; but the greatest fault of this Council in Trullo is, that it approves and confirms the second canon of Constantinople and the twenty-eighth of Chalcedon, in which the Latins are καιρίως πληττόμενοι, as Balsamon observes. However, the one hundred and two canons of this synod are cited in the second Council of Nice. And Adrian I., in his epistle to Tarasius, says that he receives the sixth Council, with all its canons, by which he can mean no other but this; for the sixth, as it is distinguished from this, made no canons. Nicholas I., in an epistle to Michael, the Greek Emperor, says that they were confirmed by Pope John VII. at the request of Justinian II., whom that Pope commends there as a most holy Emperor; besides, Gratian attributes them to the sixth Council, and so does the Council of Florence. All which was so convincing to Carranza, that he sets them down as the canons of the sixth General Council, and after him Sylvius chose rather to distinguish and refine upon the thirty-sixth canon, than to reject them all. Angelus Roccha says plainly it was a continuation of the former synod, not a new one, since both were subscribed by the same bishops, as he proves out of the second Council of Nice." [*Histor. Examin. of Authority of Councils*, 1688, p. 14.]

usual cut and stabbed the first loaf, cuts also the other loaves, saying for each, "In remembrance," &c., as in the usual office. Then he pours forth wine and water in the holy chalice. When he is about to sign the loaves, he speaks in the singular, "Make this Bread," because Christ is one. He elevates all the loaves together, and breaks the first loaf of the oblations, and puts the portion in the holy cup, and pours in the warm water as usual. Then taking the holy spoon in his right hand, he dips it in the holy Blood; and in the left hand he takes each loaf, by turns, and holding the holy spoon that has been dipt in the holy Blood, he moves it crosswise on the part where the cross has been made on the crumb, and puts it away in the artophorion." So with the other loaves of reservation. In the rite itself, after the prayers and responses of the three antiphons, "while the troparia are being sung, the priest goes to the holy prothesis, and taking the presanctified bread from the artophorion, puts it with great reverence on the holy disk, putting also wine and water,[1] after the accustomed manner, into the holy chalice, and saying, not the Prayer of Prothesis, but only, *Through the prayers of our Holy Father, Lord, God, Jesu Christ, have mercy upon us.* For the sacrifice is presanctified and accomplished." After the Cathisma, &c., the Little Entrance takes place without the Gospel. Then the prayers of the Catechumens; and the prayers of the Faithful, in the second of which is, "Behold at the present time His spotless Body and quickening Blood entering in, and about to be proposed on this mystic table, invisibly attended by the multitude of the heavenly host." Then is sung the hymn, "Now the heavenly powers invisibly minister with us: for, behold, the King of Glory is borne in. Behold the Mystic Sacrifice, having been perfected, is attended by angels: with faith and love let us draw near that we may become partakers of life eternal." After which, the Great Entrance is made, but instead of the prayer of the Cherubic Hymn, the fifty-first Psalm is said. After the entrance, the deacon saith, "Let us accomplish our evening supplication unto the Lord. For the proposed and presanctified gifts, let," &c. In the following prayer occur the words, "Look down on us who are standing by this holy Altar as by Thy Cherubic Throne, on which Thine Only-Begotten Son and our God is resting in the proposed and fearful mysteries." After further prayers, "the priest, the divine gifts being covered, stretches out his hand and touches the quickening blood with reverence and great fear: and when the deacon saith, Let us attend, the priest exclaims, Holy things presanctified for holy persons. Then having unveiled them, he finishes the participation of the divine gifts. And the Communion being finished, and the holy things that remain taken away from the holy table, the concluding prayers are made."

In the controversy regarding this rite between Cardinal Humbert and Nicetas Pectoratus, the only matter of real liturgical interest appears to be Humbert's objection, that a double oblation is made of the same thing, first in the liturgy in which it is consecrated, next, in that in which it is received. Neale denies the existence of the second oblation. "The mere fact of the Great Entrance," he writes, "without any formal oblation, and simply considered, does not involve of necessity a sacrifice." It is a bold thing to differ from Neale in a province he made his own: but we must venture to express an opinion, that the prayer following the Great Entrance, of which some words have been given, especially when compared with the words preceding the Entrance "about to be proposed," are, to all intents and purposes, the Anamnesis, or Memory of the Sacrifice, or Sacrifice which constitutes the Greater Oblation. Let the reader weigh the words above quoted. The Oblation is not formally repeated, but there is a Presentation before Almighty God of the holy Body and Blood. Is not the true case this,—that the reserved Elements, while unconsumed, are a perpetual oblation "in Memoriam," and that the only repetition is the recurrence of the worshippers to the attitude of offerers, which attitude had been interrupted? To this theory there can be no theological objection. It should also be considered, whether the act of Communion does not require the communicant to join in the Oblation. From this consideration, and the example of the Eastern rite, we may conclude that reservation carries with it the capacity of use for making the Oblation, though rather as a continuation of the original Oblation than as a separate action.

Leo Allatius, in his tract on this rite [at the end of his work, *De Eccl. Occ. et Or. Perpetua Consensione*], names several variations. One is on the point just mentioned: "Alii sustollebant Præsanctificata. Alii non exaltabant, sed tantum modo tangebant" [1595]. Another important variation is, "Constantinopolitanus Præsanctificatum panem sanguine non tingit; cæteri tingunt" [1593]. Again, as to the times when the rite is used, "Alii, prima et secunda primæ jejuniorum hebdomadis feriis, Præsanctificata non celebrant; alii celebrant" [1594].

In the Roman Church, the omission of consecration is limited to Good Friday and Easter Eve. The Missal Rubric for "Feria v. in Cœna Domini" is, "Hodie Sacerdos consecrat duas Hostias,[1] quarum unam sumit, alteram reservat pro die sequenti, in quo non conficitur Sacramentum: reservat etiam aliquas particulas consecratas, si opus fuerit, pro infirmis: sanguinem vero totum sumit: et ante ablutionem digitorum ponit Hostiam reservatam in alio Calice, quem Diaconus palla et patena co-operit, et desuper velum expandit, et in medio Altaris collocat."

On Good Friday the reserved Host is brought

[1] This wine is not consecrated, but merely used to facilitate the administration of the Eucharist. The "lamb" itself has been, so to speak, imbued with the consecrated wine in the liturgy of the preceding Sunday; so that the communicants, though they apppear to receive under one kind, do in fact receive in both species. The case is the same for administering the Holy Eucharist to the sick. [INTINCTION.]

[1] In the Sarum rite *three* Hosts were consecrated

in procession to the altar, after the Adoration of the Cross, while the hymn is sung, "Vexilla Regis prodeunt." "Cum venerit Sacerdos ad altare, posito super illud calice, genuflexus sursum incensat et accedens deponit Hostiam ex calice super patenam quam diaconus tenet: et accipiens patenam de manu diaconi, Hostiam sacram ponit super corporale, nihil dicens. . . . Interim diaconus imponit vinum in calicem et subdiaconus aquam, quam Sacerdos non benedicit, nec dicit super eam orationem consuetam: sed accipiens calicem a diacono ponit super altare nihil dicens: et diaconus illum co-operit palla." After censing the oblations and the altar, the priest, turning to the people, says as usual, "Orati fratres ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat. . . . Tunc celebrans . . . supponit patenam Sacramento, quod in dextera accipiens elevat ut videri possit a populo: et statim supra calicem dividit in tres partes, quarum ultimam mittit in calicem more solito, nihil dicens. Pax Domini non dicitur nec Agnus Dei, neque pacis osculum datur." The priest's prayer before reception follows:—"Et sumit Corpus reverenter." "Deinde omissis omnibus quæ dici solent ante sumptionem sanguinis, immediate particulam Hostiæ cum vino reverenter sumit de calice." "Quod ore sumpsimus," &c.[1] "Non dicitur Corpus tuum Domine, nec Post Communio, nec Placeat Tibi, nec datur Benedictio: sed facta reverentia coram altare sacerdos cum ministris discedit: et dicuntur Vesperæ sine cantu: et denudatur altare."

The principle upon which these regulations regarding Lent are founded is that the Eucharist is a feast, and the Consecration Service proper only for festivals. The Sabbath as well as the Sunday was a stated feast in the early Church, and the Western Church received the Laodicæan canon; but in later times in the Roman obedience Saturday has been held a fast. Yet Socrates [*E. H.* v. 21] tells us that at Rome they fasted three weeks before Easter, excepting Saturdays and Sundays.[2]

The "Missa Præsanctificatorum" is of such early date and so general, that one cannot but wonder it has not been authoritatively adopted by the English Church. The infrequency of Communion on Good Friday has probably, in great measure, originated from a sense that consecration is on that day contrary to primitive practice. A statement of the position in which the Church of England actually stands with reference to both will be found in Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, in the notes for Good Friday.

MISSA SICCA. The recital of the Ordinary of the Mass without the Canon, there being neither consecration nor communion.

The rite is described and commented upon by Durandus, *Rationale*, IV. i. 23; Durantus, *De Ritibus*, II. iv.; Bona, *Rerum Liturg.* I. xv. 6; Martene,[3] *De Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, I. iii. 1; Bingham, *Antiq.* XV. iv. 5; Neale, *Eastern Church*, I. vii. 4. The earliest mention of this abuse made by these writers is its condemnation in the Capitulars of Charlemagne [Neale], that is, in A.D. 805: the leading example is its practice by St. Louis, who died A.D. 1270. Durantus says that the book "Liber Sacerdotalis," in which this rite is described, was approved by Leo X.: and finds the Missa Sicca in the passage of Socrates, *Hist.* v. 22, where Leo Allatius finds the rite of the Presanctified. The more learned Roman theologians of the sixteenth century condemned this abuse, and Bona states its general suppression. Neale, however, says that it was common in Belgium as late as A.D. 1780. The rite was never in use in the East, except in Egypt.

Neale has charged the Church of England with deliberately retaining the "Missa Sicca," but this charge is without foundation. There is an essential difference between the use of the Eucharistic hymns, without which the rite could hardly be called a Missa, and the use of the prayer for the Church militant only, made real, as far as can be, by the offering of alms. The English custom is not an approval of abstaining from Communion, such as certainly was more or less implied in the Missa Sicca, but a practical illustration of the words of the priest's exhortation, "I for my part shall be ready," and a protest against the remissness of the people.

MISSAL. An Office book of the Western Church, containing the Liturgy, that is, all which is required for the celebration of the Mass, or Missa, the fixed "Ordinary" and "Canon," with the changeable Introits, Collects, Epistles, Gospels, &c. The Missal is a development of the ancient Sacramentaries, the form which the book of the Liturgy took in the Western Church, and which was revised by St. Leo, Gelasius, and St. Gregory. Up to the time of the Reformation, there had been much variation in the Missals of the Church, those of the Anglican rite being known by the names of the Sarum Use, Hereford Use,

[1] But this practice of the priest's communicating alone is not earlier than the tenth century. See *Annot. Book of Com. Prayer*, p. 101.

[2] In Leo Allatius' *Tract.* ch. xii. col. 1570-7, may be seen the authorities of the Greek theologians and ritualists.

[3] From Martene's statements one is inclined to suspect that the "Missa Sicca" began with communicating in one kind, and even then was so called. For he gives the order of the "Missa Sicca" for a sick man, from a Pontifical eight hundred years old, which having prescribed the prayers to be used, proceeds: "Postea communicet eum." Sequitur oratio post Communionem." Martene's next example is of a mass for strangers coming to a church where there is no priest prepared to celebrate: "Sacerdos dicit missam, non tamen dicit canonem, nec consecrat: sed ostendit eis reliquias alias loco elevationis Corporis Christi." This is properly a Missa Sicca; the former is a Communion of reservation in one kind. Martene allows that when the sick received the Eucharist, presently after its celebration, and when they had sufficient strength remaining, they received in both kinds [I: v. 2. See also Whitby, *Demonstration, &c., touching Communion in one Kind*, 1688, p. 97]. If the Reservation in one kind for the sick was the original Missa Sicca, it will account for the mistake which even some theologians appear to have fallen into of confounding the Missa Sicca with the Missa Præsanctificatorum, especially as there was sometimes the presence of the Host, but no communion by its means.

Lincoln Use, Bangor Use, &c. The tendency to reform, condensation, and uniformity which then shewed itself in respect to the Liturgy of the English Church, gained some ground also in the Continental Churches. A decree of the Council of Trent, followed up by a bull of Pius V. in A.D. 1570, restricted this liberty to churches which had possessed local or independent liturgies for at least two centuries previously, requiring the use of the Roman Missal in all other cases. This had never been used in the Church of England, nor was it used by the Roman sect in England until forced upon it by the Jesuits in the end of the sixteenth century.[1] The Roman Missal was revised under Clement VIII. in 1604, and again in 1634, under Urban VIII. [Liturgy.]

MISSION. An indispensable qualification in the clergy for the lawful exercise of their function and ministry [Rom. x. 15]. It is the power given to bishops and ministers of the Church to preach and administer the Sacraments. Our Lord Jesus Christ gave His commission to the Apostles when He said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" [John xx. 22]. This has been transmitted to bishops, and the power to confer it resides in them alone; and this they do as they themselves have received by ordaining pastors, and sending them forth to fulfil the duties of the sacred ministry. It is delegation by one who has authority thereto of another to exercise the ministry of the Church, in preaching the Gospel and administration of Sacraments. It is sometimes called Vocation, and is the base of the Christian edifice [Rom. x. 15].

There are two kinds, 1. Immediate or Extraordinary; 2. Mediate and Ordinary. In the first, persons are called directly by God its Author, as were Apostles, the Seventy Disciples, St. John Baptist, St. Paul [Acts ix. 17; Rom. i. 1; Gal. i. 12], and St. Barnabas [Acts xiii. 2]. The second is a call mediately by authority committed to the ordainers from the Apostles; an ordinary vocation, the communication of spiritual power. It is made by superiors and prelates, as by Titus [Tit. i. 5] and Timothy [1 Tim. i. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 2, 15], yet those who were thus called are said to be appointed by the Holy Ghost [Acts xx. 28].

Ordinary, or mediate mission, which is the very same as ordination, has God for its Author, but is transmitted by those who have received it by an uninterrupted succession in the Catholic Church, from the Apostolic times to the present day, as proved by ancient tradition and historical evidence; and in unison with the divine promise of her Divine Founder. The extraordinary, which is mediately from the Church and its ministers, is done after an unusual and extraordinary manner, either in respect of the ministers or of the forms, or of the rites and ceremonies used in it. At the extraordinary call of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, fasting, prayers, imposition of hands, and the celebration of the Liturgy [Acts xiii. 2, 3] were observed.

The original power of giving holy orders, and all authoritative mission, is from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of the harvest, who sends forth His labourers [Matt. ix. 38], the Giver of faithful pastors to His Church [Eph. iv. 11], constituting them ministers and stewards of His Word and Sacraments for His household the Church [1 Cor. iv. 1], and His ambassadors [2 Cor. iv. 7, v. 20].

He has committed a ministerial power to His Church to ordain, by the imposition of the hands of bishops, fit persons to serve in His sacred ministry, whereby the grace of holy orders is derived from Him to them by a line of perpetual succession. "God bestoweth episcopal grace by man, man lays on hands, God grants grace; the priest imposes his suppliant right hand, and God with His strong right hand bestows the blessing; the bishop initiates the order, God giveth dignity" [Pseudo-Ambros. *De Dign. Sacerd.* c. v., *Op.* tom. ii. app. 363].

The bishop, being a ministerial, not an authoritative agent, confers holy orders, but has no power to revoke them; he can restrain or suspend their canonical exercise only where he has actual jurisdiction over the person suspended, and where he acts with a just sentence.

For the actual and lawful exercise of that habitual power which is conferred by ordination, according to the constitution of places or societies, nomination, presentation, election, confirmation, collation, installation, institution, or a "congé d'élire" are necessary. But the essentials of holy orders, and a calling or commission to preach and minister the Word and Sacraments, are previously indispensable to their existence. [Jurisdiction. Mandré, *Du Droit Canonique*, ii. 528; Beyerlinck, iv. 558; Archbishop Bramhall, v. 258.]

MISSIONS. The history of Christian missions is, to a large extent, the history of Christian Churches, and cannot be told at any length in a work of so condensed a character as the present volume. It will, however, be useful to many readers to have a compact sketch of the course which the missionary work of the Church has taken since Apostolic times, and especially of the manner in which the Church of England has carried out its responsibilities towards the vast Empire that has been gathered under the authority of the English Crown.

[I.] Early Missions of the Church. These may be traced back nearly to the time when the peace of the Church was established throughout the Roman Empire by the accession of Constantine.

Ulphilas and the Goths. In the year 348, a lately converted Christian of the name of Ulphilas, or Ulfilas, was consecrated missionary bishop at Constantinople, for the purpose of spreading Christianity among his countrymen. He was then thirty years of age, and had not long before been driven away from the country north of the Danube by the heathen. He was very active in

[1] James II.'s *Sarum* Missal is preserved in the Cathedral Library at Worcester.

converting the Goths, and when a great number of them had been compelled to cross the Danube by persecution, he led them to Nicopolis in Mœsia, which had been assigned them as their dwelling-place by the Emperor Constantius II. in A.D. 355. Afterwards the leader of the Visigoths, their persecutors, was himself converted, and assisted Ulphilas in carrying on his work of conversion among his people, when they had settled down in Thrace. Ulphilas was the first to translate the Holy Scriptures into any "barbarian" tongue, his Gothic version still existing in a fragmentary form, with the Gospels entire. For the purpose of this translation he is said to have invented the Gothic alphabet, the language not having previously been a written one. The four Books of Kings were omitted from his version for fear of encouraging the warlike habits and fierce spirit of a people who needed more the bit than the spur. Ulphilas died in A.D. 388, at Constantinople, where his zeal and his imperfect knowledge of orthodox theology suggested to St. Chrysostom the establishment of a missionary college for training up a Gothic ministry.

St. Patrick and Ireland. The first certain information about Christianity in Ireland is associated with a mission conducted by Palladius, who had been sent thither by Pope Celestine in A.D. 431, and who had died before much fruit had been produced by his labours. He was followed by St. Patrick, the son of a Scottish deacon, who arrived in Ireland (according to Dr. Todd) about A.D. 440. He spent half a century in the missionary work to which he had been appointed, founding the see of Armagh, building some hundreds of churches, baptizing twelve thousand persons with his own hands, and ordaining a great number of clergy. When he died in A.D. 493, he left a flourishing church, with a settled episcopate and priesthood, in a country which he had found in an entirely heathen condition; and no church was ever more zealous than the early Church of Ireland in sending forth missionaries to other lands. Within half a century after the death of St. Patrick, the monastery of Iona was founded by St. Columba in one of the islands of the Hebrides, already Christianized by St. Ninian, who preached among the Southern Picts from A.D. 412 to A.D. 432. From hence, and from the monasteries in Ireland itself, many zealous missionaries were sent among the uncivilized tribes of Germany and Northern Europe.

St. Augustine and the Saxons of England. Towards the end of the sixth century [A.D. 595] St. Gregory (who had himself undertaken a mission to England, but was obliged to withdraw from it on being elected to the See of Rome) originated the famous mission of St. Augustine, which ended in the foundation of the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Christianity had long before been planted, and dioceses organized, in England, but the invasion of the Saxons had driven it into the mountainous districts of the West, and the enslaved English who remained among the Saxon conquerors had been able to do nothing towards their conversion. Augustine re-established the Church in the conquered districts, and by the conversion of King Ethelbert brought about the conversion of the great body of his people; though it was long before the newly-founded churches of the Roman missionaries were amalgamated with the ancient and primitive native churches. A similar mission was sent out by Justus, the third of St. Augustine's successors, to the Northumbrians, when Paulinus was consecrated as a missionary bishop for England north of the Humber. He baptized King Edwin at York on Easter Day, A.D. 627, in a small wooden church which was the beginning of the great cathedral afterwards erected there.

Early Missions to India. Among the early mission-fields of the Church, there is no doubt that we must reckon India. St. Thomas, the Apostle, is said to have passed over from Arabia Felix and the Isle of Socotra to Cranganore on the western coast of India, where a large colony of Jews resided, to have founded the Church there and in other parts of India, and even China, being at last martyred at Mailapoor, now a suburb of Madras. Pantænus is also said to have organized a mission to India from Alexandria late in the second or early in the third century. In the first half of the fourth century, St. Athanasius consecrated, as a missionary bishop, a Tyrian named Frumentius, who, having been taken captive to India in his youth, had risen to high office in the government of some unknown kingdom there; and remembering the Christianity of his youthful days, consolidated some churches on the coast, and went to Alexandria to seek the Episcopate for further work in his adopted country. Early in the sixth century Cosmas, an Alexandrian merchant, wrote, "There is in the island of Taprobane [Ceylon] in the farthermost India in the Indian seas a Christian church with clergy and believers. I know not whether there are any Christians beyond this island. In the Malabar country, where pepper grows, there are Christians, and in Calliana, as they call it [Callianée, near Bombay], there is a bishop who comes from Persia, where he was consecrated" [Kaye's *Christianity in India*, 9]. In the ninth century there seems to have been a mission to India even from England, for, under the year 883, the Saxon Chronicle says that Swithelm and Athelstan carried "to India, to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, the alms which the King had vowed to send thither when they sat down against the army at London." Swithelm was Bishop of Sherburn, but nothing further is known of his mission to India: and of the Church there little more is known until it was visited by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century.

English and Irish Missions to Germany. About the same time that St. Augustine was beginning his mission to England, an Irish monk named Columbanus was extending Christianity into the kingdom of Burgundy, where he founded monasteries and introduced the customs of his mother Church. His zeal eventually offended King Theodoric II., who banished him from the country, when he carried on similar labours

among the populations around the lake of Constance, and afterwards founded the famous Irish monastery of Bobbio in a valley of the Apennines. After his death in A.D. 615, his work was taken up by St. Gall and St. Kilian, the latter of whom was martyred at Wurzburg in A.D. 689, while Christianity was fast extending its borders by means of their labours in Switzerland, Suabia, and Franconia. The remonstrances of St. Columbanus and St. Gregory aroused the Frankish Churches to co-operate with the labours of the Irish missionaries, and Eustasius was appointed to succeed Columbanus at Luxeuil, whence he sent a mission to Bavaria. This was followed by that of Rupert, Bishop of Worms, who eventually founded the great See of Salzburg, from which the Church was extended throughout Bavaria and Carinthia. In Northern Germany, or Friesland, Amandus had established many monastic centres of Christianity early in the seventh century: and his work was followed up by that of Eligius, or St. Eloy, and that of the English Bishops Wilfrith [A.D. 677] and Willebrord [A.D. 692-741], who met with much success in that part of ancient Friesland now known as Holland. The greatest missionary of Germany was, however, the English St. Boniface (a Devonshire priest, originally named Winfrith), who carried on the work of evangelization for forty years [A.D. 715-755], converting districts to which previous missionaries had not penetrated, and organizing and consolidating the Church in those where it had already gained a footing. He became Archbishop of Mentz, and was martyred by the hands of some heathen Frieslands at the venerable age of seventy-five. He had worthy successors in Gregory of Utrecht, St. Lebuin, and Willehad, the last of whom was a Northumbrian, who died Bishop of Bremen, A.D. 789.

French and English Missions to Scandinavia. Denmark having become feudatory to Charlemagne, a Frankish mission was sent thither under Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, which resulted in the baptism of Harold, King of Jutland [A.D. 826]. At the request of Harold, a fresh mission to Denmark was organized under Anskar, a monk of Corbey, near Amiens, who is often spoken of as the "Apostle of the North." From Denmark Anskar made his way to Sweden, where [A.D. 831] he was favourably received by the king. After his death in the year 865, Christianity in Denmark passed through a stage of decadence and persecution, from which it was rescued by English missionaries sent over by Canute in the early part of the eleventh century. The light of the Gospel had become almost extinguished also in Sweden in the tenth century, but English missionaries were invited over by King Olaf, who had been baptized about the year 1008, and the English priest Turgot became bishop of the first see established in Sweden, that of Skara in West Gothland. Norway also owes its Christianity entirely to English missionaries, and they penetrated as far north as Iceland.

After the eleventh century few directly missionary enterprises are recorded. The age of the Crusades was very unfavourable for such work, and after their cessation, the Church was suffering too much from those abuses and divisions which brought about the Reformation to engage in any labours among the heathen. It must be remembered, moreover, that most of the then accessible parts of the world had been evangelized before the twelfth century, and that the field of missionary work was necessarily contracted to very small dimensions, until the colonizing and trading spirit of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries opened up fresh countries as a sphere for the renewed labours of the Church.

[II.] Modern Missions of the Church. The revival of missions may be dated from the discovery of America in the end of the fifteenth century. Wherever Columbus landed he solemnly planted the Cross, as a token that the Church was taking possession of the newly-discovered lands; and this symbolical beginning was so far followed up, that when the Spanish State settled in the Southern Continent of America, the Spanish Church also settled there, with its episcopate, its priesthood, and its monastic orders. As cities and palaces sprung up, so did cathedrals and churches, and Christianity has never lost the footing it then gained. In all colonizing expeditions undertaken by sovereigns in obedience to Rome there was, indeed, a special provision made that newly-discovered countries should always be annexed to the Catholic Church; and this provision, doubtless, had a good effect in securing the witness of Christianity among the heathen natives of Peru and Mexico. The plantation of the Spanish Church on South American soil was not, however, a missionary work; and when the Jesuits afterwards originated such work among the Indians, baptizing vast numbers, and carrying civilization among them, the zeal of the missionaries met with discouragement at the hands of the government, so that they were eventually expelled altogether from the Spanish Indies in the last century.

Xavier's Mission to India and Japan. It was during the great epoch of the Reformation that the great organization of the Jesuits came into existence, and one of the first of Loyola's associates, Francis Xavier, was also one of the greatest and most zealous of modern missionaries. He was sent out to the Portuguese Colonies in India by John III., King of Portugal, in 1541, being then thirty-six years of age; presenting his letters of authority from Paul III. to the Bishops of Goa, on May 6th, 1542. His fervid preaching and holy example soon wrought upon the European settlers, and produced a reformation upon them which was a step towards the introduction of Christianity among the native population. Working first among the pearl fishers on the coast, he afterwards visited the kingdom of Travancore, where he is said to have baptized ten thousand natives in a month. For four years he laboured among the natives of the Indian coast and islands, and in 1547 passed over to Ceylon, where he baptized the King of Kandy, and great numbers of the Ceylonese. Meeting with a Japanese nobleman,

his attention was turned to that vast empire, and eventually to China. The mission which he founded in Japan lasted for a century, and produced extraordinary fruits, the Jesuit missionaries shewing zeal and fortitude only to be paralleled by that of the early teachers of Christianity. After fearful persecutions, the remnant were expelled from Japan in the middle of the seventeenth century. Having laboured nearly three years in Japan, Xavier started for China in 1551, but he never accomplished a landing there, and, overcome by disappointment, he fell into a sickness which took him to his rest in the Island of Sancian, on December 22nd, 1552, his remains being removed thence to Goa two years afterwards. Thirty years after his death, the Christians of Japan numbered 150,000, there being two hundred churches, and fifty-nine monasteries. The Jesuit missions afterwards extended to China, where they met with great success, a success which was of a more lasting character, and of which traces still exist.

The Roman Propaganda. At the end of the sixteenth century, the missionary system of the Roman Churches was organized more completely by the appointment of a Congregation of Cardinals, under the name of the Congregation De Propaganda Fide. To this congregation is intrusted the whole superintendence of the missions which are conducted under the sanction of the Pope. It was originated by Gregory XIII., but not fully organized until some forty years afterwards, when Gregory XV. gave full authority by a Bull dated June 22nd, 1622. His successor, Urban VIII., supplemented the work of his predecessors by establishing a great missionary college in connection with the congregation, where many natives of the various countries into which mission work extends are continually being trained for it from an early age, many Europeans also being educated in the languages of the people among whom they will have to labour as missionaries. The College of the Propaganda is also the great missionary printing establishment of the Roman Churches, and it has accumulated literary resources for its particular work which are quite unrivalled. It is the most perfect missionary organization in the world, and from its walls multitudes of devoted men have gone forth ready to labour and to die in propagating the faith among the heathen.

Missions of the English Church. The great work which had been done by English missionaries in early mediæval times was stopped for want of fields in which missionary labours were required. But as soon as the maritime genius and enterprise of England was directed towards the discovery of new countries, a revival of missionary spirit ensued, the progress of which in recent times is too well known to need any detailed account here, but the early history of which has been little noticed.

The earliest attempts at the foundation of English colonies were made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humfry Gilbert, his half-brother, who was of as enterprizing a disposition as Raleigh himself. In those early days there was a strong religious element at work in connection with all voyages of discovery, as indeed there was with all navigation; and it seems also to have been a first principle with the enterprizing voyagers by whom English settlements were originated, as it had been with Columbus, that the Church should be planted on all ground which was taken possession of in the name of the Crown.

Thus good old Hakluyt, who promoted many voyages of discovery in addition to writing their history, says that "the glory of God is the great end to which the extension of the borders of a Christian state should be subservient, and that each step made in this extension should be regarded as a fresh summons to promote it:" a missionary principle which ought to be printed in letters of gold on the walls of our Colonial Office. Raleigh seems, too, to have been imbued with a similar spirit, for the same old writer says to him, "I know you mean hereafter to send some good Churchmen thither, as may truly say with the Apostle to savages, 'We seek not yours, but you.' I conceive great comfort of the success of this your action, hoping that the Lord, whose power is wont to be perfected in weakness, will bless the feeble foundation of your building." Nor was this the principle of private men only. When Gilbert took possession of St. John's, Newfoundland, one of his first official acts was to ordain that the "public exercise" of religion should be according to the Church of England;" and this he did on the authority of a clause in the patent granted to him before setting out on his voyage, in which such a provision was ordered generally with respect to any territories discovered and occupied by him. This good old commander was a true son of the Church of England, and found his practical religion useful to him at the last: for it is recorded of him that in the storm in which he and his ships were lost on their return voyage in A.D. 1583, he encouraged his sailors by bidding them remember the old saying that "they were as near to heaven by sea as by land."

The first actual colony founded by Englishmen was that of Virginia, which still retains (even as a member of the American Republic) the name first given to it in honour of the virgin Queen. The establishment of this colony was commenced by Sir Francis Raleigh after the death of his half-brother Gilbert, and went on with varying success through the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; in the latter of whose reigns it began to be a country of some importance to England.

When James I. granted letters patent and orders in Council for the occupation of Virginia —what we should now call a Constitution—it was directed that the presidents, councils, and ministers who were to form the governing body of the new country should provide that "the Word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the savages bordering among them, according to the rites and doc-

trines of the Church of England." A clergyman accompanied the voyagers, and the first thing he did on landing was to celebrate the Sacrament of the Holy Communion. That was probably the first occasion on which the continent of North America was blessed by that holy rite; and it is worth remembering that the date of the celebration was June 21, 1607, and the name of the clergyman was Robert Hunt. It appears also that the colonists were so far intent upon carrying out the principles of the Church of England according to their charter, that they built a log hut of much better workmanship than their own dwellings (a fact noticed in the contemporary account of their proceedings), in which the "Daily Common Prayer, Morning and Evening," with the other ordinances of religion, were duly observed. Fifteen years after, the clergy of North America were five in number, but five only; and application was made to the Bishop of London to send out more, all sent being declared to be under his jurisdiction—an absurd arrangement, some remains of which still exist, and which, in the case of the North American colonies, tended much to prevent the extension of the Church there.

Honoured names were connected with this first establishment of a daughter of the Church of England in the West. Nicholas Ferrar, John Ferrar, Dr. Donne, and Sir John Sandys (son of the Archbishop of York, and pupil of Hooker), were all members of the Council by means of which the home management of the colony was conducted; but they continued to influence its affairs only till A.D. 1624, when the Virginian Company was dissolved. Yet the results of that influence were long felt, for their work was the germ of North American Christianity.

New England, a more northern colony, was also intended by its original founders to be a Church of England settlement, as is shewn by a letter of Winthrop, their leader, and by a publication of a clergyman at Boston, entitled *The Planter's Plea*, in which the "causes moving such as have undertaken a plantation in New England" are stated. But there was a larger leaven of discontent among these colonists than among those of Virginia, and in a few years, when the discontented portion had gained the upper hand, they shewed their freedom from superstition by burning numberless old people as witches, persecuting the clergy, and suppressing the use of the Book of Common Prayer. When the rapid colonization of the great continent proceeded, it was only natural that a mixed multitude should find a home on its shores; and experience teaches that the early colonists of any land are neither the most loyal nor the most religious subjects of the country which they leave.

Archbishop Laud had his attention drawn to the North American Colonies when he was officially connected with them as Bishop of London; and was maturing a plan for making the Church there independent of the Church at home by means of a local episcopate, when his troubles began, and interrupted the progress of the scheme. His plans, however, were so far taken up by the Puritans, that parochial collections were made in the time of Cromwell for the promotion of Christianity among the Indians; and a society for the purpose was incorporated in 1649, which received a fresh charter from Charles II. in 1661, under the presidency of the Hon. Robert Boyle, who instituted the "Boyle Lectures" by his will with the same object. Sir Leoline Jenkins also established for a similar object two fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford (still going by his name, and still held by clergymen going to the Colonies), about the same period.

But the first really great attempt on the part of the mother country to convey the blessing of religion to her colonies, was the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in June 1701. The persecution of Churchmen in the American settlements had gone so far during the time of Cromwell, that the clergy were almost rooted out; and it was only after petitioning the King himself, "that a church might be allowed in that city for the exercise of religion according to the Church of England," that the Boston Churchmen of A.D. 1679 could obtain freedom of worship. This petition excited attention and led to inquiry; and when it was discovered that hardly any clergy at all remained among a population rapidly increasing, great efforts were made by such men as Bishop Beveridge, Archbishop Wake, Archbishop Sharpe, Bishop Gibson, and Bishop Berkeley, to put the Colonial Church on a more satisfactory footing: for, at this time, many thousands—even a majority in some colonies—declared themselves members of our communion. A clergyman named Dr. Bray had been sent out to Maryland as deputy (so far as a priest could be deputy to a bishop) to the Bishop of London; and it was chiefly at his suggestion that the first great Missionary Society of the Church of England was originated. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," as its full title is, was incorporated in 1701, and at once began operations in North America which have since extended to all parts of the British dominions. For a hundred years it was the only Church Society of the kind, but in the beginning of the present century another was originated, more especially for the purpose of carrying Christianity among the heathen who lie beyond British territory; and this, the "Church Missionary Society," has so extended its work that —although not chartered as the Propagation Society is—it has assumed an equally important position in the foreign labours of the Church of England.

There is not room here to follow up in detail the missionary work of the Church of England since the beginning of the last century; but we shall endeavour to sketch an outline of the most important fields of labour, referring the reader to Bishop Wilberforce's *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America*, and to the series of publications entitled *Missions among the Heathen*, and *Annals of the Colonial Church* of the Propagation Society, for further particulars.

The great difficulty under which the Church in

North America laboured for many years was that of obtaining a supply of ministers. The double position of our bishops as peers of parliament and purely ecclesiastical officers has always hindered statesmen from allowing their number to be increased: at the same time that endowments for bishoprics are not easy to procure.

In Charles the Second's days, and in Queen Anne's also, it was proposed to supply the Colonial Church with several bishops; but in both reigns the plan was so opposed that eventually it dropped through. The clergy who were already there were working on, therefore, without superintendence: none of their people could be confirmed unless accident brought them to England, and all who were anxious to be ordained were obliged to cross the Atlantic to receive holy orders, and to cross it a second time to regain their homes and sphere of duty. It was monstrous to allow such obstacles to continue in the path of the Church for so long a period: and one does not wonder to find the clergy writing home that "the Church of England in these colonies is in a low, depressed, and very imperfect state, for want of her pure primitive Episcopal form of Church government." Nor is it to be wondered at that less than half of the English Christians in the North American Colonies were, in 1761, members of the Church of England.

Thus North America passed out of the hands of England before it had received from her the means of continuing a lawful ministry, of confirming the baptized, and of governing the whole Christian body according to Apostolic ordinances.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence, however, the people of New York endeavoured to obtain from England what England had not previously been willing to bestow. Dr. Seabury was sent over with a request that the Archbishop of York (the See of Canterbury being vacant) would consecrate him to the Episcopal office. As he was not an English but an American citizen, there was supposed to be a constitutional difficulty in the way, and he was ultimately consecrated in Scotland on November 14th, 1784, by the Bishops of Aberdeen, Ross, and Moray. Three years later Dr. White and Dr. Provoost were sent over to be consecrated, and were made bishops by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Peterborough, on February 4th, 1787. In 1790 Dr. Madison was consecrated in England as Bishop of Virginia, and since that time the Church of the United States has ceased to be a missionary branch of the Church of England. It now numbers thirty-nine bishops, five assistant and nine missionary bishops, nearly three thousand other clergy, and a body of communicants increasing at the rate of five thousand a year.

The example being thus set in the separated States of North America, it was soon followed in those which still retained their allegiance to the old country. In the same year that White and Provoost were consecrated, Dr. Inglis was also appointed by Mr. Pitt to the first foreign see erected under the jurisdiction of the British Crown, which was that of Nova Scotia; and a few years afterwards [A.D. 1793], Dr. Jacob Mountain was consecrated Bishop of Quebec. For many years these were the only bishops in British North America, but about thirty years ago the missionary work of our Church received a great stimulus from the munificence of private individuals, and there are now ten bishops altogether in Canada and the adjacent settlements. This indicates a large increase of the Anglican Church there, especially when it is remembered that a great portion of the population of Canada are descendants of the original French settlers, and consequently Roman Catholics. The number of clergy is between six and seven hundred, and in many places the extent of their "parishes" is that of an English county, their parishioners being a very scattered population. In the Diocese of Toronto, which comprises West Canada, the people number about a million, and the area of the country is about 100,000 miles; but the clergy are under one hundred and thirty, so that their work is still of a thoroughly missionary character.

The colonization of Australasia belongs almost entirely to the history of the last forty years; for although Captain Cook's discoveries brought a portion of it into the possession of England soon after the American revolution had deprived her of our chief colonies in the western hemisphere, it was not until quite recent times that any great progress was made in settling it: nor, indeed, until the recent gold discoveries opened up the enormous resources of the new continent. A few clergy worked on single-handed, until the year 1836, when the Diocese of Sydney was founded as a step towards the more perfect organization of the Australian Church. In 1841, the islands of New Zealand were separated off from the impossible territory which had been put under Bishop Broughton's jurisdiction; and in 1842, the district of Tasmania was also formed into a diocese. The missionary work among the natives and among the settlers has since then increased very rapidly, and there are now twenty-two bishops in Australia and the islands of the Pacific, with a rapidly increasing number of clergy.

Very similar is the history and position of the growing Church of South Africa, to the superintendence of which Bishop Gray was consecrated in 1847. In this, as in all cases, the presence of a bishop has immediately led to a much more rapid progress in the evangelization of the country, and there are now six bishops where twenty-three years ago there was only one; while missionary bishops are also sent into the North-eastern and North-western parts of Africa to evangelize the Negro races.

In the West Indies, and in India, the work of the Church can hardly, it is to be feared, be called a work of much progress. Since 1824, there have been four dioceses erected in the West Indian Islands; and the formation of the single Indian diocese of Calcutta, in 1814, was followed up at twenty years' interval by that of Madras, Bombay, and Colombo. There are also three other dioceses which belong to the Asiatic quarter

of the globe. It would, however, drive us into greater detail than space will allow, if we were to follow out the subject of Anglican missionary work among the Negro and the Hindoo races, and it must therefore be dismissed at once.

It may be well, in conclusion, to sum up the results of Anglican Church missionary work by saying that the Church of England since the Reformation has conveyed the ministrations of the Gospel into all the quarters of the world; that ninety-one dioceses of her communion have been founded within the last eighty-six years in countries beyond England, Scotland, and Ireland; that about six thousand clergy of her communion are working in the United States of America and in British Colonies; and that the number of her converts is greatly on the increase year by year both among the heathen, and also among those who speak the English language. [Maclear's *Hist. of Christian Missions.* Kaye's *Christianity in India.* Wilberforce's *Hist. of the American Church.* Anderson's *Hist. of the Colonial Church. Publications of the* Roman Propaganda, *of the* Society for Propagation of the Gospel, *and of the* Church Missionary Society. Ellis' *Madagascar.*]

MOLINIST. [Jansenism.]

MOLINOS. [Quietism.]

MONARCHIA. The doctrine of the Monarchia is the leading or opening statement in the orderly enunciation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. It is, That there is one and only one Ἀρχή, principle or fountain of Divinity, God the Father, the First Person in the Blessed Trinity, who only is Αὐτόθεος, God of and from[1] Himself. The doctrine of the Trinity proceeds, that the Son and the Holy Spirit derive their Divinity from the Father as the one Ἀρχή. The scriptural and only true idea of God involves in its development the idea of the Tri-unity: and the doctrine of the Monarchia may be approached either from the side of the Unity of God, or from the side of the Trinity of Persons. Coming to it on the side of the Unity there is presented to the mind first the Existence of God, then the Unity of God, then the underived Nature, that is, His Self-existence. Coming to the doctrine on the side of the Trinity of Persons, Scripture reveals God the Son, who is Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ by an eternal generation, and God the Holy Ghost who is Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ by an eternal procession. This refers us to the First Person of the Trinity, as to Him from whom the Second and Third Persons derive their Divinity.

The doctrine of the Monarchia, flowing as it does directly from the Unity of God, in its expression guards that Unity; while, at the same time, it renders it possible to hold that the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost God, by a derivation of Godhead: the full doctrine of the Godhead of the Second and Third Persons being maintained by the further doctrine of the Perichoresis. It is to be remarked that as ἀρχή has the meaning of "beginning" with reference to time, as well as the meaning of "principle" with reference to origin, so with regard to the former meaning the Son and the Holy Spirit are ἄναρχοι, as well as the Father. Αἰτία, cause, is also used in the enunciation of this doctrine, the Father Himself ἀιτία, is ἀναίτιος; the Son and the Holy Spirit are ἀιτιατοί, or τὸ ἀιτιατόν.

Scripture and the Church avoid the appearance of tritheism by tracing back (if we may so say) the infinite perfections of the Son and Spirit to Him whose Son and Spirit They are. They are, so to express it, but the new manifestation and repetition of the Father; there being no room for numeration or comparison between them, nor any resting-place for the contemplating mind, till they are referred to Him in Whom they centre. On the other hand, in naming the Father, we imply the Son and Spirit, whether They be named or not. This is the key to much of the language of Holy Scripture, which is otherwise difficult to understand, as, *e.g.*, 1 John v. 20; 1 Cor. xii. 4-6; John xiv. 16-18 [Newman's *Arians*, p. 192].

Viewing this doctrine on the side of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity, it becomes the doctrine of their subordination to the Father. In nature, in perfection of substance, equal to the Father; in authority, in origin, the Son and Holy Spirit are subordinate. Bull expresses it thus: "Patre igitur minor est Filius κατ' ἀιτίαν. Æqualis vero est Patri Filius κατὰ φύσιν. Deus ac Dominus est Filius æque ac Pater: et in hoc solo discrepat a Patre Filius, quod Deus et Dominus sit a Patre Deo ac Domino: hoc est, Deus licet de Deo sit, de vero tamen Deo Deus verus est, ut definivit synodus ipsa Nicæna" [Bull's *Works*, Burton's ed. vi. 707]. The like things may be said of the Holy Spirit. This subordination, and the ministrations of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in executing the counsels of the Individual Society of the Godhead, is styled the œconomy of the Holy Trinity. [Eternal Generation. Procession.]

MONARCHIANISM. A part of that line of heresy of which Sabellianism was the most permanent form, and which confused, under various modifications of statement, the three Persons of the Godhead. It was an early form of Antitrinitarianism, which sheltered its heresy, like the Unitarianism of modern days, under the specious disguise of a zeal for the Divine Unity.

The first propagator of this heresy seems to have been Theodotus [ὁ σκυτεύς], a Byzantine, and though known as "the currier," a man of some learning. In an early work quoted by Eusebius, he is called "the leader and father of the God-denying apostasy" which was being developed by Paul of Samosata at the time when the words were written, and is said to be "the first who asserted Christ to be a mere man" [Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* v. 28]. Theodotus was in

[1] Bull uses the word "from," "of and from Himself." Pearson considers it to be a contradiction. "Whereas if we speak properly God the Father hath neither His Being from another, nor from Himself: not from another, that were repugnant to His Paternity: not from Himself, that were a contradiction in itself." [*Expos. of Creed*, fol. 1741, p. 39.] There is no real difference (as need hardly be said) between these two great divines. The contradiction is one of those contradictions which often arise (perhaps inevitably) when we attempt to propound in words a truth, such as this of the self-existence of God, which is really unintelligible by a finite mind.

Rome for some time, and was excommunicated by Victor, in the last years of the second century. He was followed by another Theodotus, called "the money-changer" (ὁ τραπεζίτης), Asclepiades, Natalius, and Artemon, the last being the best known of his disciples. Artemon charged Zephyrinus, the successor of Victor [A.D. 202], with having corrupted the faith of the Church by introducing the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity, an absurd charge which shews either the ignorance or the audacity of the sect. "Perchance," says the primitive writer previously quoted, "one might believe what they say were it not that the Holy Scriptures contradict them; as well as the works of certain brethren older than Victor's time, which they wrote in defence of the truth, and against the heresies of their day. I speak of Justus and Miltiades, and Tatian and Clement, and many others, in all of which the Divinity of Christ is asserted. Who knows not the works of Irenæus and Melito, and the rest, in which Christ is announced as God and man? Who knows not the psalms and hymns written by the brethren, which from the beginning celebrate Christ the Word of God by proclaiming His Divinity? How then could it happen that since the doctrine of the Church has been proclaimed for so many years, that yet until the time of Victor, the Gospel was preached after the manner alleged by Artemon?" [Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* v. 28.]

The Monarchians were designated Alogi [Epiphan. *Hær.* li.] as denying the Logos of St. John, and their distinctive principle was evidently the simplest form of Antitrinitarianism, viz. the recognition of one Divine Person only; without much, if any, endeavour to refute the orthodox belief respecting the other two Persons of the Holy Trinity. [PATRIPASSIANS. SABELLIANISM. UNITARIANISM. *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

MONASTICISM must not be judged by its condition at the time of the Reformation, far less by the character that interested adversaries have given to it from a hope of profit in its suppression. But even the enthusiastic advocacy of Montalembert [*Moines de l'Occident*] allows that gross corruption had then set in, and that the Monasticism of the fifteenth century was as much unlike its original form as modern Christianity falls short of the high exemplar of the Apostles' days.

It will be the object of this article to trace the growth of Monasticism from its early origin; and the account will have been carried down to a sufficiently recent date, when it is shewn that our most ancient Episcopal sees in England have been established on conventual foundations. There are works that give all the information which can be needed with respect to the subsequent development of the different orders of Monasticism. The day of Monasticism has for ever set, at least in England. There is no longer any need for its existence, even if it could be set up again in its best condition. More than Benedictine learning sheds a ray of glory on our colleges. Our Poor Laws render unnecessary the alms from the monastery wicket; and such doles would become a positive evil now as an encouragement to idleness and sloth. Our parochial clergy are welcome visitors at the cottage fireside, where the monk of later days was not, with his sack of contributions for the house. The glory of Monasticism was the fidelity with which it discharged its earlier mission; the self-sacrifice with which it taught men to rise superior to the trials and calamities of life; the unfeigned piety with which the monk resigned every earthly advantage that he might win a heavenly reward. But it survived its reputation, and there is more hope of recovering to life the carcase around which the eagles have gathered than of a renovated monkdom. The ribaldry of Boccaccio and Rabelais, the *Ep. obscuror. Vir.* and the more measured terms of Piers Plowman and Chaucer, were mainly instrumental in bringing about the downfall of Monasticism; but this was after it had already been shorn of its splendour, and when scarcely a ray remained to it of its true glory.

The word Monasticism is derived from the verb μονάζειν, to dwell apart in solitude. Μοναχός, in its original acceptation, referred to the recluses of the Egyptian deserts, or hermits (ἐρημῖται), who lived for the sake of contemplative piety in cells apart from each other termed "lauri." When these cells were united under a common regimen, they became a Cœnobium (κοινὸς βίος), but the individual anchorite (ἀναχωρητὴς), separated from the world, was still termed μοναχός. The institution is far more ancient than is generally imagined. Contemplative asceticism is a link that binds the most remote antiquity with our own times. India, when Moses received the Law on Mount Sinai, had its hordes of self-mortifying devotees. Wherever Buddhism has become the dominant faith, the Cœnobium has been as unvarying a feature as it ever was in Italy, or Austria, or Spain. The Pythagorœan recluse, the Neo-Platonic dreamer, and the more severe sects of Judaism, were as forecast shadows of Monasticism. Pliny speaks of the Essenes in terms of admiration that might be adopted by the eulogist of La Trappe [*H. N.* v.]. Philo is equally eloquent in his praise of the Therapeutæ, who established themselves as recluses on the self-same Nitrian mount that afforded an asylum to the earliest monks. It may also be noted that the places of Therapeutic worship were termed μοναστήρια.

In times anterior to the Gospel, prophets and martyrs "in sheepskins and goatskins," wandered over mountains and deserts, and dwelt in caves and dens of the earth, as præ-evangelic monks. Nazarites and the sons of Rechab were but harbingers of future institutions. The advocates of Monasticism have always claimed for it an evangelical origin. Its lines were laid, they say, in the Gospel of Christ; and the vow of poverty was indicated by our Lord when He charged the rich young man in the Gospel to sell all he had, if he would be perfect, and give to the poor, and that, as a follower of Christ, he should receive an hundred-fold more "with persecution." But the instance is scarcely in point. Our Lord's words

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had a present application, whether they referred to apostolic life and duties, or to entrance into the infant Church, where for a time all things were in common. If they had any bearing upon the monastic vow of poverty, they remained dormant till persecution drove Christians into the wilderness. Persecution also was not the result, but the exciting cause of Monasticism. So, too, the following of which our Lord spoke involved a life of active exertion, hardly to be identified with the leisure of the "laurus," where the hermit twined his rush mats and baskets for a livelihood, while his heart was engaged in prayer. The case is evidently unable to bear the assertion built upon it by Suarez [*Tr.* VII. iii. 2], that Monasticism is "de jure divino non præcipiente sed consulente."

Neither can that community of life, which is the earliest phase of Christianity, represent the origin of Monasticism; else it would have continued without intermission. But such a state of things was a social impossibility. It gives a beautiful picture of what Christianity might be, and possibly may be, when all are of one mind and one spirit; but it was incompatible with the general course of human affairs, and it ceased to be. It may have suggested the theory of monastic institutions, but it certainly was not the germ from whence they were developed. Neither was there Monasticism in the ascetic discipline of the first centuries. The baptismal engagement was to primitive Christians that which the religious vow was to a Benedict or a Borromeo. They were a nation of priests, offering the holiest sacrifices with pure hands, and garments scarce spotted with the flesh. The highest exercises of faith and devotional piety filled in the intervals of persecution that assailed their constancy in vain. Severe asceticism was the religion of thousands throughout the Christian world. But those who practised it neither separated themselves from the world, nor from its social and political duties. They were a standing memorial of the solemn nature of the Christian vow in the heart of the families of the people. The most rigid monastic rule could have added neither severity to their self-discipline nor higher temper to their chastened spirit; and the solitary recluses of the Thebaïd carried out in newer forms their ancestral traditions in a life of self-mortification.

It was during the persecution under Decius [A.D. 249-251] that Christians were driven to seek an asylum in the desert; where a spring of water and a patch of land regulated in its spontaneous growth, and some rude handiwork supplied, the means of existence. They were, as Montalembert says, "naifs comme des enfants, et forts comme des géants;" though Villemain, forming a more unimpassioned estimate of the results of Monasticism, says, "De cette rude école du desert il sortait des grands hommes et des fous;" heroes and madmen [*Melanges Eloq. Chr.* p. 356]. It has been with Monasticism as with every other intellectual movement. An idea exists long in a state of free solution, till the master mind is revealed, destined to give it fixity and permanence; and from that time it becomes a nucleus around which system gathers and crystallizes. Thus the recluses of the desert continued to gain in strength and number, until Anthony, of noble family and wealth, in the fourth century, incorporated the scattered individuals in Cœnobia; the connecting tie being a triple vow of chastity, poverty, and manual labour for the common good. Thenceforth the attention of Christendom was attracted to the Thebaïd; all who needed it found there an asylum. Athanasius, whose years of banishment exceeded those of his episcopal residence, was the guest of Anthony, and by the austerities of the cell braced up his spirit for the further trials of his faith. The first monastic rule of which we read was framed by Pachomius, for the union of eight monasteries that he formed at Tabenna, an insular position on the Nile, just below the first cataract. When Athanasius visited him, Pachomius and three thousand monks passed before him in procession, chanting hymns, and giving practical proof of the devotional spirit that existed in the desert. The elder Ammonius founded the monastery on the Nitrian mount, which soon numbered five thousand members. The rapidly increasing numbers of monks in Egypt give an almost incredible array of figures. The monks of Tabenna, soon after the death of Pachomius, exceeded seven thousand; and in the time of Jerome numbered fifty thousand at the annual gathering of the order. The development in the Nitrian and Thebaïd deserts was equally rapid; so that Ruffinus [*V. Patr.* ii. 7] affirms that the monastic population of Egypt equalled the inhabitants of the towns. Neither was the movement confined to Egypt. Arabia, Syria, Palestine, and more especially the region of Mount Sinai, swarmed with recluses, and were thickly studded with monasteries. "We daily receive monks," says St. Jerome, writing at Bethlehem, "from India, and Persia, and Ethiopia." But human frailty was at work, and the Homilies of Ephraem, himself a Mesopotamian monk, shew that all who wore the monastic garb were not animated by the holy spirit of the main body. Yet care was always taken that none should be incorporated without due deliberation. At first the noviciate age was fixed at seventeen. Afterwards none were allowed to take the vow before their twenty-fifth year [*Conc. Carth.* III.], while later Gallican and Spanish Councils deferred it to the fortieth year; so careful was the Church to impress upon men's minds that, "Better it is not to vow, than to vow and not perform" [Eccl. v. 5]. Convents for nuns are as ancient as those for monks. Anthony and Pachomius were tended by their sisters; Ammonius by his wife: and crowds of heroic women confided their honour to the wilderness rather than to the caprices of fortune in times of trouble. They formed the germ of those convents for nuns which developed their growth as rapidly as the monasteries, but they were separated from the latter either by a wide tract of waste, by a river, or by isolation upon some rugged eminence.

The beneficial effect of Monasticism in its earlier phases cannot be easily overrated. The rich were forcibly reminded of the nothingness of all earthly loss and gain by the readiness with which earnest spirits parted with every element of worldly property; the poor were consoled in their low estate by seeing how the self-sought "crown" of poverty could dignify the individual; and the whole Church was edified by the labours of men who had given up all, that they might follow closely in the steps of their Redeemer. The light of Christian truth also was made to burn more brightly by the labours of these students of the desert. The preparation of the Vulgate from the numerous old Italic fragmental versions of Scripture that existed before the time of Jerome, was worked out by him in his cell at Bethlehem. The treatises of Athanasius against the Arians gave him employment during his retirement in the Thebaïd. From the middle of the fourth century, with three exceptions, Ambrose, Hilary of Poictiers and Leo the Great, all the great writers of the Church, its patriarchs and bishops, had received their early training as monks. Basil was taken forcibly from his Pontine cell to be ordained to the priesthood, and eventually to be raised to the see of Cæsarea. Gregory of Nazianzum had shared his cell, and with it the daily task of manual labour; his fourth oration is an eloquent encomium of Monasticism. Saint Chrysostom passed some years of his early life in monastic seclusion in the mountainous district of Antioch [Pallad. *Vit. Chrysost.* v.]. His eighth, and sixty-eighth Homilies on St. Matthew [ἤθικα], glow with the praises of religious life in the desert. Imperial conversion involved no reform in civic corruption; and the low condition of public life in the towns possibly called forth the highly-wrought panegyrics of Monasticism which the Fathers have left [Chrys. *Adv. Oppugn. v. Monast.; Hom. in Matt.* and 1 *Tim.*]. The desert was the abode of the best men of their generation.

It was the courageous, self-sacrificing spirit of a monk that brought to a close the horrors of the arena. When Honorius revived the gladiatorial shows of the circus [A.D. 404], the monk Telemachus journeyed to Rome from his Nitrian cell, firm of purpose to declare, as a prophet of old, God's detestation of the contemplated cruelties. Pressing through the excited crowd of the Coliseum, he threw himself between the pair of gladiators, matched for the death-struggle. The people beat him down with stones and clubs, and the gladiators dispatched him. But it was the last human blood that was shed in the Coliseum. Men began to realize to themselves the hideous character of the exhibition, and an edict of the same emperor proscribed all gladiatorial exhibitions for the future [Montalemb. i. 126].

If we turn to the West, we observe the same enthusiastic reception of Monasticism that marked its rise in the East. Athanasius, under exile, became a guest at Rome after he had visited the Thebaïd; and two monks, named Ammon and Isidore, accompanied him as living evidence of the sanctifying principles of the new "religio." The movement, when once fairly established, rapidly gained ground. Patricians, rich merchants, and men of letters adopted the distinctive dress of the anchorite, and with it the three self-denying vows of the religious life. Villas, bearing the names of Gracchus and Scipio, Camillus and Marcellus, were converted by the representatives of these great names into monasteries. The ruins of the Anician palace, of vast extent, were still to be seen in the middle of the eight century at the gate of Nursia [Montalemb. ii. 8]. The family from whence it had its name is renowned in the annals of Monasticism as the stock of which Benedict and Gregory the Great were descendants. From Rome the movement spread through the provinces, and established itself in the isles of the Mediterranean; chiefly through the energetic action of Eusebius of Vercellæ, who, like Athanasius, had obtained a temporary resting-place in the Thebaïd when driven from his see. A further impulse was given to Monachism by Jerome's *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, and the *Life of Anthony* by Athanasius.

Basil had given a rule to the vast army of monks, and bound them by a formal vow to chastity, poverty (involving the duty of self-support by manual labour), and obedience to authority; but it is vague and desultory. An order of mendicant monks who, disliking work, preferred to obtain their living by hawking about bones and relics, was severely dealt with by Augustine [*de Op. Monach.*]. It was a condemnation beforehand of Monasticism in its decline, when indolence became its just, but not its least, reproach. Some useful canons were passed at the Council of Chalcedon for the regulation of monks; subjecting them to diocesan authority—though this was unfortunately modified by Gregory—and enforcing fixity of residence. The desecration also of conventual buildings was prohibited. Generally however monasteries, sown broadcast over the world, differed widely in their code of rules. Notwithstanding Basil's Digest, Cassian, on visiting the different institutions of Egypt and Palestine and Mesopotamia, found almost as many rules as monasteries [Cassian, *Inst.* ii. 2]. The inmates of different cells under the same head varied in their observance, each recluse retaining his accustomed usage when admitted into the community. But, in truth, no rule could well be universal. In Gaul the monks reclaimed against the severe rule of fasting imported from the East. Athanasius terms fasting "the meat of angels;" but the rule must vary with the varying climate. A discipline that was practicable under a burning Syrian sun required modification to suit the colder latitude of Gaul. Less food is evidently required in countries where the intense noontide heat curtails the hours of work, and where man has a less robust physique. Benedict [Milman, *Lat. Chr.* iii. 6; Montalemb. iv.], a young patrician of the Gens Anicia, consolidated the Western monks under one rule. At the age of fourteen he

determined to renounce the world and all its high hopes, and to devote himself to the service of God. For three years he inhabited a tomb-like cave amid the rocks of Subiaco, still shewn to the traveller, where he was sustained by a neighbouring monk, who brought to him a part of his own daily pittance. The sanctity of the young recluse and his fervent oratory having become known, crowds flocked to him for the bread of life. Soon the number of those who established themselves around him compelled him to form them into twelve monasteries, each containing twelve monks, of whom he was the superior. The holy St. Maur, a name venerable in literature, with a few others, received instruction from himself. A diabolical attempt to corrupt these youths caused him to leave his monasteries and to quit Subiaco, when he removed to Monte Casino, close to St. Germano, and in the vicinity of Aquino, the birthplace of Juvenal, and of the "Angelic Doctor," Thomas Aquinas, who was himself a student at Monte Casino, though he afterwards joined the Dominicans. It became the capital of Western Monachism. Here Benedict passed the fourteen latter years of his life; preaching in the neighbourhood, instructing noble youths, controlling the affairs of his house, and ministering with a lavish hand to the neighbouring poor the offerings that poured in from the surrounding district. The Benedictine Order, as Montalembert observes, has always remained faithful to the tradition of liberality thus established by its founder.

The Rule of St. Benedict is more methodical than those that precede it. Its dominant principles are obedience and labour. Being administrative rather than creative in its origin, it presupposed the existing rules of chastity and poverty. The founder speaks of his rule as merely a beginning, a tentative ordinance, "Hanc minimam inchoationis regulam," &c. [c. 73]. The principal of every establishment was enjoined to take council, either of the whole house in capitular assembly, or of the decanal body chosen from the different decads of the community. A candidate for the noviciate was long kept without the walls to try his constancy. When admitted within, he was placed for two months under the tuition and surveillance of an experienced monk, and warned daily with respect to the hardships and discipline of the monastery. If the novice still wished to take the vow, the laws of the Society were read over to him, and permission given him to return to the world if he so pleased. The same opportunity was three times repeated during the year of noviciate, at the expiration of which time he was admitted as a member of the community. The sixty-three heads under which the rule is arranged, refer to the relative duties of the principal and subordinate members—Divine Worship—Discipline—Household Economy—and various ordinances referring to hospitality, missions, nursing, &c. The prescribed dress was, in all probability, that which had always been adopted by recluses, for it is almost the same coarse garb as that which Columella [*de Re Rustica* xi. 1] recommends for the farm serf in all weathers; "Vestitum . . . pellibus manicatis . . . vel sagis cucullis. Id si fiat nullus dies tam intolerabilis est, quo non sub divo aliquid moliri possit."

Gregory the Great, another member of the Anician family, a Benedictine monk, was the first of any religious order who became pontiff. Having devoted his property to the foundation of six monasteries in Sicily, he converted his palace on Mount Cœlius at Rome into a seventh, in which he had his cell as a monk; and Rome beheld with astonishment the rich young patrician, foremost hitherto in the gay and gallant show of life, relieving the poor at the gate of the convent, or performing menial acts for the brothers, to whose level he had descended by a self-sought poverty.

The election of Gregory as pope took place during a severe visitation of plague; and his first act was to form a litanical procession of all the monks and nuns that the city contained. Monte St. Angelo takes its name from the vision with which he was said to have been favoured, of an angel sheathing his sword upon the Moles Hadriana, the former name of the site. The humility of the monk is seen in the title that he first assumed, "Servus servorum Dei," to check the ambitious claim of John, Patriarch of Constantinople, as universal patriarch; though it has been asserted that the title belongs to an earlier date [Ducange; Schröckh, xvii. 78; Gieseler, I. ii. 411]. No Bishop of Rome has ever left more enduring traces of his pontificate than Gregory. His *Sacramentary* is in substance the Mass book of Rome at the present day. His "Tones" are the groundwork of all that is noble and impressive in the sacred melodies of the Church; and the Roman school of students from all nations gave Catholicity and permanence to the newly-awakened musical taste. Gregory never forgot the monk. In a council at Rome [A.D. 595], the Benedictine rule was confirmed; and [A.D. 601] a constitution, the Magna Charta of Monasticism, secured all conventual rights and privileges. One privilege, ruinous in its effects, appeared to be necessary when first granted. The mixture of races had introduced many elements of confusion among the secular clergy; wherever the peace of a convent seemed to be imperilled by the surrounding discord, exemption from episcopal authority was granted to it, whereby it was released from all external control—one sure cause of mischief. Thus certain cures in England, down to our own times, have claimed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, as having been outlying cells of privileged monasteries. Gregory died [A.D. 604] in his fifty-fifth year, and in the fifteenth of his pontificate.

Passing over the establishment of Monasticism in Spain and Gaul, we proceed to trace its rise in the British Isles. St. Patrick is said, in one account of his life (according to the barbarous practice of the Celtic races, more difficult to eradicate than paganism), to have been sold as a youth of sixteen years, and carried as a slave to Ireland [A.D. 387-465]. Having recovered his liberty, he passed over to Gaul, and

became an inmate of Marmoutier, "Martini Monasterium." He proceeded afterwards to Rome, and having been invested with the episcopal dignity, returned as missionary bishop to Ireland. During thirty-three years he worked at the conversion of the people to the Christian faith, and filled the island with schools and monasteries, the sites of which are still to be distinguished by the round towers that served as belfries for the conventual churches. The prefix "kill" is the Latin "cella," and marks the "religio loci" of innumerable localities in Ireland. Macaulay's assertion, as regards European monasteries in general, is especially true of Ireland; without these Christianizing institutions the population would have been made up of "beasts of burthen and beasts of prey" [*H. E.* i.]. The services that Monasticism has rendered to civilization in the transition of society from ancient times to the Middle Ages have been most important. Monks were the skilled agriculturists of the period; and many terms in rural life, and in the fauna and botany of all Northern Europe, may be traced back through them to Greek and Latin terms, *e. g.*, "hawky," ὀίκι, harvest-home; "ranny," aranea, a shrew mouse; chervil, χηρόφυλλον. The belladonna that is now found indigenous, was introduced first among the pharmaceutical herbs of the convent garden; for the monks were the physicians of the period. As men of letters also, and energetic missionaries, they kept the lamp of knowledge and civilization from expiring in the very darkest periods, and whatever was done in the way of educating the young was carried on within the walls of the monastery.

Bangor (Bana-chor, "wide precinct") was the name of three important ecclesiastical sites. The original Irish monastery in county Down; the sister convent on the banks of the Dee in Flintshire, and the later episcopal see on the coast of Caernarvon, all bore the same name. The county Down monastery, on the north-west coast, and Clonfert, were towns of monks rather than monasteries; the former contained more than three thousand under religious vow in the time of Patricius. The founder having been accompanied by learned monks from Gaul and Lerins, these monasteries soon became renowned for their sound learning, as well as for a pure faith. The most steady adherents having been recruited from the race of bards, the harp has always been the emblem of the national religion. A missionary spirit always distinguished the Irish Church. Its monks, as hardy navigators, established themselves in the Hebrides, with Iona for its capital, and passed over to the western districts of Britain; from whence they settled upon the coast of Brittany, together with the British population expelled by Saxon invasion in the fourth and fifth centuries. It was a province of Gaul that had remained comparatively free from Roman rule, and had preserved old Celtic habits while the rest of Gaul was Romanized. The missionary spirit of his race impelled Columban to settle in Gaul, and to found the monastery of Luxeuil in Burgundy, the mother of numerous conventual establishments, and the capital of monastic Gaul. [Milman, *Lat. Chr.* iv. 5.] He has been termed the Irish Benedict; and various legends are connected with his name which are only reproductions of Benedictine fable. Though he treated the Roman See with respect, he never sacrificed his own independence of opinion to its authority; and he gives to the See of Jerusalem precedence in point of honour. [*Ep.* v. sec. 18.] He also gave his monks a rule, but its excessive severity prevented its extended use; and it was superseded by the Benedictine rule, which became the universal law of Monasticism. [*Conc. Autun.* A.D. 670.]

In England, all our most ancient sees have been established upon pre-existing monastic foundations. At the close of the fifth century, Dubricius, Bishop of Caerleon, founded Llandaff monastery. St. David, his successor at Caerleon, built the monastery at St. David's on a site indicated to him by St. Patrick, the wild promontory on which the cathedral now stands. He also rebuilt the convent of Glastonbury; and it was in honour of St. David that the privilege of asylum was indulged to sites in any way connected with his name—a privilege that may occasionally have secured innocence against oppression and wrong, but which became intolerable from abuse in later days. St. Asaph, in its origin, was a convent of nine hundred and sixty-five monks, founded at the end of the sixth century by Kentigern, himself a monk and missionary bishop among the southern Scots and Picts. Bangor on the Dee was founded by Iltud, a fellow-disciple with St. David at St. Germain of Auxerre. It contained within its "wide precincts" a whole army of monks. Yet it was little more than half the size of the Irish establishment of the same name, which numbered three thousand monks. The diocese of Bangor owes its origin to the foundation of Daniel, a disciple of Dubricius, at the commencement of the sixth century. Winchester, first established as a monastery by Cenwalch, King of Wessex, under promise to his dying father, was made an episcopal see by the same king about the middle of the seventh century. Ripon was a monastery founded by Alfrid, King of Northumberland, having Wilfrid for its first abbot. He repaired and beautified the cathedral of York, of which see he became bishop, and built the priory of Hexham in the most costly style; the church was said to have been the most beautiful on this side the Alps. Wilfrid was the first of a series of clerical and monastic architects who for several centuries made Anglican ecclesiastical buildings the glory of Europe. It is curious to find that the churchwarden's sovereign cure for all defects was also introduced by him: "Parietes lavans . . . alba calce mirifice dealbavit" [Montalemb. iv. 235]. Ely was at first a double monastery for monks and nuns of the foundation of Etheldreda, Queen of Northumberland, "virgo bis nupta."

Columba, like Pelagius, is the classical equivalent for a Celtic name. He is not to be confounded with Columban, the Celtic founder of

Luxeuil. Columba [born A.D. 521, died A.D. 597] was of the royal race of Neill, masters of Ireland and of the west coast of Scotland. Columba, himself a monk, founded thirty-seven monasteries in Ireland; and passing over to the Hebrides, selected Iona, the most desolate of these desolate islands, flat-lying and sandy, as the site of a monastery which was destined eventually to become the "glory of the West," and the cradle of civilization in North Britain. He was famed for a poetic vein, and for his passionate love of beautiful MSS., some traces of which still exist in our libraries. He is said to have transcribed three hundred copies of the Gospels with his own hand; but, as Montalembert observes, three hundred and three thousand seem the only numbers known to early Irish story. The Druids attempted in vain to check the progress of the religion which he preached and practised. From Iona Aidan went forth as the Apostle and Bishop of the Northumbrians, and having found a site as desolate and unattractive as Iona in Lindisfarne (since Holy Island), there founded a monastery, which became the mother Church of all the provinces north of the Humber. The character of sanctity impressed upon it by St. Aidan long distinguished it; and its abbots, like himself, mostly became bishops of the northern provinces. His great and benevolent character has been nobly drawn by Bede [*H. E.* iii. 3, 5, 17]. Hilda, foundress [A.D. 658] and Abbess of Whitby, received the veil from him. The feminine love of whatever is beautiful in nature led to the selection of a most noble site for her abbey, and contrasts strongly with the masculine austerity and contempt for æsthetics that led the Celtic monks to choose Iona and Lindisfarne. The Benedictines also, with a keen perception of the beautiful, placed their monasteries where the loveliness of nature was most likely to draw up the affections of the religious to heaven, and their names were generally descriptive of the sites. The influence of Hilda was everywhere felt; kings and princes sought her counsel; she was a "mother" by endearment to the very poorest who received alms at the abbey gate. Bede [*H. E.* iv. 23] speaks in enthusiastic terms of her tender care and administrative tact. A convent for monks as well as nuns was under her rule, and Bede notes that six prelates, eminent for their piety and learning, received their training at Whitby under her eye. To Hilda also we are indebted for having drawn the earliest Saxon poet, Cædmon, from his obscurity. He was a common herdsman, but at her persuasion became a monk. He anticipated Milton in taking as the theme for poetic song the fall of Satan and the sin of our first parents. The Saxon name for Whitby was Streaneshalc, the "beacon site." It was at Whitby that the first Witenagemot, "Synodus Pharensis," was held, which clearly distinguished between Lords and Commons [A.D. 664], and which settled the observance of Easter in accordance with the Roman rule. It was no longer, however, the old QUARTODECIMAN controversy which divided the Church, but the choice lay between two lunar cycles: the Roman, which had been found faulty, and the Alexandrian, which is still followed, and determines the incidence of Easter between the limits of March 22nd and April 24th. In consequence of this diversity, Oswy, King of Northumberland, celebrated Easter by Alexandrian rule while his Queen Eanfleda was observing Palm Sunday, and was preparing herself for the fast of Holy Week. The foundation of Wearmouth Abbey by Benedict Biscop, a monk of Lindisfarne [A.D. 665], was remarkable for the introduction of painted glass. Workmen were brought over from the Continent, who instructed the Saxon monks in the mystery of their craft. [Milman, *Lat. Chr.* iv. 4.]

The sister foundation at Jarrow, endowed with a domain granted by Egfrid, was the monastery in which the Venerable Bede had his cell.

In South Britain the most ancient monastery was that founded by Augustine at Canterbury, and placed under Benedictine rule. The deed of gift whereby King Ethelbert conveyed the site [A.D. 605] is the earliest existing document of our public records [Palgrave, *Br. C.*]. The founder's private copies of the Gospels are still preserved in Corpus College, Cambridge, and in the Bodleian. Gregory followed up the mission with a colony of monks, who also imported all that could be required for the observance of the Romish ritual; and the nucleus of an ecclesiastical library, that still existed in the reign of Henry VIII. Thus the subjugation of England to the See of Rome was the work of Benedictine monks. One of their number, Mellitus, first Bishop of London, founded Westminster Abbey. The vault at St. Paul's that preserves the remains of Nelson and Wellington bears his name; neither is there anything incongruous in the association. A heart of truest heroism has often beat beneath the gown of the monk; and great men, of whatever caste, have only become great by obeying the dictates of duty.

The first metropolitan recognised by all England was Theodore, an Oriental monk, native of Tarsus, and placed in the See of Canterbury by Pope Vitalianus, A.D. 668. The council held at Whitby on the subject of Easter [A.D. 664], showed that strong traces still remained of the Oriental tendencies of the British Church; and an African monk, Adrian, was sent with the bishop elect, as a safeguard and trusty envoy, "ne quid ille contrarium cui veritati et fidei, Græcorum more, in ecclesiam cui præesset, introduceret" [Bede, *H. E.* iv. 1]. To him is due the creation of the parochial system, by persuading the territorial lords to build and endow churches, retaining the advowson in their own hands. The Church-rate is of co-ordinate date. Theodore was a laborious student, and with the aid of Adrian he gradually made the monasteries of England schools of sound learning. Every father throughout the land was expected to teach his children the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in the vulgar tongue. The principal sees having sprung from a monastic origin, the canons were naturally monks; after the Conquest, disputes arose between the secular and regular, *i.e.* between the parochial and monastic clergy; and an attempt was made by Walkelin, Bishop of

Winchester, to supersede the monastic chapter by a body of forty secular clergy. Lanfranc however vigorously opposed the change, and obtained from Pope Alexander a constitution in confirmation of the capitular rights of the monasteries affected [Fleury, *H. E.* lxi. 53].

The example of Gregory in forming the nucleus of an ecclesiastical library at Canterbury was copied elsewhere by others [Muratori, *Storia d. lit. It.* iii. 29]. Monasteries were the sole preservers of learning in the darker ages that followed. The Benedictines, bound by the rules of their order to mental as well as bodily labour, performed a work that has been of priceless value. That anything at all has come down to us from classical antiquity is owing in great part to their diligence as transcribers. Gerbert, an abbot, and afterwards Pope Silvester II. [A.D. 999], speaks of his care in collecting books, and of the host of copiers that were found in every town: "Tu sai con quanta premura io raccolga da ogni parte libri; tu sai quanti scrittori e nelle città e nelle ville d' Italia in ogni luogo s' incontrino" [Murat. *Lit. It.* III. i. 29]. Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Casino, and subsequently Pope Victor III., employed many copyists, "antiquarii" as they were called [Muratori, *Stor.* IV. xxviii.; Mabillon, *Act. Bened.*]. Three offsets from the Benedictine stock have also rendered invaluable services to literature; the Cluniac monks, dating from the early part of the tenth century; the Carthusians [A.D. 1084]; and the Cistercians [A.D. 1090]. They created a craving for the luxury of books beautifully written and sumptuously illuminated; and libraries, gradually increasing in number and size, soon grew up from their labours. "It was their pride to collect, and their business to transcribe books" [Hallam, *L. Mid. A.* i. 82]; and their collections were the "germ from whence a second and more glorious civilization" should in due time spring [Macaulay, *H. E.* c. 1].

The multiplication of monastic orders was owing to the steady flow of the tide of corruption, "in negotiis religionis facilius possunt nova fundari quam vetera reparari" [Pet. Clun. *Ep.* i. 23]. Thus, when the Benedictines evaded the severity of their rule by qualifying glosses, the Cluniac order arose; but beginning in the tenth century with a strict rule, they sunk into luxury in the twelfth; the Cistercians started to shame them, but soon lost all moral vigour; next the Franciscan mendicants appeared, but degenerated more completely in the first quarter of a century after their introduction into England, than other orders had in three or four centuries [Matt. Paris, A.D. 1243. See Brakelond, *Chron. Abb. S. Edmundi.*; Tho. Elmham, *Hist. Mon. St. Aug. Cantuar.*; Hugh de Poictiers, *Monastère de Vezelai.*] The orders that preserved themselves most free from corruption were the Carthusians, the Trappists, and the Jesuits, if these latter may be classed with monks. They mixed more freely with the world, and the average yearly cost for maintaining each Jesuit was £25 as set against £18 for the Benedictine monk. [Jesuitism.]

The account of Monasticism need not be carried further; its history thus far has declared the distinctive character that its founders impressed upon it. The good that it achieved for the Church in the Middle Ages cannot be overvalued. The picture drawn by Manzoni in the *Promesi Sposi*, though imaginary, is a true representation of the monk in days of darkness and oppression, when every mountain fastness was the seat of a titled brigand, and a trembling peasantry could only suffer where they dared not complain. The monk alone upheld God's controversy against the perpetrator of rapine and wrong. And when the infliction of plague executed upon earth the judgment of Heaven, when friend and kinsman fled in terror from the stricken victim, the monk remained faithful to his mission: he administered comfort both to body and soul, nor shrunk from contact that was only too likely to prove the touch of death. The scholar may speak with especial gratitude of the labours of the learned monks of the order of St Benedict. [Reyneri, *Disceptatio Historica.* Herzog, *W. Mönchthum Kloster.* Mabillon and D'Achery, *Acta Ord. S. Bened.* Hospinian, *De Or. Monach.* Petrus Diac. *De Vir. Ill. Casinens.* Gieseler, *K. Gesch.* i. sec. 93-95. *Chronic. Casinens.* Dugdale's *Monasticon.* Turnbull, *Fragmenta Scot. Monast.* Bulteau, *Abrégé de l'Ordre de St. Benoît; H. Monast. de l'Orient.* Bonnani, *H. d. Clergé Sec. et Reg.* Archdall, *Monastic. Hibern.* Helyot, *H. des Ordres Mon.* Kenelm Digby, *Mores Catholici.* Chasles, *XVI. Siècle.* Mosheim. *De Reb. Chr. a. Const.* Ludolf, *Eth.* iii. 3. Hardy, *Buddhist M.* Carlyle, *Past and Present.* T. Wright, *Suppr. of Mon. Quart. Rev.* July 1861.]

MONITION. A formal notice from a bishop to one of the subordinate clergy requiring the amendment of some ecclesiastical offence. The General admonition was anciently made publicly and solemnly, so that it could come to the knowledge of the person in fault; and when it expressed his name it was called Nominal. Lindewood defines canonical monition as requiring three several proclamations, or one for all, with a proper interval of time allowed. The name of the person should be distinctly mentioned, where law or custom demand it; this is called monition "in specie:" a general monition being known as "in genere." A public monition in synod by the bishop is equivalent to three monitions otherwise given. If the offender did not comply after the third monition he was formally subjected to excommunication, because the term, distinctly named, gave to the monition the character of an introductory sentence, and after its expiration no offer of explanation was admitted. No monition is required when the superior gives sentence of excommunication, or when an inferior does not submit to his superior in the discharge of his special right, as in the office of visitation; or after he has been visited when he refuses to pay procurations which are due; as these are cases of positive and manifest contumacy. But if the superior proceeds as judge, and punishes offences, past or present, monition is necessary before the fulmination

of the ecclesiastical censure. Although three monitions were held to be fair, yet one would suffice, provided that a suitable delay elapsed between it and the sentence.

Any incumbent or curate allowing unauthorized persons to officiate in his church, is liable to be called before the bishop in person, and to be publicly or privately monished. When a living has been for one year sequestered, the person who holds it, if he neglects the bishop's monition to reside, is deprived; and so also for drunkenness, or gross immorality, after monition.

Sentence of suspension ought not to be given without a previous admonition, unless where the offence is of such a nature as to require immediate suspension; and if in ordinary cases suspension should be given without monition, there may be cause of appeal.

MONOPHYSITISM. A designation by which the distinctive heresy of a large number of Eastern sects is characterized, viz. the tenet that there is only one Nature [*μόνη φύσις*] in our Lord Jesus Christ. This heresy originated with Eutyches [EUTYCHIANISM]. After Eutyches its chief supporter was Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who presided over the Eutychian Council of Ephesus, the "Latrocinium," and who was deposed by that of Chalcedon [A.D. 451]. Proterius, Archpriest of Alexandria, became his lawful successor, but many of the Alexandrians still acknowledged Dioscorus as their patriarch. These latter assumed, or received, the name of Monophysites, while the orthodox were stigmatized as Melchites or royalists, because the Emperor Marcian had supported the decision of the council. Monophysitism broke up into a great number of sects, and thoroughly corrupted the Church of Egypt and Syria. In later ages those who hold the heresy have been called "Jacobites," either (as they themselves assert) after St. James the Less, or because Dioscorus was named James before he became patriarch, or (as is most likely) from Jacobus Zanzalus, Bishop of Edessa in the latter half of the sixth century. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

MONOTHELITISM. A heresy which arose in the early part of the seventh century, the distinctive feature of which is the dogma that, although our Lord had two Natures, the Divine and the Human, yet since these were united in one Person, there must necessarily have been but one will [*μόνον θέλημα*]. The name *Μονοθελῆται* is first found in St. John Damascene.

This subtle phase of a misbelief respecting our Lord's Human Nature which troubled the Church for many centuries, is said to have originated with Theodore, Bishop of Pharan in Arabia, of whom nothing else is known. The opinion was taken up by Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and received a great impetus from being set before the Emperor Heraclius by Athanasius, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch [A.D. 629], as the foundation for a compromise between the Monophysites and the orthodox. The Emperor adopted the opinion with some enthusiasm, and placed Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, one of its chief supporters, in the see of Alexandria for the purpose of carrying out the proposed scheme of comprehension. A council was held in that city, at which nine articles were agreed to, the seventh affirming that one Divine Will governed both the Divine and the Human actions of our Lord. The words are *τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μιᾷ θεανδρικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ* [Gies. ii. 173], being so given in an epistle of Sergius to Pope Honorius, to which the articles of agreement are affixed [Mansi, *Concil.* xi. 561, 563]. Sophronius, afterwards Patriarch of Jerusalem, opposed the new dogma with great zeal, and sent Stephen, Bishop of Dora, to Honorius, beseeching him to use his influence in suppressing it. The Pope, however, signified his agreement with Sergius, and admonished Sophronius to abstain from teaching two operations of will in Christ. The Monothelite heresy was condemned in a Lateran Council held in A.D. 649, and more authoritatively by the sixth Œcumenical Council, that of Constantinople [A.D. 680]. In the thirteenth session of this council, Honorius was anathematized in company with Theodore, Sergius, and others, as having followed them in the heresy [Mansi, *Concil.* xi. 556, 622, 655]. This anathema was confirmed by Leo II., who wrote to the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus: "Anathematizamus . . . nec non et Honorium, qui hanc apostolicam ecclesiam non apostolicæ traditionis doctrina lustravit, sed profana proditione immaculatam subvertere conatus est" [*ibid.* 731; see also *Ep.* ii. *ad Episc. Hisp.*, *ibid.* 1052, and *Ep. ad Ervig.*, *ibid.* 1057]. Succeeding Popes for three centuries invariably repeated this confirmation in the profession of faith which they made at the time of their accession [Pusey's *Eirenicon*, iii. 198]. But the spread of Mahometanism, and the rise of the Iconoclastic controversy, thrust aside Monothelitism, and it has never been definitely revived.

The theological error of this opinion is in reality a consequence of that which is embodied in the Monophysite or Eutychian heresy, and, however subtle the language which may have been used by the Monothelites, they could not logically escape from a denial of our Lord's perfect humanity. To the Divine Nature of Christ belongs a Divine Will, to the Human Nature belongs also a Human Will, or the latter cannot be complete. The Divine Will belongs to the equality of His Godhead with the Father: the Human Will to the inferiority of His Manhood to the Father. Hence our Lord speaks of His human will as distinct from the will of the Father, "I seek not Mine own will, but the will of the Father Which hath sent Me" [John v. 30]; "I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me" [John vi. 38]; "not My will but Thine be done" [Luke xxii. 42]. And as it was part of Christ's work that He should learn obedience through suffering, so the subjugation of His free human will to perfect obedience to the Divine will is shewn to be the very climax of His work: a fact which is in itself an entire confutation of the heresy of the Monothelites. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

MONTANISM. A heresy of very early date, originating with Montanus of Pepuza in Phrygia, whence Montanists were also called Cataphrygians and Pepuzians.

Montanus seems to have been a priest of Cybele, Didymus saying that he had formerly been ἱερεὺς εἰδώλου [Didym. *de Trin.* iii.], and St Jerome speaking of him as "abscissum et semivirum" [Jerom. *Ep.* xxvii. *ad Marcell.*]. He began to assert his antichristian pretensions about A.D. 140 [Apollonius *ap.* Euseb. *H. Ecc.* v. 18, Epiphan. *Hær.* li. 33]; though Eusebius, in his Chronicles, dates the commencement of the sect in A.D. 172. At some time, certainly, in the middle of the second century, Montanus proclaimed it to be his mission to complete, in his person and by his system, the perfection of the Church, which had hitherto been waiting for the Paraclete, of which he seems to have almost professed to be a kind of incarnation. In aid of his blasphemous pretensions he associated with himself two fanatical women, Maximilla and Priscilla, as prophetesses, established an ascetic system among his followers which was dangerously attractive, and promised the immediate approach of a Millennium.

Although Montanus himself claimed a position and office which was quite inconsistent with Christianity, it appears as if his followers gave up these pretensions after his death, and that the Montanism of a later period was little more than a very strict system of asceticism and ecclesiastical discipline, maintained by a sect which had separated from the Church, but which professed to retain the belief and practice of the Church in their integrity. They looked upon themselves as "spiritual" and other Christians as "carnal," on account of their own professed strictness of life, and the laxness with which they charged those who were not of their body. Montanus seems to have been ultimately considered as one to whom the Holy Spirit had made special revelations respecting Christian perfection: in supposed obedience to which very long and stringent fasts were established; celibacy exalted to an extravagant degree of importance, and martyrdom sought rather as a duty than accepted as a privilege. Their penitential system was very strict, since they refused to receive back any sinners to communion, however penitent, at any time of their lives. Attracted by such strict discipline, the great Tertullian joined their community in the latter part of his life; and this fact is almost a guarantee that the early pretensions of the sect had been very much modified. Nothing is heard of the Montanists after the sixth century. [*Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

MORALITY, NATURAL. So much of the glory of man's origin remains in him, that even when farthest removed from the light and grace of Christ's presence in the Church, he retains some spark of that divine conscience which is derived from Him, "the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" [John i. 9]. Hence a knowledge of good and evil, some sense of responsibility to God, and some capacity for practical virtue, may be possessed even by persons not Christians, those of them at least who have not been brought within reach of the Church, with its revelation of truth, and its sacraments of grace. Of such St. Paul speaks in Rom. ii. 14, or, at least his words respecting the Gentiles which had not the Jewish "law" may be fairly interpreted as extending also to those who have not the Christian law. They may do by nature some of those duties which are extended and heightened by grace, and may thus be "not far from the kingdom of God."

To what extent such natural morality now exists (after eighteen centuries of Christianity) it is impossible to say. Probably to a very small extent. Neither can we define the position in the future life of those heathen who have possessed it. Hoping and believing that every really good man will receive his reward from God, we have yet far too little evidence of real goodness among those who have never heard of Christ to justify any relaxation of the missionary works of the Church. On the other hand, if it is found that there is real goodness here and there among those who have only natural religion—the fragmentary relic of original grace—to guide and help them, such evidence offers great encouragement to those who are engaged in such missionary works. Heathen who are advanced even this small distance on the way of holiness are those of whom it may be hoped that they may be cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and grafted by the supernatural work of grace into the good Olive Tree to partake of His root and fatness.

It may be added that the Thirteenth Article of Religion, "Of works before Justification," refers to those who are within reach of supernatural grace, not to heathen who have never heard of Christ, the Church, or the Sacraments. [Congruity. Religion, Natural.]

MORAVIANISM. The "Hernnhuters," "United Brethren" (*Unitas Fratrum*), or "Moravian Brethren," claim to be descended from the "Bohemian Brethren" of Bohemia and Moravia, who looked up to John Huss as their founder; and also to be the representatives of the first Bohemian Christians, who had been converted by Paulician missionaries in the ninth century. This claim is, however, entirely unhistorical, the sole foundation for it being that the sect originated with a small number of refugee Moravians, who formed a sort of Socialist community and adopted Pietistic principles in the year 1722. The original leader of the community was a carpenter named Christian David, a Roman Catholic of Moravia, who had been obliged to leave his native country and take refuge in Saxony. There he was brought under the notice of Count Zinzendorf, a disciple of Spener, and an enthusiastic Pietist, who allowed David and his friends, to the number of ten, to form a settlement on his estate at Bethelsdorf. Fresh refugees soon came to the settlement, which grew into a village and received the name of Hernnhut, from which the German

name of the sect originated. They called themselves the "Unitas Fratrum," and as the community grew in numbers those members of it who had come from Moravia formed only a small part of the body, so that the name by which they are known in England is rather calculated to mislead.

Shortly after the establishment of Hernnhut, Count Zinzendorf became the head of the community. He was then a young man, fresh from the Universities of Halle and Wittenberg, having been born in 1700, but he seems to have had a capacity for organization and leadership, such as was found in his friend John Wesley, and he remained at the head of all the Moravian communities in Europe until his death in 1760. There was, however, this essential distinction between Wesley and Zinzendorf, that while the former organized the "United Society" for reviving practical religion in the Church, without contemplating the formation of a sect [METHODISM], the latter intended the "United Brethren," or "Moravians," to be a sect from the beginning of their existence. From A.D. 1736 to 1747 Zinzendorf was banished from Saxony on the ground of introducing innovations into Lutheranism. During that time his colony at Hernnhut continued in quiet possession, and won the admiration of Wesley, who visited it in 1739. Meanwhile, Zinzendorf founded branches of his sect in Holland, Prussia, England, and America. At Chelsea, near London, he bought a large mansion, Lindsey House, and established a community there, similar to the one at Hernnhut, the memory of which is still kept up by a burial-ground, and by the building which was his meeting-house, the two having originally formed the stable and stable-yard of Sir Thomas More's mansion, Beaufort House. In 1734, Zinzendorf was surreptitiously (*i.e.* under a false name) admitted to the Lutheran ministry; but he was openly appointed "Bishop" of the Moravians, at the request of the Prussian King, in 1737. Some of his latter years were spent in a second visit to America, where he was authorized by Act of Parliament to establish Moravian settlements. But he returned to Hernnhut, married a second wife, and remained there as the head of his new sect until his death on May 9th, 1760.

The doctrinal aspect of Moravianism may be defined as that of Pietistic Lutheranism. Moravians are officially recognised in Germany as accepting the AUGSBURG CONFESSION, but their relation to Lutheranism is not more close than that of the Methodists to the Church of England. The fanaticism of the sect was at one time its most conspicuous feature, shewing itself in the repudiation of all means of grace, and in assumptions of a union with Christ, which were expressed in such shocking terms as to impress even hard-headed men like Bishop Warburton with the idea that Moravians were persons of grossly immoral lives. These extravagances of expression were cultivated in their sermons and hymns, and in all their acts of worship, and their hymns bear witness to it to this day. Apart from such extravagances, their principles may be considered as very similar to those of the Evangelical school in the Church of England, being chiefly distinguished by the idea of union with Christ independently of sacraments, and of justification by faith alone irrespective of good works. Circumstances over which they had no control preserved to the English school of Evangelicals a valid priesthood and episcopate: but that of the Moravians is a mere human institution, having no association with any chain of Apostolical succession from our Lord.

The Moravians have always been noticeable for an earnest missionary spirit. In various parts of the world they have about three hundred missionaries at work, chiefly among the Negroes of the West Indies, the Hottentots of Africa, and the Esquimaux tribes of Greenland. There are very few of the sect now in England, but those few are energetic promoters of this missionary work, and doubtless a large amount of good is done by their labours. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES. Crantz' *History of the Brethren.* Spangenberg's *Exposition of Christian Doctrine.*]

MORMONISM. A grotesque, but pernicious imposture, not deserving to be called a Christian sect, which takes its name from a pretended revelation of its principles contained in "The Book of Mormon." The teachers and victims of this imposture assume the name of "Latter-Day Saints," but they also accept the popular designation by which they are known, that of "Mormons."

The founder of Mormonism was an ignorant American farmer named Joseph Smith, born in 1805 at Sharon, Windsor county, in the State of Vermont. At the age of fourteen he was brought under the influence of some of the fanatic Methodists of the United States at one of their revivals, and after four years of "prayer and meditation," he received "angelic visits," the most remarkable of which were on the night of September 21st, 1823, when an angel told him that his sins were forgiven, that the Second Advent was drawing near, and that he, Smith, was chosen to prepare the way for it. The angelic visitor gave him "a brief sketch of the origin, progress, civilization, laws, and government" of the aborigines of America, and told him where to find some golden plates on which the records of their ancient prophets were written. Smith professed to have received these plates on September 22nd, 1827, and with them a pair of crystal spectacles, which he called "Urim and Thummim," and by means of which he avowed that he was able to read the "reformed Egyptian" characters in which the records of ancient America, from the time of the dispersion at Babel, were written on the golden plates. These plates were never made visible to any one but Smith; but what he pretended to read from them (while concealed behind a screen) was written out by an amanuensis, Smith himself being unable to write. The Book of Mormon was printed in 1830, and was eventually shewn to be a somewhat interpolated version of a fictitious history of aboriginal America, which had been written some twenty years before by a Presbyterian preacher named Solomon Spalding. This was proved by the affidavits of Spalding's widow, his brother, and his partner in a business which he followed;

and a facsimile of one of the plates of "reformed Egyptian" characters was shewn by Professor Anson to be a mere medley of badly formed letters taken from Greek, Hebrew, and English alphabets, ending with a Mexican hieroglyph copied from a work of Humboldt, but nothing which could be called "Egyptian." The book itself answers to its description as an historical romance, and its religious character is also consistent with the Presbyterian origin to which it was traced. It contains many allusions to modern religious controversies, and expressly condemns infant baptism, polygamy, and freemasonry.

In 1830 Smith and his fellow-impostors, Cowdery, Harris, Whitner, and Rigdon (the latter of whom seems to have been the chief inventor of the details of the imposture) opened a "Church of Latter-Day Saints" in the town of Manchester, New York. From thence they were soon driven by persecution to Kirtland in Ohio, where they professed to found the "New Jerusalem" and to establish the Millennium. Here they persevered in the face of very severe treatment from 1834 to 1838, when the leaders of the community having been detected in gross commercial imposture, they migrated still further west to Illinois; where, in the midst of a wilderness, they shortly established a settlement of many thousands, calling their town "Nauvoo," the City of Beauty. Here Smith professed to have a revelation enjoining him to practise polygamy. When this revelation extended the license to others, on July 12th, 1843, he began to be looked upon as a public enemy; and having been imprisoned by the Governor of Illinois, he was eventually shot by a lynch mob which broke into his prison on June 27th, 1844.

After the death of Smith, the "Council of twelve Apostles" elected Brigham Young as his successor; and in the following year a further general emigration of the Mormons was organized, the place of settlement ultimately fixed on being that now well known as Utah, in the valley of the great Salt Lake, in Upper California. Here a large population has gathered, many thousands having emigrated even from our own country, chiefly from among the Methodists of Wales and the west of England.

Looked at from a theological point of view, Mormonism must be regarded as an ignorantly amalgamated compound of Materialism and the lower phases of American Methodism. The systematic profligacy which, under the name of polygamy, has been so conspicuous a feature of Mormon life for a quarter of a century, shews however, that the opinions of Mormons are regulated by their feelings; for polygamy is forbidden by the Book of Mormon, and has been adopted on the authority of a pretended revelation given at a later date. Whatever definite principles of religion there are among them, are in fact those of a few half-educated persons here and there, such as one Orson Pratt, their most prolific writer and apologist; and although a profession of Christianity like that above indicated may have been made by the leaders of the community, such a profession is no standard of belief among those who claim to receive revelations on every convenient occasion by which inconvenient articles of belief may be superseded.

As a religion, Mormonism is the most contemptible invention of the kind that ever obtruded itself on mankind, but it has proved itself to possess great charms for the ignorant classes of English speaking people, and there is reason to fear that its dangerous influence will be still very much extended notwithstanding all our civilization and culture. [*Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

MORTAL SIN. [Sin.]

MORTIFICATION. This term is twice used in the Authorized Version. First in Rom. viii. 13, "For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die" [μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν], "but if ye through the Spirit do mortify [θανατοῦτε] the deeds of the body, ye shall live." Secondly, in Coloss. iii. 5, "Mortify," [Νεκρώσατε] "therefore, your members which are upon the earth." In both cases the Apostle uses the words so rendered as a strong antithesis to Life and Resurrection in Christ; the idea being that of severe subjugation of whatsoever ministers to sin, that the grace of God may gain more power over our nature. [Asceticism.]

MOTHER OF GOD. [Theotokos.]

MOZARABIC LITURGY. The term Mozarabic is the participial form of the tenth Arabic conjugation, in which the action and inflexion of a verb is communicated to a noun. Thus from "Arab" is formed "Estarab," to Arabize, and the participle Mostarab, one who has thus adopted the Arab mode of life. This word, by transposition of two letters, easily became Mozarab. The term applied in the first instance to those members of the African and Spanish Churches, and Jews, who from fear of persecution adopted the ways and customs of their Arab rulers; abstaining from meats forbidden by the religion of the Korân, and submitting to the rite of circumcision. [Fleury, *H. E.* iv. 48.] It is not clear how this designation came to be applied to the Liturgy so called, but probably it was connected with it at a much later date than the original introduction of the Liturgy itself into Spain.

The Mozarabic Liturgy is the most perfect extant form of the ancient Gallican and still more ancient Ephesine Liturgy. Its history was lost in antiquity even in the seventh century, Isidore speaking of it as composed by St. Peter [*de Eccl. Off.* i. 15]. Had it been introduced, as Pinius supposes [*de Lit. Moz.* ii. 1], by the Goths in the preceding century, its modern and foreign origin must have been well known to Isidore. Its similarity to the Gallican Liturgy, however, effectually disproves this notion; which was so great that Charles the Bald mistook it for the old national liturgy of Gaul, which his ancestor Charlemagne suppressed that he might establish the Roman Use. [*Ep. ad Presb. Ravenn.*] Two centuries later [A.D. 1060], the Mozarabic Liturgy was silenced in Arragon for the same reason, though it was still heard in Navarre, Castille, and Leon till A.D. 1074, when Sancho III. of

Navarre introduced the Roman Order, to the great regret of the people, who consoled themselves characteristically with a proverb, "Quo volunt reges vadunt leges" [Roderic. Tolet. *De Reb. Hisp.* vi. 26]. Cardinal Ximenes revived it in the beginning of the sixteenth century by endowing a chantry at Toledo for its peculiar use; where it has been preserved down to these times. In comparing together the various liturgies of antiquity, care must be taken to separate from the rest the most ancient part or canon, corresponding with the prayer in our own liturgy that follows the Ter Sanctus, and the prayer of Consecration. This portion was invariably the same for all festivals in the Roman Order; in the Mozarabic it varied with the varying year. [Mabillon, *Lit. Gall.*]. The groundwork of it is of the highest antiquity; Vigilius, Bishop of Rome [*Ep. ad Eucher.*], says "we have received from Apostolic tradition the text of the canon prayer." The same writer distinguishes the "Missa" prayers from the canon, as "preces" and "capitula." They are variable and of different dates. The number and order of prayers in each Missa are uniform, but in substance they vary with the varying season. A collection of these Missal prayers, apart from the canon, was the "Sacramentary;" such a collection was first made by Gelasius [A.D. 492], and was published by Thomasius [*Cod. Sacr. Rom.* A.D. 1680] from a MS. of the sixth century in the collection of the Queen of Sweden. The order of the Mozarabic Liturgy differs materially from that of the Roman, but agrees, with slight variation of collects and lessons, with the Gallican, of which it is the sister [Lesleius, *Pref. in Miss. Mozarab.* sec. 5, 6]. It is of Oriental cast, for Gaul received the gospel from Eastern missionaries at an earlier date than Spain, and its ecclesiastical records reach much further back. Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, had suffered martyrdom nearly a hundred years before we read of a Spanish bishop [Cypr. *Ep. Syn.* lxvii.], and, five years later, of a Spanish martyr [A.D. 259. Ruinart, *Act. Mart.* 219]. Mabillon gives two specimens of the Mozarabic Liturgy, the service for Advent Sunday, and that for the Nativity [*Lit. Gall.* 440, 453]; in which the canon as well as the Missal prayers are varied. The different parts of the Roman Liturgy [Gregorian] are as follows:—Antiphon or introit, Kyrie eleëson, Gloria in excelsis, collects, epistle, gradual psalm with hallelujah, gospel, offertory, secret prayer, preface, trisagion, canon, Lord's Prayer, Agnus Dei, communion antiphon, post-communion prayer, blessing. The homily follows the "offertory," and the osculum pacis the Agnus Dei. No heresy having arisen in the Roman Church, the Nicene Creed was not recited, until it was introduced by the order of the Emperor Henry I. The Mozarabic order is thus described by Isidore of Seville, as consisting of seven parts: "The first prayer is invitatory, that all may be urged to the act of prayer; the second is invocatory, that God may vouchsafe to accept the prayers of the faithful and their oblation; the third is for those that offer, and for the faithful dead, that by this sacrifice they may obtain pardon; the fourth introduces the kiss of peace and charity, that all being reconciled may worthily have fellowship through the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; the fifth is the "illatio" for the consecration of the offering, in which the whole universe of terrestrial creatures, and of the heavenly host, is bidden to the praise of God, and Hosanna in the highest is sung; the sixth is as a confirmation of the Sacrament, that the oblation made to God and consecrated by the Holy Spirit, may be confirmed as the Body and Blood of Christ; the last is the Lord's Prayer." [Isidor. *Hisp. de Div. Off.*] The existing Liturgy agrees closely with this; and as compared with the Ordo Romanus, its various parts are—An introductory antiphon or introit, with hallelujah and doxology, "Glory and honour" to the Father, &c.; on festivals, "Gloria in excelsis;" 1st collect for peaceful celebration; salutation "Dominus vobiscum," and response; lesson from Old Testament, prefaced by the people with "Deo Gratias," and concluded by a general "Amen;" salutation and response, then a gradual or versicles from a psalm; the deacon proclaims, "Silentium facite," then the epistle, prefaced and concluded as before; salutation and response; then the gospel, prefaced with "Gloria tibi Domine," and concluded with "Amen;" salutation and response, hallelujah and versicle, while the priest offers the Host with the Cup; four prayers "Acceptabilis sit . . . hæc oblatio," "Offerimus tibi Domine calicem," "Hanc oblationem," "In spiritu humilitatis;" "Adjuvate me fratres;" then the offertory antiphon or "sacrificium," while the bread and wine is offered on the altar, which concludes the Missa Catechumenorum. The priest washes his hands, and with three fingers extended, blesses in silence the oblation in the name of the Holy Trinity; he prays also in silence for his own sanctification; the Missa here begins with the salutation and response, and prayer for a pure conscience and holy faith; amen and "Hagios, hagios, hagios, Rex æterne, tibi laudes et gratias;" preface commending to the prayers of the congregation the lapsed, prisoners, sick, and wayfarers; prayer for purification from sin and for dread of judgment; offering of the Church for the living, and commemoration by name of the saints in glory, and of those who have gone to their rest; prayer "post nomina" to keep us in the faith and fear of God, who is the life of the living, healing to the sick, and the rest of all the faithful who have departed this life; the prayer of peace, with the "osculum." *Pr.* "Introibo ad altare Dei." *R.* "Ad Deum qui lætificat juventutem meam." *Pr.* "Aures ad Dominum." *R.* "Habemus ad Dominum." *Pr.* "Sursum corda." *R.* "Levamus ad Dominum." *Pr.* "Deo ac Domino nostro Jesu Christo Filio Dei qui est in cœlis, dignas laudes dignasque gratias referamus." *R.* "Dignum et justum est;" the "illatio" or prefatory prayer adapted to the season; Ter Sanctus; canon or prayer of consecration, in silence, the Host and the cup veiled with the filiola, are elevated at the

words of Institution, and the words "in meam commemorationem" are uttered aloud, as is the text "quotiescunque manducaveritis," &c.; the prayer "Post pridie" for profitable communion. Then the priest unveils the chalice, and places upon it the Host, repeating the antiphon which is called "ad confractionem." The Host is elevated without the chalice and held over it till the end of the Symbolum, introduced with the words "Fidem quam corde credimus ore autem dicamus;" the Nicene Creed is repeated by the priest, the choir, and the congregation; then follows the breaking of the bread into nine pieces, which are arranged crucially on the paten, each having its particular name, *e.g.*, Corporatio, Nativitas, Circumcisio, Apparitio, Passio, Mors, Resurrectio, Gloria, and Regnum; the Lord's Prayer, with proper preface, and in sequence, prayer for the living and the dead; the priest takes the piece "Regnum" from the paten, and placing it over the cup, says "Sancta sanctis, et conjunctio Corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sit sumentibus et potantibus nobis ad veniam, et defunctis fidelibus præstetur ad requiem;" the piece is put into the cup, which is then covered over; salutation and response; sentences of blessing, to each of which the people answer Amen; "Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus," Hallelujah and doxology as before, while the priest takes the next piece "Gloria," and placing it over the chalice, prays that this communion may be to him the forgiveness of sins; communicates; before receiving the cup, he says, "The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my body and soul unto everlasting life." Here also the congregation communicates; according to *Conc. Toletan.* iv. can. 17, the priests communicating at the altar, the clergy in the choir, the congregation without the choir; post-communion, prayer of thanks, and hallelujah; dismissal. The only words that are spoken by the priest, turning himself to the people, are the words towards the close of the Missa Catechumenorum, "Adjuvate me fratres."

Such is the Liturgy of which Isidore gives a brief but sufficient sketch; by comparison it will be observed that it differs from the Roman in having two Scripture lessons before the gospel, whereas the Roman merely has the epistle. It differs also in the variation of the canon, in the fuller form of the words of Institution, and in many minor particulars. The few modern additions have been separated from the more ancient portions by Lesleius [*Miss. Mos. Præf.*, sec. vii.]. It shews better than any other the great variety of which the Liturgy is capable in the festal Missæ, many of which were composed by Isidore and Leander. [Isidor. Hisp. *de Eccl. Off.* i. 11-15. Card. Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* i. 11. Pinius, *de Lit. Mos.* Thomasius, *Op.* i. Lesleius, *Mis. Mos. Præf.* Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus*, i. 457 *ff.*]

MYSTERIES. The name belongs originally to certain sacred rites established in Greece, at Eleusis and elsewhere, which were kept secret from all except the initiated worshippers, and

Mysteries

were supposed to have special efficacy for the purification of the soul. The word is generally used in the plural, and therefore must be understood of the proceedings, not of the assemblies of μύσται. It is doubtful what is the precise meaning of this last; it is certainly derived from a Greek verb, μύω, which signifies to close either the lips or the eyes; but we do not know whether this refers to the behaviour enjoined during the rite, or to the silence required from the initiated in order to keep the secret from the profane.

The use of the word in the New Testament stands in a distinct relation to its classical use, generally implying something in itself profound and difficult, and made known by the special intervention of a superhuman intelligence. In this way St. Paul speaks of the calling of the Gentiles as "the mystery that was kept hid from ages and generations" [Col. i. 26; Eph. iii. 4-6]; and again, of the resurrection, "Behold I shew you a mystery" [1 Cor. xv. 51]; and even of "the mystery of iniquity" [2 Thess. ii. 7], which seems synonymous with "that wicked who shall be revealed in his season." We find an approximation to the later ecclesiastical usage in Eph. v. 32, where the Apostle says of the union of Christian marriage, "This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and His Church." Here, again, we trace a side of the classical meaning of the word; for the rites anciently so called were always symbolical of secrets, though the symbol was commonly more important, at least more prominent, than the thing symbolized. The wonderful unity of Christian marriage is in itself a secret till disclosed; but it is only wonderful as the type of the higher unity between Christ and His Church. This is the ordinary ecclesiastical use of the word, in which sense it is exactly equivalent to the Latin *Sacramentum*.

From this point of view, all the types of the old law might be called indifferently "mysteries" or "sacraments;" so might the sacraments of the new law; so might an ecclesiastical custom; so might anything in nature or history that symbolized and manifested a spiritual law. So far, there is certainly some plausibility in the late Archbishop Whately's view, that it would be more accurate to regard a mystery as something which is obscure till explained, than as something in its own nature inexplicable. It is clear also that the antithesis between mysteries and science which is implied in the popular idea of mystery as a riddle without an answer is untenable; and that when the eighteenth century Deists wrote books to prove that Christianity was not mysterious, it was certainly permissible to turn the objection by insisting on a neglected side of the New Testament use of the term. Moreover, it was certainly the tendency of early Catholic theology to treat "mysteries" as subjects to which the illuminated reason of the instructed faithful was not inadequate. Till the fourth century, at the earliest, theological opinion continued to be freely moulded by mystical theology, that is, by finding "mysteries" in Holy Scripture; and although this tendency

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was discredited as a means of reaching new and positive results by the conflict with Origenism, yet the results of the discredited method kept their place in tradition. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that mysteries were always implicitly at least conceived as the subjects of a special economy; by virtue of which some were expressly revealed, the believer being enabled by the use of diligence to recognise others, whether as extensions of his original knowledge or, according to the later view, as illustrations only. This implies that either our faculties or our experience, or both, are naturally inadequate to the reception of mysteries, for otherwise a special economy would be unnecessary.

Perhaps the most accurate definition of mysteries would be "the distinctive contents of revelation however ascertained;" and revelation might be represented as an addition made to our experience in the first instance, directly or indirectly, and therefore enlarging our faculties. We are capable of discerning the truth of the Being and Providence of God from the action of our ordinary faculties on the ordinary facts of the world; we only know the mystery of the Trinity by the extraordinary facts of the Incarnation and the gift of the Holy Ghost. Accordingly, we do not call the truths of natural religion mysteries, although they are quite as difficult to understand and to establish as the truths of revealed religion, and though our inadequate conception of their nature involves us in just the same kind of difficulties and contradictions when we attempt to analyze our knowledge or to pursue it into consequences. Nor are we to assert that the mysteries of revealed religion are above our reason in a sense in which the truths of natural religion are not: for the evidence of the Christian revelation is also direct evidence of its central mysteries. We believe that Christianity comes from God by reason of the supernatural works of Jesus Christ, and the supernatural history and constitution of the society which He founded, the Catholic Church. Of course it is possible to say that this being so, it follows that the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation are certainly true, inasmuch as it can be shewn that they are integral parts of the Christian revelation, as taught by Christ, His Apostles, and His Church. And this line of argument is necessary, because, as our conceptions are inadequate, it is impossible to silence all objections and close all controversy by argument alone. And though the balance of evidence in a given controversy may warrant a positive conclusion on intellectual grounds, yet the longer a controversy remains open the stronger is the moral tendency to reject all conclusions, because the state of a mind in conscious contact with a belief imperfectly understood and imperfectly established in presence of difficulties unanswered or answered imperfectly, is and must be an uncomfortable state, as compared with the deliberate decision that nothing can be known. But this necessary line of argument is in its own nature not the most convincing. It is more natural and satisfactory to use the same facts in our Lord's life which prove His divine mission as proofs of His Divine Nature, for from this Nature will follow the certainty of His promise that His Spirit will guide His Church into all truth. In like manner, when we find in the facts of the Gospel dispensation the action of three Divine Persons, the mystery of the Trinity in Unity becomes a necessity of reason, as well as a postulate of faith. Nor are we to suppose that this rational necessity is impaired by the fact that to us the direct immediate action of the Son and the Spirit is matter of testimony, not experience, because the testimony is verified by historical and spiritual effects, which can only be referred to the things testified, as to their adequate causes.

There is, however, one class of Christian mysteries which cannot be thus established, and which have to be received simply upon authority. These are the mysteries connected with the doctrine of the Sacraments, for the confidence in their efficacy derived from a devout and diligent use of them is not an intellectual ground of certainty, since devout diligence in the practices of any religion would tend to create a confidence in those practices. A reason of this may be that the efficacy of Sacraments presupposes a certain unity of living spirit and lifeless matter, of which we have no other experience, and no direct experience in them, and therefore no positive or rational conception. But, in general, it is reasonable to regard the mysteries of our religion as the rewards rather than as the difficulties of faith: the difficulties of a reasonable faith being to be found in the world, not in the Church; or if in the Church, so far as the Church is conformed to the world.

MYSTICAL interpretation, otherwise termed *spiritual*, *figurative*, is either TROPOLOGICAL or ANAGOGICAL—*i.e.*, according to which, words having a distinct literal sense receive either a *moral* or a *heavenly* reference. (Some include the *Allegorical* under the *Mystical*.) The *Mystical* differs from the *Literal* sense in this, that the meaning cannot *at once* be derived from the *words;* but the literal sense being assumed, from it, and from the things signified by it, the meaning *wrapped up* in the words is disclosed.

MYSTICISM. The name given to a school of thought which arose in the way of recoil from the cold and exact logic of Scholasticism in the twelfth century. Its leading idea is that perfect holiness and spiritual knowledge are to be attained by devout contemplation rather than by outward means of grace and theological study. The three stages of such perfection are defined as Purification, Illumination, and Perfect Union with God.

The Mysticism of the twelfth century was, however, no novelty. There must, indeed, be a certain element of the kind in the religion of all contemplative natures, as is shewn by the writings of St. John; and such an element would be much developed by the ascetic life which was led by so many in the days of persecution. The older forms of Monasticism were, accordingly, characterized in a high degree by Mysticism, especially those which were brought within the range of

Mysticism

Alexandrian influence. But it received a greater impetus than it had ever received before from the methodical development of its principles in writings which appeared towards the end of the fifth century, but which were attributed, falsely, to Dionysius the Areopagite. In the Mystical theology of this writer, the Divine essence is represented as the source from which all existences receive, in regular gradations, their being and perception; and the perfect Christian life is set forth as a gradual elevation of our human nature by successive communion with each higher order of beings until perfect union with God Himself is effected. The theology of Dionysius was doubtless a graft upon the stock of Neo-Platonism, Plotinus and Proclus using language which is almost identical with that used by the Christian Mystic.[1] It had much influence on the religious thought of the Middle Ages, moulding the theology of Duns Scotus, and, in some particulars, that of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The Schoolmen who endeavoured to reconcile the claims of contemplative piety with those of scientific theology were the real originators of the later Mysticism, and have been called the Dialectical Mystics. Their mystical tendencies were carried to a still further length by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and St. Norbert, who in the earlier half of the twelfth century offered strong opposition to the speculative Scholasticism of Abelard. They maintained that the mysteries of Divine Truth cannot in all cases be analyzed in thought by the understanding, but can sometimes be embraced only by mystical contemplation. St. Bernard was followed by the two St. Victors, Hugh and Richard, who were, in succession, priors of the monastery of that name in the suburbs of Paris, down to A.D. 1173, *i.e.* for many years before, and for twenty years after, his death. With these latter, Mysticism assumed the form of devotion rather than of knowledge; and from their time its subjective tendency grew stronger and stronger, till those who embraced its principles dared to venture on the idea of direct union with—almost absorption into—God, by devout yearning and ecstacy. Such ideas of spiritual union with the Divine Nature were doubtless, in some degree, a recoil from the almost materialistic notions with which an extreme school were overlaying the doctrine of Transubstantiation; but while their practical tendency was towards fanaticism, their theoretical tendency was to Pantheism, a climax which was actually reached by Amalric of Bena [Dorner's *Person of Christ*, II. i. 301; Clark's transl.]. A more wholesome result of the Mysticism of this age is found in the *Imitation of Christ*, and the devotional works of St. Bonaventura.

The German Mystic to whom may be attributed the paternity of Mysticism in its modern forms, was John Tauler, a Dominican priest of Strasburg [A.D. 1294-1361]. The Dominicans had already been inoculated with its theories by Eckhart, one of their order, and a prior of a monastery at Frankfort. In A.D. 1324, Eckhart was brought to trial for his opinions before the general of his order, and afterwards in A.D. 1327, before the bishop at Cologne, from whom he appealed to the Pope. A bull of condemnation was issued against him by John XXII. in A.D. 1329, but Eckhart had died shortly before. His theories were taken up by Nicolas of Basle, who put them in practice by establishing a community for cenobite life moulded on them, his associates calling themselves "Friends of God," and "The Family of Love." The Dominican Tauler became one of the followers of Nicolas, who is probably the "layman" referred to in the dialogue in which Tauler narrates the circumstances of his conversion. Tauler was a favourite preacher at Strasburg, and while in the height of his fame was visited by Nicolas, and at his request preached a sermon on the means of attaining perfection in the Christian life. This sermon was criticized by Nicolas as being "the letter that killeth;" and he accompanied his criticism of the sermon with a condemnation of the preacher, whom he declared to be a Pharisee, without light, and one that had not yet tasted the sweetness of the Spirit. A sickness into which Tauler shortly after fell brought about a kind of trance, on his revival from which he found himself possessed of some new spiritual power and illumination by means of which he saw and understood spiritual truths as he had never done before. When he began to preach again, his first sermon was on the Second Coming of our Lord, and numbers fell down as if dead with excitement. Tauler died at Strasburg, A.D. 1361, twenty years before his master Nicolas, who was burned for heresy at Vienne, A.D. 1382. The theological principles on which Tauler's future teaching were based are set forth in his "Theologia Germanica" and his sermons, which largely influenced his countrymen before, and at the time of, the Reformation.

"It is clear," says Dorner, "that the Incarnation of God, though regarded in a Pantheistic light, constituted the central feature of the speculations of these mystics; and that, apart from it, the world seemed to them dead, and life not worth living. They regarded it as the jewel of their life; in it they saw the manifestation of their redemption and the blessedness of their soul." But in their endeavours to teach the living power of the Incarnation, they explained away its theological force, and the same may also be said as to their mode of teaching respecting the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. The one point for which they made was the deification of man's nature. This, "(Vergottung) is the universal destiny of men, or it is already an actual fact, because God wills to become man in their will and spirit. Even the very origin of humanity is a commencement of this goal: humanity, however, when it proceeded forth from God, did not at once return to its source and origin, but gave

[1] Passages from the *De Pulchritudine* and *De Abstinentia* of Plotinus, and others from the *De Unitate et Pulchritudine* of Proclus are compared in Lupton's Introduction to Dean Colet's work on the *Hierarchies of Dionysius*, p. xl.-xlii. The fact was also shewn in Engelhardt's work on the Dionysian Theology, published in 1823.

itself up to self-seeking. This was sin, to abide in the love of the creature; and thus not merely to hinder its own process of deification, but also to bring to a standstill the process of the Incarnation of God. Still both the one and the other continue to be the destination of men" [Dorner's *Person of Christ*, II. ii. 13, Clark's transl.].

Mysticism had its influence upon the theology of the Anabaptists in England before the Reformation, and upon their Puritan successors of a later date, the tone of the Pre-Reformation Dominicans sensibly affecting that of the uneducated classes from whom these sprung. But this influence was of an indirect character. A more direct influence was communicated at a later period through Jacob Böhm, the Quietists, and William Law, which is traceable to the present day among the Quakers, the Methodists, and the Swedenborgians. [Theosophy. Quietists. Quakers.]

MYTHICAL theory of Scripture. This system, otherwise known as "Ideology,"[1] rests on the assumption that a miracle is "ex vi termini" incredible, as irreconcilable with philosophical principles,[2] and as contrary to experience. Its object is to reconcile belief in the spiritual truths which are admitted to form the ideal basis of Christianity, with the rejection of everything supernatural. To the *supernatural* narrative of Scripture this theory applies the term μῦθος, which the lexicons explain to be a word employed in Attic prose to denote "a tradition of the early Greek times before the dawn of history." During the course of the eighteenth century, the notion of the *Mythus*, or fable, had begun to be applied to ancient history. Heyne had laid down the principle that "ancient history as well as ancient philosophy originated in myths;" and the method which Wolf had applied to the Iliad,[3] and Niebuhr to the history of Rome, was now transferred to the criticism of the sacred writings. This method was applied by Semler (who died in 1791) to the histories of Samson and Esther; and a little later De Wette professed to explain the Pentateuch as the Epic of the Hebrew Theocracy, pronouncing that it contained no more truth than the great Epic of Greece. In the year 1802 Bauer extended the application of the same principles in a work entitled "A Hebrew Mythology of the Old and New Testaments;" and his example was soon followed by others. According to such critics the Mythus is not the product of design and invention; it presents the idea of a fiction *unreflectingly* formed by the united imagination of many, while even they who construct it take it for a reality. The allegory, on the other hand, is the result of *design*.

[1] See on "Ideology and Subscription"—*Aids to Faith*, p. 133, &c.

[2] Ideology presents the developed result of Pantheism as applied to Christianity. Strauss is the disciple of Hegel. "The Christology of the theologian," writes Mons. Renan, "is but the symbolical translation of the abstract theses of the philosopher." [*Études d'Hist. Réligieuse*, 5me ed. p. 157.]

[3] Renan, writing of Strauss, observes: "Les *Prolégomenes à Homère* de Wolf devaient nécessairement amener la *Vie de Jésus*" [*ib.* p 154].

The representative exponent of the Mythical interpretation of Scripture is confessedly D. F. Strauss. The first edition of his *Leben Jesu* was published in 1835. Influenced by the success of Renan's *Vie de Jésu* Strauss has re-written, and modified his earlier work, and we now have a *New Life of Jesus*, published in 1864.[4] His theory is as follows: A few persons among his contemporaries saw in Jesus of Nazareth the Jewish Messiah, and convinced themselves that all which Old Testament prophecy led them to expect of Messiah, met in Him. Messiah is the son of David: Jesus must, therefore, be born in Bethlehem—for so Micah had foretold. Moses, the first deliverer of Israel, had wrought miracles: consequently, Messiah, the second deliverer—Jesus—must do so likewise. Isaiah had written that in Messiah's days the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the deaf shall hear: thus it was known what class of miracles Jesus, as Messiah, must perform. The Messianic Myths had been growing up from the time of the Babylonish captivity, and earlier: nothing more, therefore, remained to be done after the birth of Christ, than to transfer the Messianic legends, nearly all of them constructed already, to Jesus.

As in similar cases, the Canon of Scripture supplies the criterion by which this theory may be tested. Strauss himself has said: "It would most unquestionably be an argument of decisive weight in favour of the credibility of the Biblical history could it be shewn that it was written by eye-witnesses, or even by persons nearly contemporaneous with the events narrated." The hypothesis of Gieseler as to the origin of the Synoptic Gospels supplied Strauss with the proof to the contrary which he required. [Gospels.] "Since the opinion," he writes, "that the first three Gospels originated from oral traditions became firmly established, they have been found to contain a continually increasing number of Mythi, and Mythical embellishments." Strauss, adopting, in like manner, Bretschneider's denial of the Apostolic composition of the fourth Gospel, discovers also in it the Mythical element. In fact Strauss assumed (in his earlier work) that all the Gospel narratives were the product of the *latter part* of the second century. In his later work he has been compelled to modify this assumption: "Soon after *the beginning* of the second century," he now writes, "certain traces are found of the existence" of the first three Gospels; the fourth "was not known until after the middle of the century."[5] And thus the limits within which it is asserted that the "Gospel Myths" were formed, and accepted by the early Christians as true, become narrower and narrower.

At all events, it is to be borne in mind that the Epistles of St. Paul afford a proof of Chris-

[4] He here writes [*Pref.* p. xii.] that the negation "what the Gospel history is *not*"—an object which is his "principal, if not sole consideration,"—"consists in this, that in the person and acts of Jesus no supernaturalism shall be suffered to remain."

[5] English transl. vol. i. p. 100. Dr. Van Oosterzee

tianity detached from all others. The Mythical theory has never ventured to assail this testimony to the facts of the life of Christ. Amid the countless assaults of the so-called criticism of modern times, the Epistles to the Corinthians, and that to the Romans are, perhaps, the only monuments of primitive Christianity which remain unassailed; and the central miracle of Christianity—the Resurrection—might rest on the sole testimony of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Dr. Arnold, who was well-versed in all the sceptical theories of history, speaks in terms of utter scorn, in one of his letters, of "the idea of men writing Mythic histories between the time of Livy and Tacitus, and St. Paul mistaking such for realities."[1]

[1] *Life and Correspondence, p.* 396.

writes: "What the Resurrection of Christ is in the historical sphere, the authenticity of John's Gospel has now become in the critical department,—it is the all-pervading shibboleth; and we can hardly deny the remark of Strauss, that we must first be clear on John, and his relation to the Synoptic Evangelists, before we can say a word concerning the history of our Lord" [*John's Gospel, Apologetical Lectures.* Clarke's transl. 1849, p. 11].

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NAME. By a common usage the authority, honour, and power, of a person are frequently represented by the expression "in the name of;" and this form of expression as adopted in reference to the three Divine Persons of the Blessed Trinity has often a very wide and important theological bearing on the subject in reference to which it is used. Thus to *prophesy* "in the Name of the Lord" is to profess direct communication with Him, and to claim supreme authority for the words which are thus spoken [Deut. xviii. 22; Jer. xxvi. 9, 16]; and it was an accusation made by God against some who set themselves up as prophets in the days of Jeremiah, "The prophets prophesy lies in My Name: I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, neither spoke unto them" [Jer. xiv. 14]. So also to *bless* in the Name of the Lord [Deut. xxi. 5] is to speak in the authoritative terms "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee," &c. [Numb. vi. 24, 27], and this is so interpreted by God Himself, "and they shall put My Name upon the children of Israel; and I will bless them." The same may be said of other ministrations [Deut. xviii. 5, 7, xxi. 5], so that when the work of true sacrifice was about to be renewed in Israel, Elijah is said to have "built an altar in the Name of the Lord" [1 Kings xviii. 32].

Our Blessed Lord adopted this form of expression in reference to His own Mission, for which He claimed the fullest authority as being in the Name of His Father: "I am come in My Father's Name, and ye receive Me not" [John v. 43]; "the works that I do in My Father's Name, they bear witness of Me" [John x. 25]. He also used it in a similar manner with reference to the mission of those whom He Himself sent forth, speaking of those who could "do a miracle in My Name" [Mark ix. 38, 39]; acknowledging the homage of the seventy when they "returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through Thy Name" [Luke x. 17]; and declaring of His disciples in His last words, "In My Name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues," &c. [Mark xvi. 18]. The fulfilment of these promises was at once claimed by St. Peter and St. John, when the former said to the lame man at the Temple gate, "In the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk" [Acts iii. 6]; and the same Apostle declared to the multitude that "His Name, through faith in His Name, hath made this man strong" [Acts iii. 16].

The authority and power of words spoken and acts done in the Name of the Lord Jesus is therefore shewn to be analogous to that which belonged to those done in the Name of God under the Old Testament dispensation, as signified by the words previously quoted, "They shall put My Name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them."

And as this was the case with respect to the extraordinary work of the Church which belonged to the ages of its foundation, so also it must be taken as applying to its ordinary work in perpetuity. To say or do anything "in the Name of" our Lord is not merely to speak that holy Name at the time of saying or doing it. For anything to be said or done effectually "in His Name" it must be done by His authority, as the act of an earthly sovereign's officer is only done in that sovereign's name when done with *real* authority, as well as with verbal assertion. Thus we arrive at the true force of our Lord's promises respecting prayer, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in My Name that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. If ye shall ask anything in My Name, I will do it" [John xiv. 13, 14]. "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them" [Matt. xviii. 20]. The previous illustrations shew that these promises involve conditions which are by no means to be met by the simple invocation of our Lord's Name. As a man is not truly an ambassador, qualified to act in the name of his sovereign, unless he has been invested with authority, and has received commission to do so, in the same manner none can truly act in the Name of our Lord unless they are authorized and empowered to do so. And thus for two or three, or any larger number, to be gathered together "in the Name" of Christ is for them to be met together under some formal evidence of His authority; and to ask in His Name, is not only to plead His Mediation, but to ask under the authority of His commission. We are thus led to the conclusion that as blessing and ministering "in the Name of the Lord," under the Old Testament Dispensation, was the office of those set apart for the ministerial office, so under that of the New Testament only those so set apart can truly fulfil the condition of the promises made.

The "two or three gathered together in My Name," therefore, refers to a church assembly, with such a ministerial person, so authorized, acting as its authorized mouthpiece. [WORSHIP.]

NATIVITY OF CHRIST. [CHRISTMAS. INCARNATION.]

NATURAL RELIGION. [RELIGION, NATURAL.]

NATURAL THEOLOGY. [THEOLOGY, NATURAL.]

NATURE. This is a concrete term for expressing the whole of the qualities belonging to a person or thing. But as the qualities of things, whether animate or inanimate, are seldom entirely known, the term is also used very commonly in a restricted sense for the more distinctive qualities, or "characteristics." Thus one quality of the Divine Nature is that God is eternal, and hence we say eternity is the nature of God. It is also one quality of human nature to be mortal, and hence we say mortality is the nature of man.

NATURE. The visible creation and its phenomena. The word has had an ideal personality given to it by poets, and this poetical fancy has been adopted by Deistical writers as if it were a reality. Hence, many have accustomed themselves to look upon the physical world as having an origin and a continued power of existence distinct from God's originating creation, and His sustaining providential power. Such ideas are, however, a mere illogical evasion of truths which are based on sound evidence: and a belief in "Nature" instead of the Creator must logically end in a belief that everything originates and sustains itself. [MIRACLE. NATURE, LAWS OF. SUPERNATURAL.]

NATURE, DIVINE. It may be said that the study of the Divine Nature is the ultimate and highest problem of all theology—the only possible doubt as to its importance being, whether any knowledge on the point is attainable, or whether the theologian must be content with a record of the divine actions.

As a matter of fact, the Christian revelation does contain propositions relative to the Divine Nature, and consequently the Christian theologian is not at liberty to dismiss the problem as lying beyond the sphere of study or of knowledge. But in approaching the problem, there are particular difficulties which appear not only to preclude a satisfactory solution, but even a satisfactory statement of it.

It is remarkable that a term of so deep theological significance, and yet by no means recondite or technical, should occur only once in the New Testament [2 Pet. i. 4]; and then in a context which proves that it is not used in a strictly theological sense. In fact, this passage would almost seem to prove, as an extreme instance, that the Divine Nature, if cognoscible at all, was only so through the divine acts which brought it into relation with man: and therefore, that though independent of the divine actions—being, in fact, their source and cause—not the aggregate of their effects, nor an abstraction from their character,—it was not to be known apart from them. The only proposition that man, even inspired, appears able to make with *direct* reference to the Divine Nature, is that the divine promises enable man to share it.

It is true that it is difficult to separate the doctrines of Christianity as to the Divine Nature from those referring to the acts or dispensations of God towards the world. To separate the divine *attributes* from these, or to express the Divine Nature in adequate formulæ, without self-contradiction, is no doubt impossible. Our only method of describing God is in human language; and therefore, whatever our conception be, our language is necessarily anthropomorphic. We describe God's actions and attributes by ascribing to Him certain human relations. Supposing that we ascribe them rightly, it must be that the propositions ascribing them are true either absolutely or analogically. For instance, we make a proposition respecting a divine *action*, "God will judge the world." We make another, respecting a divine attribute, "God is just." The first of these, hardly any one would say was a statement affecting the Divine Nature. Is the second such, and in what sense? Are there any truths of the Divine Nature further than those of the Divine attributes? And in what sense can each of these classes of propositions respecting God be called *true?*

In ascribing an action to God, we speak of a thing that has a real and necessary relation to man, or to some other finite object cognoscible by man. There is therefore no reason why human thought and language may not be able to conceive and describe it accurately. In the instance selected, though the description may not be accurate or adequate, the conception is. By "judging" we always mean two things: [1] investigating the guilt of persons accused of crime, and (to a certain extent) the merit of persons innocent or virtuous: [2] punishing or rewarding the persons under judgment, in proportion to their guilt or merit. Now, in speaking of the Divine Judgment, we do not mean that God investigates the guilt or merit of man *for His own information*, nor that He rewards and punishes men in exact proportion *to their definite actions*, in furtherance or in breach of His laws; but we do mean that He (for other ends) causes their guilt or virtue to appear, and rewards or punishes in proportion to the merit or guilt of each (though merit and guilt are estimated by a different standard than that of definite actions known or secret). It is a perfectly fair use of the common word "judgment" to describe this act. Though not performed under the same conditions as the human acts for which the name was invented, its essence is the same, *i.e.* the conditions do not differ in those points that determine the meaning of the name. When we say "God will judge the world," we do not know, and do not affirm, that He will do anything to mankind more than is done in the act commonly called "judgment:" we do affirm that He will do what is so involved, though in a manner and with an object different from those of other judges.

But when we say "God is just," is our proposition as adequate, as accurately and literally true? Do we mean only that He has in His mind the habits, feelings, or affections which we call justice? the impartiality, interest in the subjects submitted to His decision, a sense of responsibility, if not to a person, yet to a standard of right and wrong external and superior to Himself, which constitute, or help to constitute, our notion of that virtue? Clearly not: this would be gross anthropomorphism, and imply a finite and subordinate position of the just One. Then do we mean only that He acts justly, that His government of the world, and disposal of retribution to its inhabitants, are conducted according to the principles which we call just; those to which a man who adheres will be, and will (if the facts are known) be universally considered a just man? No, we mean more than this: for we should say that God was eternally just; was just, therefore, before He had creatures to govern or to judge. And, moreover, it seems that the statement that God is just does not necessarily even involve His acting in the manner we consider just. It is certain that some people have asserted God's justice, without confessing it to have the same rules as man's: and the fact that it *has* the same may be more fitly proved from the doctrine of the Incarnation than regarded as involved in the term itself.

What, then, do we mean by the proposition? We mean to assert a fact of the Divine Nature, which, being inconceivable by us for want of experience or intuition of its presence, and having no term in our language to describe it, we attempt to represent by ascribing an attribute to God. We mean to say that God's Nature is such, that when He regards an action or person (past, present, or future), or when He acts towards a person, His action or regard is characterized by something which we call justice, as having some analogy to the character of a just man. Wherein this analogy consists, and how far it reaches, are further questions: all that need here be determined is, that as we mean by a just man not only one who does just acts, but who has the formed habits, and spontaneous mental affections, that lead to them; so by God being just, we mean not only that He acts or thinks justly (whatever "justly" means with Him), but that His Nature involves so acting and thinking. If it be asked what is meant by its being involved in His Nature, perhaps the best explanation would be—"If it were otherwise, He would not be God, or not the same God that He is." To a believer in the God of Christianity, or any other exalted theism, goodness is part of the meaning of the name of God: a God who should not be good, would be called an Ahriman, a Demiurge, an almighty Spirit of Evil—anything but God.

And other propositions respecting the Divine Nature, besides those which consist of the ascription of attributes, seem to conform to this text. They concern the Divine Nature, in respect that they assert things of God which are true of Him, and if they were not, He would be other than He is. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, for instance, is a truth of the Divine Nature. The statement may be otherwise worded—the God of Catholic Christianity is not the one God, the absolute Unit, of (modern) Judaism and Mahommedanism.[1]

There is a somewhat different sense, or rather a different usage, of the term "Divine Nature" from that above explained. The distinction may perhaps be thus stated: we have used the word thus far as implying "What God is:" it is used to imply what any one has in virtue of which he is Divine. When we speak of our Lord's Divine Nature, in relation to the doctrine of the Incarnation, the term is obviously used in a different manner from that in which we say, that the Divine Nature includes the Trinity of Persons. In the one case, to say that we are speaking of the Divine Nature means, that we are stating essential or analytical judgments of which God is the subject: to say so in the other means, that we are speaking of a subject of which Deity may be predicated. In the former case, the Divine Nature is conceived as the whole essence, the sum total (directly or by implication) of all the true propositions that can be made concerning God: in the second, it is (speaking logically) an attribute of the Person of Christ that He is Divine: His Divine Nature is *not* the sum total, but only a part, of the qualities in virtue of which He is What He is. It is only necessary to point out the distinction to prevent confusion between the two senses of the term.

NATURE, HUMAN. [Body, Natural. Body, Spiritual. Image of God. Soul. Spirit.]

NATURE, LAWS OF. The modes in which force, instinct, and will are observed ordinarily to act are frequently defined by this inexact term. A stone is said to fall to the ground, the heart to beat, a beast to feed, a man to think, or all animals to die, by "the laws of nature." The original meaning of the phrase was simply that such was the ordinary action of the things animate and inanimate to which reference was made, according to their constitution and the course of events commonly within our knowledge and experience. But the personification of an idea [Nature] has led superficial thinkers to speak of a "law of nature" as of a rule spontaneously adopted and adhered to by this imaginary "nature." As the one notion is, however, an intellectual evasion of the received ideas respecting God, so is the other a similar evasion of those respecting the laws which He imposes on all the things which He has created. Uninstructed conviction, intellectual reflection, and Divine revelation, all combine in bearing witness that the modes in which natural forces act are fixed by the Creator; and hence that the "laws of nature" are in reality the Divine constitution which God's will has given to things and persons.

[1] See Heine's Poem on *Pedro of Castille:* where by a sound, because impartial instinct, he states the problem between the Jews and Christians as, *which* is the true God, not which is the better description of the *common* God of both.

NECESSITY. [FATALISM. SPINOZISM.]

NEOLOGY. [RATIONALISM.]

NEOPHYTE [νεόφυτος = "newly planted"]. A term applied to a new convert, *i.e.* a person newly baptized [1 Tim. iii. 6].

Among the ceremonies anciently enjoined for the Neophytes, there may be mentioned,

a] The kiss of peace, which was the token of brotherhood and union in Christ.

b] The carrying of lights, to symbolize the illumination [φωτισμός] which they had received.

c] The taste of honey and milk, as a type of the blessings of the heavenly Canaan, of which they were made citizens.

d] The delivery of white robes, in token of their being cleansed from sin.[1]

The white robes were worn eight days, and then laid up in the Church, as witnesses against those who violated their professions. The first Sunday after Easter was one of the days on which the Neophyte put off these garments,[2] and hence acquired the name of *Dominica in albis*. From wearing these robes the Neophytes were known by the name of λευχειμονοῦντες.

It was in the white robe of the Neophyte that the Emperor Constantine died [A.D. 337]. He had deferred baptism until his end was approaching, and, after receiving it, refused to wear the purple.

In addition to these symbolical ceremonies, the Neophyte, whether infant or adult, received forthwith, in ancient times, the Seal of Confirmation and the Blessed Sacrament. [BAPTISM. CONFIRMATION.]

NEO-PLATONISM. The latest school of Heathen Philosophy, in which an attempt was made to supersede the Atheism of the Academics by a system in which Polytheism was practically as well as theoretically repudiated, and an alliance sought between the residuum of philosophical heathenism and Christianity. Neo-Platonism arose side by side with the famous ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, being originated by Ammonius Saccas, about A.D. 193, when the great St. Clement was the leader of Christian thought in that learned city. Some account of this philosophy will be found under ECLECTICISM and PANTHEISM. In its original form it possessed some attractions for the Christian philosopher, was not altogether disapproved of by St. Clement, and had considerable influence on the speculative theology of Origen, the Pseudo-Dionysius, and Maximus his disciple. But Neo-Platonism soon shewed a tendency to break off from its friendly attitude towards Christianity, and by the time it had passed through the hands of Plotinus to those of Porphyry, it had become very decidedly antagonistic to it.

NESTORIANISM. A heresy which took its rise in the fifth century from Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople. From his words and illustrations it was inferred that he held there were two Persons in Christ, although he never in terms asserted such a view, and, indeed, repudiated all such inferences drawn from his writings. From his own statements the following brief summary of his doctrine is drawn up by Dupin.[3] [1] He expressly rejected the error of those who said Christ was a mere man, as Ebion, Paul of Samosata, Photinus. [2] He expressly maintained that the Word was united to the humanity in Christ Jesus, and that this union was most intimate and strict. [3] He held that these two Natures made one Christ, one Son, one Person; only made up of two natures. [4] And that this one Person may have either divine or human properties attributed to Him. Hence he willingly spoke of Christ being born of a Virgin, suffering, dying: but would not say God was born, suffered, died. He rejected the term Θεοτόκος as applied to the Virgin, and would only consent to call her Χριστοτόκος, the Mother of the Person made up of these two Natures. The rejection of this term by Nestorius was the original cause of quarrel. The term was in use, and a specific rejection of it seemed to imply a denial of the Divinity of Christ; and in point of fact, Nestorius did condemn the Hypostatic Union, and allowed only a moral union. His expressions confirmed this. The Humanity in Christ was the Temple, the Habit, the Veil of the Divinity. The union was like that of a husband and wife. People connected his views with those of Paul of Samosata, who held Christ to be a man only; and concluded that he held no real consubstantial union, but one only of operation and will.

This heresy was opposed by Cyril of Alexandria, and condemned in the Council of Ephesus [A.D. 431]; the specific error there condemned being "that in Jesus Christ our Blessed Saviour, there are two distinct Persons, as well as two Natures:" and the doctrine established "that Christ was one Divine Person in whom two Natures were most closely and intimately united, but without being mixed or confounded together."

The vitality of the heresy is very remarkable; the Nestorians, truly descended from the origina separation, remaining a distinct body to this day. [THEOTOKOS. Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*. *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

NEW CREATION. [I.] Predictions of a great and universal renovation are, in a more or less direct form, an almost invariable feature of Biblical Eschatology. Such was the tone of prophecy before Christ's first Advent, such that of the Apostolic writings, and such that of our Lord's own words as recorded in the Gospels and the Apocalypse. This may be shortly indicated by the words of an ancient prophecy, "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind" [Isa. lxv. 17; *cf.* lxvi. 22]; those of an Apos-

[1] "Fulgentes animas vestis quoque candida signat;
Et grege de niveo gaudia pastor habet."
Lactant. *Carm. De Resurr. Dom.* quoted by Bingham.

[2] St. Aug. *Hom.* lxxxvi. *De Diversis in Octav. Pasch.* "Paschalis solemnitas hodierna festivitate concluditur, et ideo hodie *neophytorum habitus commutatur;* ita tamen, ut candor, qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur."

[3] Dupin, *Bibliothèque*, i. 442, ed. 1722.

tolical epistle, "The heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burned up . . . Nevertheless we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness" [2 Pet. iii. 10, 13]; and those of the great Christian prophecy, "I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away. . . . And He that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new" [Rev. xxi. 1, 5].

That these predictions of a new creation are figurative is an easy explanation, and it may be in some slight degree corroborated by the fact that the kingdom of Christ is a re-creation of human nature in His own Person by His Incarnation, and of the souls of mankind by their regeneration in Holy Baptism. Such an explanation, however, reaches but a little way towards drawing out the meaning of the predictions in question, for even if they include that which it refers to (as is not unlikely from the analogy of our Lord's own prophetic language), they yet undoubtedly look beyond it and point unmistakeably to a new creation, not of souls, but of the material earth, its surrounding "HEAVEN" or heavens, and the works, as well as the beings, which it contains.

The chief difficulty in the way of belief in such a renovation is probably that which arises from the accompanying prediction of a preceding destruction. Looking on the changes which are wrought on the surface of the earth, or which have been wrought during the historic ages, we observe that the whole sum of them, after all the ordinary, and all the convulsive, operations of the physical forces which affect them, falls far short of anything approaching the magnitude of so stupendous a change as that which would be made by a destructive catastrophe such as is predicted. The terrific operation of fire on the body of the sun is now, however, well known to scientific observers, as well as the vast and most rapid changes which it effects. There is no difficulty in believing that such changes may be effected on the body of the earth, when we observe enormous craters to be almost instantly created on that of the sun—so enormous that many planets as large as the earth might be engulphed in them, and so intensely heated that the very granite would melt in the midst of them.

A more formidable objection is one drawn from the moral aspect of such a destruction. Allowing that it is reasonable to set aside the physical difficulty as being confuted by scientific knowledge not less than by *à priori* reasonings as to Almighty Power, is it consistent with our ideas of God's attributes that the magnificent works of man, works of architecture, engineering, art, and skill,—works that betoken the use of God's own gifts of intellect, and the progress of humanity in the development of those powers, and the application of those materials, with which the Creator has provided it,—that these should be utterly destroyed? Can there be no consecration of man's handiwork, by which it may be symbolically renovated? Must the very foundations of the earth and all that rests upon them be utterly broken up before the palace of the New Creation can be erected? Would not such a destruction, we are almost tempted to say, be a kind of *waste*, and contrary to the first principles on which God's Providence is ever working?

No doubt such objections as these, and many more such, will arise in thoughtful minds; and no doubt they will be accompanied by a wish to understand the statements of the Bible in some easier way; to adopt a metaphorical meaning, for example, such as would take the new creation of heaven and earth to be a moral regeneration, and the passing away of the old creation as the cessation of sin.

But St. Peter appears to have been inspired to meet such objections with a plain contradiction beforehand. For when he is about to speak of the destruction of the earth and the heavens in a manner that quite shuts out the idea of his words being intended to be metaphorical, he prefaces the awful statement by predicting that in the last days there will come scoffers, arguing that from the apparent firmness and permanence of all things for so many ages there is no probability of their future actual destruction. The Apostle therefore warns us off from such objections, and leaves us little rational ground for supposing a metaphor to have been intended by the words "new heaven and new earth."

And perhaps we may be better reconciled to a literal sense of these words if we take into account a few considerations respecting the power and authority of the Creator and His probable purpose in organizing a New Creation.

1. It is manifest that all things belong to God to deal with as He may think proper: there is no known law by which He binds Himself to preserve as it now stands either the Creation of His own hands, or the handiwork of the race that He has created.

2. The infinite power of an Almighty Creator that can call forth a New Creation at His will, makes the destruction of many worlds a matter of no importance in the vast scheme of His general purposes and His eternal existence. "Behold the nations are as a drop of a bucket and are counted as the small dust of the balance: behold, He taketh up the isles as a very little thing, and Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt offering. All nations before Him are as nothing, and they are counted to Him less than nothing and vanity" [Isa. xl. 15-17]. Or, to use a homely simile, as we often see portions of beautiful columns, mouldings, and carvings built into the rubble of mediæval churches as if they were common stones of no value, and are aware that this was done by builders who knew that they could produce better work than that which they were concealing or partially destroying—so we know the great Architect of the Universe can replace all that He causes or suffers to be destroyed with a New Creation of still greater beauty, glory, magnitude, and use, without effort and at any moment.

New Creation

3. And this seems as if it led up to the object of so wide a destruction as that implied by the words of Holy Scripture. The "whole creation groaneth and travaileth together," fallen with fallen man, even in Christ's Dispensation degenerating age by age, and removing further and further from the high standard of perfection in which it first came forth from the hands of the Creator. It is to make room for a perfect creation that this degenerated one is to pass away: to make room for one in which there will be no capacity for degeneration, no trace of imperfection, no stain of a will adverse to the Will of God.

By the consideration of truths such as these we may fortify our faith in the word which God has four times spoken by His prophets; and believing that we can see *some* reasons why there should be a new Heaven and a new Earth, believe also that there are many others which are beyond our knowledge, and that therefore our safest course is to take the Divine proclamation simply and literally as it stands. Whether by an utter destruction and an entirely new Creation, or whether (as is more probable) by a regeneration and purification effected by fire, in some way or other God will cause the heavens and earth that now are to pass away; and will fulfil His own words, "Behold I make all things new," in the sense of a material renovation.

II. And although it would be venturesome to pursue this idea of a new Creation into details, by speculating as to the new features that will characterize the abode of mankind, and its celestial surroundings, we are fully justified in following it up as regards our own nature. Respecting human nature there is no room whatever for doubt. It will be taken into the presence of its Creator after having passed again under His creating hand, renovated into a perfectness of condition even greater than that which belonged to it in its most perfect temporal condition.

1. First it is to be considered that there will be a new Creation of the body. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption" [1 Cor. xv. 50]. Such is the truth which St. Paul declares to us when he is dealing theologically with the question of the resurrection. Such also is the truth that we are taught by the very instinct of self-consciousness. It is not bodies such as we are provided with for the work of this world that will be suited to inhabit a new earth, or to stand in the immediate presence-chamber of the all-glorious and all-holy God. Such bodies as these can never be dissociated from imperfection and degeneration, disease, decay, and dissolution. They are endowed with functions that are evidently incompatible with a never-ending immortality: and we cannot imagine hunger, thirst, and the capacities and desires which are most characteristic of bodily life as it now is, to have any place in heaven. They exist under laws that involve the loss of strength, vigour, and beauty, after the lapse of a few score years, and we cannot imagine the wrinkles, or weakness, or decrepitude, of old age, to have any consistency with the perpetual youth of a renovated creation.

Hence the same inspired teacher tells us that the body which is sown in corruption is raised in incorruption, that which is sown in dishonour is raised in glory, that which is sown in weakness is raised in power, that which is sown a natural body is raised a spiritual body; . . . this corruptible must put on incorruption and this mortal must put on immortality. These are most wonderful statements, but can we gain from them, from other light of Holy Scripture, or from the light of our own experiences, observations, and reasonings, any definite ideas on the subject of this renovated body which is to find itself fit for making a home of a renovated world? It is almost impossible to do so except by a string of negatives. For the spiritual body of the resurrection era there will be no hunger nor thirst, no marrying nor giving in marriage, no pain, no suffering, no decay, no dissolution. It will answer to the great Catholic dogma "I believe in the resurrection of the body," "the resurrection of the flesh," in such a manner that every one will have a ready consciousness of identity, as of something restored which had long been lost, and yet it will be "a spiritual body," one of which, if we can positively say "it is the same," we must also say with equal certainty "it is not the same." Perhaps the very phrase "spiritual body," which sounds like a contradiction of terms, contains the real explanation as far as we can now reach it. That which we think of in this life as the human body is a complex structure of substances and organs whose principal purposes are those of sense: but even as it now exists we can discover traces of a lower organization and a higher organization. There is that which seems at once to be of the earth earthy, that which the Scripture calls "flesh and blood," the grosser organization associated with the maintenance of animal life and action: and there is also that which we find little difficulty in associating with spiritual life and action, the nervous system, or that portion of it which is connected with the organs and faculties whereby the mind works and communicates with the world around. The one seems to belong to our bodies in common with the bodies of creatures lower than ourselves in the scale of creation, the other to belong to those bodies in common with beings higher than ourselves. We easily believe of angels that they speak and think, and reason; that they see and hear; that they remember and increase in knowledge; that they love and adore: and some of these properties which belong to men and angels we dare to think of as belonging even to God. Is there not then in that part of our bodily system which enables us to do all this which is done even by angels and by One higher than angels, the germ of that "spiritual body" which can "inherit the kingdom of God?" And may we not venture to think of the resurrection of the body as a clothing again of our souls and spirits with all the organizations that belong to the higher part of our being, while that which

New Creation

belongs to the lower part lies for ever in the dust with which it has mingled?

And it is not difficult to imagine of bodies so regenerated that they find their original Pattern in the body that arose from the grave three days after death, and afterwards ascended into heaven. It is, in fact, most easy and most rational to believe that as the Incarnation of the Son of God was the New Creation of a Man perfect in body and soul, so it was the first step in the New Creation of all human nature: and that as we have borne in our bodies the image of the earthy, which is the First Adam, so in our bodies also we shall bear the Image of the Heavenly, which is the Second Adam. [Resurrection of Christ.]

And thus when the word has gone forth, "Behold I make all things new," this will be a part of that new creation, that the bodies of the redeemed will be as the glorified body of Him who is not ashamed to call them brethren, bodies such as were laid in the grave, and with something about them yet which identified them with a former life; and yet spiritual bodies on which the Incarnation will have done its thorough work by restoring to them their share in the Image of God: making them ever pure, ever incapable of evil, of degeneracy, or of decay. [Resurrection of the Body. Body, Spiritual.]

2. Secondly, as the external features of human nature will be thus renovated, so also will there be a renovation of all that belongs to its mental and spiritual faculties.

Towards such a New Creation it is easy to see that the work of the Incarnation has ever been tending. What man lost by the Fall he regains by his restoration in Christ. Man lost the Image of God, but the express Image of the Father took upon Him the fallen nature, raised it to its first estate in His own Person, and made it possible for it to regain that position in the persons of all men. Man lost by the Fall the Spirit which was breathed into him so that he became a living soul, but the Holy Spirit descended to dwell in the Church on earth, and to continue the power of the Incarnation; and now each sacramentally built up man has the loss repaired, and becomes once more body, soul, and spirit, as in his first creation. [Spirit.]

But this is a gradual, not a sudden work, and although in the first regeneration of human nature at Holy Baptism, and in all subsequent stages of sacramental edification, the Lord is causing it to go through a process of renovation and re-creation, the climax of that building up of the restored spirit of man will only be attained when the final fiat of re-creation goes forth. Under the operation of such a re-creation, that which we sometimes call "the religious faculty" will become supreme among all the mental qualities of our nature. Then, too, all evil passions, all sorrows, all cares, having passed away as part of the former things that have no place in the renewed world, it is reasonable to believe that other mental faculties will have room to develope in a degree for which there has been no sufficient opportunity in this life; so that the intelligence of each one of the renovated persons will be like the intelligence of an angel. And thus, all that is good and all that is noble in the spiritual and intellectual part of human nature, will become infinitely more good and infinitely more noble still. The humblest sinner of this life that attains to the life everlasting will stand as a glorious saint before the throne of God. And the lowliest intellect will be so cleared, so vivified and developed, by the making of all things new, that there will be no such thing as ignorance—as we now understand it—possible, nor any bar set up by the will to the attainment of an exalted reach of knowledge.

It seems then that we must blend together the highest earthly saintliness and the highest earthly intelligence if we seek for a type of the perfectly renovated inner nature of man. And when we have thus gained some idea of what will be effected by the New Creation, we still have to remember that this type of the new created mind and spirit of man places us only on the threshold of his future life. He will go on, without limit of time and age, dwelling in close communion with the all-holy and all-knowing God; and from the perpetual shining of that "Light which no man" in his mortal condition "can approach unto," there must be a never-ceasing growth of saintliness and intelligence, a development of each which can find no limit short of the holiness and knowledge of the One who is without bounds.

III. Finally, as the renovation of the material world, and of the corporeal and incorporeal parts of man's nature, will alter all the conditions of what we should call from our present standpoint man's existence and work *in the world*, so also it will alter those of his existence *in the Church*. And hence, among the revelations of that future life which were made to St. John, there was a special one of a "New Jerusalem coming down from God, out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" [Rev. xxi. 2].

We are all familiar with the glorious things which are spoken of this city of our God. Inwrought with our habitual devotions as they dwell on the future are such words as

> "With jasper glow thy bulwarks,
> Thy streets with emeralds blaze,
> The sardius and the topaz
> Unite in thee their rays."

But we are probably disposed to dwell on these glorious pictures of the holy city without a sufficient recognition of the fact that they represent a development and New Creation of the religious life, and especially of that part of it which is associated with Divine worship. For this renovation of the religious life and of Divine worship is also the glorious climax of our Lord's Incarnation: and therefore the coming down of the New Jerusalem from God is followed by "a great voice out of heaven," which recalls to our mind the fact that our Lord's Incarnation was a tabernacling of the Deity in the Humanity. "I heard

a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them and be their God" [Rev. xxi. 3].

That same Presence of God, therefore, which has been at once the great power of the religious life and the great object of Divine worship in the Church Militant, will be the same in the Church Triumphant. As God is now with His people in the Sacraments, whose vitality is derived from the Incarnation, so will He be with them then in a direct Presence, the power of which will be to them a perpetual Light and an inexhaustible Life. And as now God is in His holy Temple, and thither we gather that before His altar we may bow down in adoration of His mystical Presence, so then, when there shall be no temple in the Holy City, "for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the Temple of it" [Rev. xxi. 22], the glorious and visible Presence of Him that sitteth on the Throne will be that before which the elders will cast down their crowns, and the vast multitude of the redeemed sing forth their hallelujahs.

Thus the Church Militant will develope into the Church Triumphant; Christ's First and His Second Advent will prove to be two stages in the mighty work of New Creation. The former things that are to pass away—a degenerated world, a fallen man, an imperfect religious life, a halting worship—all these having derived what good there has been in them from the first stage of the New Creation, that good will still remain, even though their distinctive characteristics of evil, weakness, and imperfection will have been burnt out, and annihilated. But God is pleased that there should be a degenerated world, and a fallen man, and an imperfect religious life, and a halting worship no longer, and therefore the second stage of the mighty work of the Incarnation will be attained in the complete fulfilment of the words, "Behold I make all things new."

NEW TESTAMENT. [Testament.]

NICENE CREED. The Creed put forth by the Council of Nice [A.D. 325], and completed at Constantinople [A.D. 381]. This has always been known as the Nicene Creed, though not framed by the Fathers of the first General Council. They adopted the existing Oriental Creed, as the Roman or Apostles' Creed was followed by the churches of the West. Eusebius the historian exhibited it to the council as the ancient Creed of the Church of Cæsarea, of which he was the bishop. Doubtless it had descended in that church from primitive times. A general likeness may be observed between it and the Creed of Antioch, as given by Lucian the Martyr [Socr. *H. E.* iii. 5, vi. 12]. The only addition made to it by the council was the insertion of the term ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί, "of one substance with the Father," rendering the Creed all that could be wished as a standard of orthodoxy. [Arianism. Creeds.] No other alteration was made, ἑνὸς μόνου προσεγγραφέντος ῥήματος τοῦ ὁμοουσίου, [Eus. *Ep. ad Cæsar.*; Socr. *H. E.* i. 8]. Eusebius says expressly that this was no new term: "We are aware that certain illustrious bishops and writers among the ancients have made use of this expression ὁμοούσιον in defining the Godhead of the Father and Son" [*ibid.*]. Athanasius declares the same thing in his epistle to the African bishops, and states that the term was incorporated in the Nicene Creed on the authority of ancient bishops; τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπισκόπων. In the preceding century Dionysius of Alexandria still appeals to older writers who used the expression, τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων [Athanas. *de Sent. Dionys.*]. Origen, the preceptor of Dionysius, used the word in the same sense as the Nicene Council, as shewn by Ruffinus, and Pamphilus in his apology. Tertullian, writing in Latin while he thought in Greek, as was often the case with him, says that the three persons of the Godhead were "unius substantiæ" [*Adv. Prax.* 11], which was the equivalent for ὁμοούσιον, as Bishop Bull affirms; so also Ruffinus, "unius substantiæ, quod Græce ὁμοούσιον dicitur" [Ruff. *de Deprav. libr. Orig.*]. The term itself was coined in the philosophical schools of ancient Greece: thus Aristotle affirmed the consubstantial character of the stars, ὁμοούσια δὲ πάντα ἄστρα; and Porphyry uses it with respect to the soul of life or vital principle that man shares with the lower animals, εἴγε ὁμοούσιοι αἱ τῶν ζώων ψυχαὶ ἡμετέραις [Porph. *de Abstin. ab esu Anim.* i. 19]. Hence it was adopted by the Gnostic heretics to express the oneness of nature that existed between the psychic seed of the human race and Demiurge [Iren. *Contr. Hær.* i. 9, 10, Cambr. ed.]. The term fell into a certain degree of discredit when Paul of Samosata made use of it in his heretical Christology. He maintained that our Lord had no pre-existence before His birth of the Virgin Mary, and that he could only be consubstantial with the Father through the deification of His mortal body. The very gainsaying of heresy thus helped to establish the high antiquity of the term as used by the Church. The Council of Antioch denied the consubstantiality of the Son in this gross sense, but left no doubt as to their belief in the eternally Divine Substance of the Word, though they suppressed for the time the term ὁμοούσιον as having been rendered suspicious by Paul. Altogether there can be no doubt but that the term was well known and of familiar use for more than a century before the Church stereotyped it in her Creed at Nice.

The Cæsarean Creed contained the clause, "God of God," which was omitted by the Fathers at Constantinople, but was afterwards restored to its position. On the unauthorized insertion of "Filioque" by the Spanish Church see that article. The final clauses were added at Constantinople, the Nicene formula having ended with καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. But midway between the two councils Epiphanius indicates three clauses in his longer creed as used by the Church of Cyprus. It is probable therefore that the Creed of Cæsarea also contained them, but Eusebius having quoted so much of

the formula as was germane to his purpose, stopped when he came to the expression of faith in the Holy Spirit, in order that he might assert the hypostatic unity of each person; and so never completed the words of the Creed. The Creed so foreclosed by Eusebius remained on record as the faith of the Nicene Fathers, an anathema against all who held Arian notions having been substituted for the closing words of Eusebius. The Creed thus framed was used for catechetical instruction, and was the baptismal confession of faith, as in fact it had been from the earliest days [Euseb. *ad Cæsar.*]; but it had no place in the Liturgy until the time of Peter Fullo, Bishop of Antioch, who embodied it in the service [A.D. 471]. Timothy, Patriarch of Constantinople, adopted the same course [A.D. 511]. In the third Council of Toledo [A.D. 589] the Spanish Church made it part of the Liturgy as an antidote to the Arianism of the Goths. The Gallican Church admitted it soon afterwards, but it was only received into the Ordo Romanus A.D. 1014. The scandal of centuries caused by the schism between the churches of the East and West, A.D. 1054 [FILIOQUE], can probably be removed only by a recurrence to the form set forth with authority by the primitive councils. [See Bull's *Defensio Fid. Nic.;* Blunt's *Annotated Prayer Book, Nicene Creed;* and Harvey's *Hist. and Theology of the Three Creeds.*]

NICOLAITANS. These are mentioned in our Lord's words to St. John for the angel of the Church of Ephesus, "But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate:" and also in those to the Church of Pergamos, "So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate" [Rev. ii. 6-15]. Many writers associate them with the followers of Balaam mentioned in the verse preceding the one last quoted, as well as by St. Peter and St. Jude [2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 11; Rev. ii. 14], and a supposed analogy between the Hebrew name Balaam and the Greek Nicolas has been thought to confirm this identity. The two sects—or perhaps rather parties in the Church—seem, however, to be spoken of in the Revelation as distinct from each other, though both to be found in the Church of Pergamos; and, if so, the Nicolaitans are not mentioned in any way that will characterize their principles. But Irenæus says: "The Nicolaitans are the followers of that Nicolas who was one of the seven first ordained to the diaconate by the Apostles. They lead lives of unrestrained indulgence. The character of these men is very plainly pointed out in the Apocalypse of St. John, as teaching that it is a matter of indifference to practise fornication, and to eat things offered to idols" [Iren. *Contr. Hæres.* i. 26]. Hippolytus gives a similar account of them [*Hæres.* vii. 24], and so does Epiphanius [*Adv. Hæres.* I. ii. 25]. Clement of Alexandria, however, distinctly declares that he can find no reason for thinking that Nicolas the Deacon was given to immoralities [*Stromat.* iii. 4], and Theodoret says that his name was falsely given to the sect. The difficulty in ascertaining anything authentic about this sect probably arises from its subsequent existence under some other name, or from its principles being absorbed by later sects. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

NOËTIANS. [PATRIPASSIANISM.]

NOMINALISM. [THEOLOGY, SCHOLASTIC. CONCEPTUALISM.]

NONCONFORMITY. Before the Reformation, and for some years after the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there was no organized body of Separatists from the Church of England. In many respects the Lollards closely resembled the Puritans of Elizabeth's time; and it is probable that, notwithstanding the check received from the sanguinary law of Henry IV., many held the principles of Wickliffe down to the time of Henry VIII. But Lollardism, though it had its conventicles and schools, did not organize itself into a sect and secede. The Christian Brethren [see Blunt's *History of the Reformation*, p. 525] and the Cambridge party [*ib.* p. 527], who, if not Lollards in name, no doubt sprang from the Lollards, were still parties within the Church. Lollardism contributed largely to form that state of the public mind which in England produced the Reformation, but most largely that in it which produced the evils that accompanied the Reformation. The cockle had outgrown the wheat. Lollardism embraced in its doctrines errors and half truths; it embraced in its ranks turbulent and designing fanatics, both political and religious; and to its influence must be ascribed much of the insubordination and superstitious zeal which engendered Nonconformity.

Again, the followers of the Anabaptists cannot be considered as, by themselves, an organized body of Separatists. After the taking of Munster in 1535, Anabaptists found their way through Holland into England. The first notice of them in English history is in 1538. The English who joined them were treated by Elizabeth just as she treated the foreigners themselves, being ordered to depart the realm. Notwithstanding the order several remained, and joined the French and Dutch congregations in London and in towns near the coast. From these, there can be little doubt, sprung the sect of the Baptists, who may be distinguished from their parent stock in 1620, when they presented a petition to Parliament disclaiming the false notions of the Anabaptists; and who became an organized sect under Henry Jessey in 1640.

Nonconformity properly begins with the refugees from Frankfort and Geneva. They brought back with them Genevan doctrine, discipline, and worship. After some years of contest, which turned principally on the question of ecclesiastical dress, separate congregations were formed in 1566, in which the Prayer Book was wholly laid aside and the service was conducted by the book of the English refugees at Geneva. Among the leaders of these Separatists, Cartwright held that presbyters assembled in synod had an authority the same in kind with that of bishops. He was the

founder of the Presbyterians, aided in his enterprise by the influence and example of Scotland, which had well learned the lessons of Geneva. Brown found the Ecclesia in the congregation, and denied the authority both of bishop and synod. From him descend the Independents, Robinson being the founder of the separate sect. In later times the Quakers appear in considerable numbers. Amidst the fanatical excitement of the Rebellion they gathered quickly round Fox, who began preaching in 1650.

There were some minor sects, such as the Family of Love, an offshoot of the Anabaptists; but the four sects, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, with the Popish recusants, make up the great body of Nonconformists until the rise of Wesleyan Methodism. Against these it was that Canons and Acts of Parliament were directed.

1. *Ecclesiastical Censures.* Canons III. to XII. declare the Church of England a true and Apostolical Church, and censure the impugners of her public worship, of her Articles, of her rites and ceremonies, of her government, of her forms of consecration and ordination. They censure also the authors and maintainers of schism, schismatics, conventicles, and constitutions made in conventicles. Canon LXXIII. forbade ministers to hold private conventicles. Articles XX. *On the authority of the Church*, and XXIII. *Of ministering in the Congregation*, directly contradict the principles of Nonconformity. Such statements and censures are, of course, within the province of every national Church.

2. *Acts of Parliament.* Nonconformity began, as we have seen, in Elizabeth's time. Earlier Statutes then, such as Henry VIII.'s, were directed against heresies, and against overt acts of opposition to the established order by those who still considered themselves to be members of the Church. When separate congregations were formed, simple Nonconformity was made punishable. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, her council suggested to her that those Protestants who affected improper alterations, and were for throwing the ecclesiastical polity into a new form, ought to receive an early check: it being by no means advisable to allow more than one church.

By 1 Eliz. cap. 2, sec. 14, all persons are commanded to resort to church, and absentees are to be fined twelve pence for each non-attendance. By 23 Eliz. cap. 1, sec. 5, the forfeit is increased to £20 a month: and after twelve months' absence the absentee is to be bound himself, and to find sureties in £200 at least until he conform. Those who maintain a schoolmaster who is not a church-goer shall forfeit £10 a month.

By 29 Eliz. cap. 6 sec. 4, 6, on default of payment of the £20 a month, the Queen may, by process out of the exchequer, seize all the goods and two parts of the lands of such offender.

During these years, the Court of High Commission[1] had been labouring to suppress Puritanism, but its efforts were often thwarted by the interference of the Earl of Leicester. At length, in 1593, the first conventicle act was passed, the precursor of the Act of A.D. 1664. By 35 Eliz. cap. 1, those not present at divine service for a month, and those who move and persuade people to deny the Queen's authority in causes ecclesiastical, and to that end persuade people to forbear church and to frequent conventicles, are to be committed to prison without bail till they conform and make the submission prescribed in the Act: failing to make which submission within three months, they are to abjure and depart the realm, failing which they are declared guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. This Act, though made to continue no longer than the end of the next session of Parliament, was afterwards kept in force by the two succeeding Parliaments of this reign. And its penalties were not repealed until 1 Will. & Mary, cap. 18, sec. 4.

In 1593 there was also passed an Act against Popish recusants, by which they were confined within five miles of their respective dwellings.

Elizabeth's Act was declared by Charles II.'s Conventicle Act [A.D. 1664] to be in force. This latter Act [22 Car. II. cap. 1] imposes, for being present at a conventicle, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, at which there shall be five or more persons assembled above the household, a penalty of £5 or three months' imprisonment; for the second offence, £10 or six months; for the third offence transportation for seven years. It orders conventicles to be dispersed by military force, or by magistrates by what force they can raise. In the next year [A.D. 1665] was passed the Five-Mile Act, which enacts that those in orders, or pretended orders, who have not made declaration of assent and consent to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and taken and subscribed the oath of the illegality of taking arms against the King, shall not come, except in passing upon the road, within five miles of any city or town corporate.

By the Conventicle Act, A.D. 1670, any one magistrate is empowered to impose a fine of five shillings for being present at a conventicle (which is defined as before); ten shillings upon the second offence; £20 for preaching or teaching; £20 on the owner of the premises in which the conventicle is held.

Lastly, in 1672, the Test Act was passed "for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants," enacting that all in place or office, civil or military, under the Crown, or in receipt of any pay or salary by patent or grant, shall take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and shall receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper within three months after admittance. So stood the law until the Toleration Act of A.D. 1688.

The Statutes which have been named proceed on

[1] This court was established by the Act of Supremacy [1 Eliz. cap. 1], which restored ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the Crown. Nothing can be more comprehensive, Collier observes, than the terms of the clause which empowers the Queen to erect this court. The whole compass of Church discipline seems transferred upon the Crown. The High Commission Court, and the Court of Star Chamber (a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council), were suppressed in 1641.

two principles which used to be thought undeniable, viz. that the Church and the Commonwealth are co-extensive, the same body under its two aspects; and that the government of such a Christian state has the duty of training its subjects in Christian truth and religious practice. Rulers, it was thought, were bound to enforce the observance of Church laws as well as of the laws of a secular political economy. The former of these was, at the end of the sixteenth century, no such Utopian notion as it now appears to be. For the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign Papists frequented the English service, and it might have been not unreasonably hoped that such a reformation was possible as would retain the whole nation in the established Church. So long as this theory of the identity of the Church and nation appeared not impossible to realize (and there is no wonder that patriotic statesmen were slow to relinquish it), it followed inevitably that temporal penalties were added to spiritual censures, that breaches of Church bounds were met by strict enactments. Rebellion against the Church was also rebellion against the State. And in point of fact, secession from the Church was accompanied by insurrection against the Government. The conspiracy of Hacket and Coppinger was just before the passing of the Act of A.D. 1593. Presbyteries and independent congregations would lead, it was well understood, to the overthrow of temporal as well as spiritual thrones. Rebellion against the sovereign began with disobedience in religion, and disobedience in religion was dealt with according to its results. The hundred and thirty years from Elizabeth's accession to the Revolution are the attempt to realize the high ideal of the true union and coincidence of Church and State. [DISSENTERS. SCHISM. *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

NONJURORS. Those who refused the oath of allegiance to William and Mary at the Revolution. William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England, February 13th, 1689. Two new oaths of allegiance and supremacy were immediately framed, which were to be taken by all in office, civil, military or ecclesiastical, before August 1st, on pain of suspension for six months. Deprivation *ipso facto* was to follow upon a persistent refusal. Sancroft (Canterbury), Turner (Ely), Lake (Chichester), Ken (Bath and Wells), White (Peterborough), Thomas (Worcester), Lloyd (Norwich), Frampton (Gloucester), Cartwright (Chester), refused the oaths. Of these, Thomas and Cartwright died before the time of suspension, Lake before the time of deprivation. The remainder were deprived. About four hundred clergy were deprived, of whom a list is given in the *Life of Kettlewell*. No list of deprived laymen has come down to us.

The terms "rightful and lawful king" of the usual oath, implying a hereditary right, had been omitted; and the oath was only "to bear true allegiance" to the King and Queen. Upon the death of James and the recognition of his son by the King of France, the oath of abjuration of the Pretender was imposed: and a few who had taken the oath of allegiance refused this oath. Kettlewell's list gives four non-abjurors.

At the restoration of Charles II. the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience assumed (it could not be otherwise) an importance almost paramount. They were represented as the "distinguishing character" of the Church of England, if not as the true tests of Christianity. [See the deathbed declarations of Thomas and Lake. *Kettlewell's Life*, 8vo, pp. 199-206.] That these doctrines are taught in the "Institution of a Christian Man," in the homilies and canons, and that they were declared by the University of Oxford in her decrees of A.D. 1622, 1647, 1683, is well known.[1] That they are taught by our Lord Himself is true. But to this assertion must be subjoined a comment. It is the manner of our Lord's teaching to lay down a principle of action broadly, and to leave the necessary limitations to be worked out afterwards, as occasion shall arise. Thus, "Give to him that asketh thee," is undeniably a precept of indiscriminate almsgiving: reasonable limitations are supposed, such as that men are not to be supported in idleness, that a man is not to neglect his duty towards his own; and these limitations are recognised in Scripture. "Resist not evil" has its necessary limitations for the preservation of life and property, for the maintenance of the good order of society: and, in St. Paul's allowance of courts Christian for judgments in things pertaining to this life, is recognised a limitation to our Lord's command, "If any man will sue thee at the law," &c. So passive obedience, which is the highest case of non-resistance of evil, has analogous limitations[2] for the preservation of society, and for the saving that liberty which is the life of a nation; while St. Paul's precept of obedience proceeds on the hypothesis that rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. That such limitations were accepted by the majority of our bishops is clear from their votes. On the regency question, two bishops voted that the vacant throne should be filled up by a king: they considered that James had forfeited the throne for himself and his heirs. Thirteen voted for a regent: they were not then prepared to transfer their allegiance to a new king, but were prepared to obey a regent wielding in the king's name the authority for which James was personally disqualified. Sancroft absented himself from the debate and the division.[3]

[1] See *History of Passive Obedience*. Amsterdam, 1689. In "Four Letters to a Friend in North Britain, upon . . . Dr. Sacheverel's Trial," it is said that this book was approved and licensed at a general meeting of Nonjuring bishops held at Lambeth for that purpose. The book is anonymous. The copy in the writer's possession has in MS., in an old hand, "Supposed to be written by Mr. Th. Brown, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge:" but it is generally assigned to Abednego Seller.

[2] For a defence of strict passive obedience, see Dr. Pusey's *Patience and Confidence the Strength of the Church*.

[3] It is not easy to account for Sancroft's absence from the convention. His settled opinion was that a Custos Regni ought to be appointed to carry on the government in the king's right and name. See his paper in *D'Oyly's*

When Parliament had determined for a king, not for a regent, then the nine bishops named above refused to transfer their allegiance. Others considered it their duty to submit to the determination of the convention. Of all judgments passed upon the actors in these difficult times, those are the worst which so freely impute sordid motives and conscious dishonesty. When we see Ken and Kettlewell on the one side, Bull and Beveridge on the other side, harsh judgments may surely be avoided.

The deprived bishops had now to ascertain their duty. There was no pretence of a canonical deposition. They were deprived by the civil power; illegally, they believed, and in consequence of their adherence to the doctrines of their Church. They had a duty, first, as trustees of the Apostolical succession for the benefit of the nation; secondly, to the portions of their flocks which adhered to their communion. [1.] It was by no means clear that Presbyterianism would not be established; if not at once, and formally, yet by degrees through a surrender of Church principles in the attempt at a comprehension, and the giving over the Church to the Latitudinarian party. Again, it was by no means clear that the work of the Revolution would not be in a few years reversed; in which case the course of the restored king, and of the Revolution bishops, supposing such to be retained, could not be predicted. In these doubts it was their duty to preserve for a while the line of an undoubted episcopate. [2.] The spiritual wants of their adherents required the same course. The deprived bishops were not, however, unanimous regarding the necessity of providing a ministry of the Nonjuring succession. Ken took no part in the proceedings, and Frampton appears to have stood aloof. Sancroft died before the consecration took place, but it must be regarded as having his sanction, not only from the delegation of his powers to Lloyd, but from his joining in the preliminary steps, the consultation with King James and the nomination of Hickes. The remaining three, Lloyd, White and Turner, consecrated Hickes and Wagstaffe suffragans of Thetford and Ipswich. This was on the 24th of February 1693. A statement of the case, drawn up on canonical principles, is in Kettlewell's *Life*, p. 340 [8vo, ed. 1718]. The justification of the step, whether, namely, it was expedient to insist on their canonical rights, must lie in the uncertainty of the times, and in the necessity for preserving a true Episcopal succession.

At the next consecration in 1713, the case is essentially different. On the 1st of January 1710, Lloyd died, the last of the deprived bishops who claimed the obedience of the Nonjurors; for Ken, the only survivor, actually resigned his pretensions and claims to Hooper, who had succeeded Kidder in Bath and Wells [Lathbury, *History of Nonjurors*, p. 203]. Wagstaffe died in 1712, so that in 1713 there remained besides Ken, who wished to close the breach by union with the bishops in possession, only Hickes, a suffragan, whose commission was dissolved by the death of his diocesan. Again, in 1713, it was evident that the Church of England had passed through the trial of the Revolution, if not without deterioration, yet unimpaired in essentials. There was no pretence for asserting a necessity of preserving an episcopal succession to provide against the contingencies of the times. Whatever excuses there may be made for Hickes on the score of his attachment to the exiled family, and his repudiation of the principles of the Revolution, it must be held that he was formally in schism in procuring the consecration of Collier and others; and that the Scotch bishops who joined in the consecration were guilty of an unauthorized intrusion into the province of Canterbury. Dodwell, Nelson, and Brokesby at this time were reconciled to the Church of England.

The three epochs that have been named are the leading epochs in the history of the Nonjurors in their relation to the Church of England. After 1713, their history, with the exception of the attempt to effect a union with the Greek Church, is the history of their own divisions, in which, it must needs be said, schism bore the fruit of schism. The proposed alterations in the Liturgy, by no means unimportant in themselves, are yet neither any one of them, nor all together, sufficient to justify separation, and the setting up altar against altar. The changes desired by Brett and Collier were the introduction of the Mixed Cup, of Prayer for the Dead instead of a mere commemoration, of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and of an oblatory prayer after the Prayer of Consecration. On these points a separation of communion took place; and "after the death of Hawes, Taylor, and Bedford (see the tables below), Spinckes and Gandy being desirous of a succession in their line, applied to the bishops in Scotland; and they (again as it seems to me unmindful of their duty) consecrated Henry Doughty for their friends in England." [Perceval's *Apostolic Succession*, p. 225.]

The following list of consecrations is corrected from the ordinary sources by formal documents, partly on paper and partly on vellum, in the Bodleian Library :—

George Hickes, Thomas Wagstaffe,	Vigil of St. Matthias, Feb. 23rd, 1693-4	by the deprived bishops, Lloyd, White, Turner.
Jeremiah Collier, Samuel Hawes, Nathan. Spinckes,	Ascension Day, May 14th (O.S.) 25th (N.S.) 1713	by Hickes, with Ar. Campbell and James Gadderar, Scotch bishops.
Henry Gandy, Thomas Brett,	Feast of St. Paul, Jan. 25th, 1716 (N.S.)	by Collier, Hawes, and Spinckes.

Non-Usagers.			*Usagers.*
Hilkiah Bedford, Ralph Taylor,	by Hawes, Spinckes and Gandy	Jan. 25th, 1720-1	
		1722	John Griffin by Collier, Campbell and Brett.

Life of Sancroft, i. p. 415. The concern he expressed at the vote of the Commons that the throne was vacant [*D'Oyly*, i. 427, n.] agrees with this. Of the various reasons for his conduct there is not one that is even plausible.

[*Irregular Consecrations.*]

Robt. Welton, and Talbot by Taylor, ... 1723-4

Henry Doughty by four Scotch bishops, . March 30th, 1725

John Blackbourn, Henry Hall, by Spinckes, Gandy, and Doughty, June 11th, 1725

1727 Thos. Brett, jun., by Brett, Griffin and Campbell.

Rich. Rawlinson, by Gandy, Doughty & Blackbourn, March 25th, 1728

Geo. Smith, by Gandy, Blackbourn and Rawlinson,

Reconciliation of the two Parties.

Timothy Mawman, . . . 1731 by Brett, T. Brett, junr., & G. Smith.

Robert Gordon, ... 1741 by Brett, Smith and Mawman.

Gordon was the last bishop of the regular Nonjurors. There was an irregular offshoot, R. Laurence, T. Deacon, P. J. Brown, claiming consecration from the Scotch bishops originally: Price and Cartwright from Deacon, Garnet and Boothe from Cartwright. Boothe died in Ireland in 1805. Cartwright formally renounced his schism and was received into communion by the late Rev. W. G. Rowland, at Shrewsbury, about 1799.

When to the well-known names in the foregoing list we add the names of Kettlewell, Dodwell, Nelson, Baker, Howell, Parker, Leslie, Law, and Carte, it will be seen at once how high a place the Nonjurors hold in the theology and literature of the eighteenth century. Dodwell in ancient history, Collier and Carte in modern history, Parker as a Commentator, Baker and Hickes as antiquaries, Howell as a canonist, Hickes and Brett in theology, Kettlewell, Nelson, Law, Spinckes, Deacon, in devotional theology, Leslie as a polemic, stand on the highest level of their times, surpassed by none but Bull and Butler.

It may be questioned indeed whether any divines, their contemporaries, have influenced the theology of the nineteenth century so much as have Brett by his liturgical writings, Nelson by his Eucharistic treatise (Mede's doctrine came to Nelson through Hickes), and Laurence by his treatises on Holy Baptism: whether to any one except Bishop Wilson can be attributed such power over the hearts and lives of men as has been exercised by Law and Spinckes. Their influence upon their own generation was much opposed by the facts of their separation from the Church and of their attachment to a family of Papists. And their separation was most hurtful to the Church, inasmuch as it withdrew so large a portion of that element which was wanted to compensate defects in the Latitudinarian school of theology, the sacerdotal and sacramental element. But the Nonjurors are now recovering the place due to them in the history of our Church: and are important links in the catena which connects the divines of Charles II.'s day with those divines of our day who are known, and will hereafter be better known, as the true representatives of English theology.

A complete history of the Nonjurors is still wanting. Lathbury's is good as a first essay. He read diligently the controversial tracts and printed documents: but, with the exception of the correspondence with the Greek Church taken from Bishop Jolly's MSS., he made little or no use of the materials which, it can hardly be doubted, still exist in MS. in public and private libraries.

NOTES OF THE CHURCH. Certain diacritical marks or notes have always distinguished the Church from the numberless sects that have seceded from her communion: but scarcely any two writers have drawn them alike. Some of these notes having a polemical cast are cramped, and involve a "petitio principii;" others suited well in the age that propounded them, but are now obsolete. Some remove essential barriers; others are severe, and involve an exterminating judgment on all who do not exactly fall within the proposed limits. Tertullian in his *Præscriptio* makes priority in point of time, and therefore Apostolicity, the principal mark of the true Church. But he includes in this the rule of faith or creed descending from the beginning [*Præscr.* xiii.], as also intercommunion through unity of the Sacraments [*ibid.* xx.]. Irenæus makes truth to depend on Apostolical succession, as guaranteeing a true creed [*Contr. Hær.* i. 2, 3]. Augustine adds œcumenical consent, the name "catholic" [*de V. Rel.* 8], miraculous power, and holiness [*Adv. Hær.* I. 10, iii.; *de Unit. Eccl.* 6-17]. Jerome mentions the universality of succession, and the designation of "catholic:" Vincent of Lerins, universality, antiquity, and consent. After the Reformation notes of a polemical character are introduced. Bellarmine adds to those given by the Fathers temporal felicity of the Church, and the miserable end of opponents [*de Eccl.* iv. 3], which, however, are rejected by other writers of the same communion [see Bishop Taylor's *Critique on his fifteen notes, Diss. fr. Popery* x. 377, ed. 1839]. Luther, on the other hand, makes tribulation of the Church externally and internally a mark of the true Church in connection with the Gospel faithfully preached, sacraments duly administered, the power of the keys exercised, a ministry lawfully constituted, and a vernacular ritual [*de Eccl. Notis*, vii. 147, ed. 1550]. So Melanchthon, "Plerumque Ecclesia est cœtus exiguus veræ doctrinæ professionem retinens, et sustinens varias et ingentes ærumnas, communes et peculiares" [*Loci*, p. 498]. Calvin recognises only the Word preached, and Sacraments administered [*Inst.* IV. i. 10] by a ministry constituted by Christ [*ib.* 7], *i.e.* "pastors and teachers" [*ib.* IV. iii. 4; Eph. iv. 11]. In the Church of England different views have been adopted. Bishop Taylor enumerates antiquity, duration, succession, intercommunion, purity of doctrine [*Diss.* II. i. 1]. Field [*Of the Ch.* II. i. 2-5] notes pure doctrine, sacraments, a lawful ministry, antiquity, succession, and successional universality. Sir Humphrey Lynde, in his *Via Tuta*, p.

75, makes the signs of a true Church to consist in "the three Creeds, the two principal Sacraments, the twenty-two Books of canonical Scripture, the first four General Councils, the Apostolic traditions, the ancient Liturgies, and the ordination of pastors." Liebermann and Palmer follow the definition of the Constantinopolitan Creed, which describes the Church as ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLICAL [*Tr. on Ch.* i. 2]. The last of these terms, however, comprises subjectively the other three.

1. A church is Apostolical in its origin as founded directly by Apostles, as the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, or indirectly as the many churches that have been established throughout the world by those who succeeded the Apostles, "per hoc Apostolicæ deputantur, ut soboles apostolicarum ecclesiarum" [Tert. *Pr.* 20]. There must be Apostolicity also in purity of doctrine such as the Apostles delivered, and such as the Church has at all times and everywhere received. Christ built his Church on the Apostles, and no other foundation can any man now lay. It is as essential a note of the Church, as the sacrifice of the Death of Christ is of the Christian covenant.

2. All the scattered members of the Church, wherever they are situated, form one Apostolical Church. The flock is one, as the Shepherd is one; one by the operation of one sanctifying Spirit; one in faith, one in hope, one in charity; one in derived succession from the Apostles, and therefore one in regimen; one in harmonious acceptance of Scripture; one as joining in one sacrifice of prayer and praise; one as the life conferred on each member in one Baptism, and sustained by the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, is one; it is one also "by way of complexion" [Pearson]; for as the various members of the human body, in intimate union with the seat of intelligence, the head, form one material body, so the various members of each Church, and the several churches throughout the world, form in the aggregate the one Body of Christ; united in one corporate existence with their heavenly Head, and deriving from it, so far as God vouchsafes to grant His good grace, power to will and act in obedience to the will of Christ.

3. The one Apostolical Church is holy in its origin as deriving its being from Christ: holy in its doctrine, the law of the Lord being an undefiled law, converting the soul; holy in its members, whom God according to His good purpose hath sanctified to Himself as a "peculiar people, zealous of good works." The Spouse of Christ must needs be holy. "Be ye holy, for I am holy," is a command that by Divine grace carries with it in some degree its own fulfilment, as when it was said, "Let there be light, and there was light." The declaration "without holiness no man shall see the Lord" was intended to draw with cords of love, not to repel. Time past, present, and future is one sustained hope of this holiness to the believer. It was first lit up within the soul at baptism; though clouded over at times with sin, it has exercised a renewing power, and won back the faltering soul to thoughts of God and duty, and in the end this hope of holiness will be made perfect in reality, and union with Christ will cast out all fear of future falling. If such be the life of each individual member of Christ, the whole body cannot be otherwise than holy.

4. This one holy Apostolical Church is also Catholic. Our Lord, in many a figurative utterance, foreshadowed this catholic character of the Church. His last words gave to His Apostles their catholic mission, and from their days the Church has gradually spread over the face of the earth. In every age, whether in times of persecution or seasons of respite, it has held on its way, warring and travailing in the cause of truth: both with respect to time and space therefore the Church has shewn itself to be catholic. It is catholic, also, as having been animated by the same devotional spirit in every age of the world; its Scriptures, its creeds, its sacraments, and, in all essential particulars, its liturgies and offices of devotion, have met with universal acceptation, as having been received from Apostles or Apostolic men. Every attempt to introduce new doctrine into the Church is uncatholic, as Liebermann [*Inst. Theol.* ii. 233] plainly confesses, "nunquam tempus aut locum assignare potuerunt adversarii, quo novum dogma in hanc ecclesiam irrepsisset; omnes, e contra, qui sectas introduxerunt ab antiqua fide dissentientes ab eâ damnati et ejecti sunt, tamquam avitæ religionis corruptores."

Apostolicity then represents substantially the unity, the holiness, and the catholicity of the Church. And each branch of the Apostolical Church has preserved, as jewels of her marriage dowry, the Holy Scriptures, the sacraments, the creeds, and the liturgy, which we trace as an established ordinance in Justin Martyr [*Apol.* i., and in the *Ap. Constit.* ii. 57; viii. 6]. These are the co-ordinate signs of Apostolicity, and are the inheritance of every portion of the Church Catholic.

NOVATIANISM. A sect founded by Novatian, a presbyter of Rome, in the third century. He embraced very severe views on the question of the readmission of the lapsed to communion, and the rejection of his views by the council held on the question caused him to establish a schismatical communion. [LAPSED.] A writer of the sect, Sempronianus, has condensed the doctrine of the Novatians into this proposition,—that penance is not allowed after baptism, because the Church cannot forgive mortal sin; and, in short, that she destroys herself by receiving sinners.[1] They were considered irregular in not administering chrism at baptism.[2] They condemned second marriages, nor would they associate with any that had contracted them. They assumed the name of *καθαροί*, as expressive of the rigour of their doctrine. They refused all the privileges of the Church to the lapsed; but it does not

[1] Against this writer, Pacian, Bishop of Barcelona [A.D. 380], wrote three letters. Dupin, ed. 1722, i. 203. Pusey's *Library of the Fathers.*

[2] Baronius, ed. 1738, i. 35; xviii.

seem that they denied them hope of salvation.[1] Socrates, a quasi-Novatian himself, or at least well-affected to the sect, says that men reject Novatianism only because their discipline was so severe, and the objectors favoured a laxer system.[2] An anonymous writer,[3] said to be a contemporary of Cyprian, who maintains the proposition "quod lapsis spes veniæ non est deneganda," divides his argument into three. He impugns the severity of the Novatians because [1] of the injustice of refusing penitence to those who had remained firm in the persecution of Gallus, although their hearts had failed them in that of Decius; because [2] God's mercy and readiness to receive penitents are most abundantly to be proved from Holy Scripture; and because [3] the scriptural arguments adduced by the Novatians are insufficient. The text on which they mainly relied was Heb. vi. 4-8. Epiphanius [A.D. 400] answers their use of this text by urging that those who had fallen and were restored, could never be restored to the same status; penitence is not innocence. St. Hilary [A.D. 360], in his tract on the 137th Psalm, says that it annihilates the views of the Novatians.[4] The following texts are quoted by Philastrius [c. A.D. 380] against the sect:[5] Ezek. xxxiii. 11; Luke xii. 20; Rom. xiv. 2; 2 Cor. xi. 29, xii. 21. The case of St. Peter was early instanced to Novatian himself, as one that disproved their position. Here was one who had lapsed, was penitent, and forgiven. Novatian replied to this that Peter had never been baptized.[6]

They were never regarded as heretical on the great doctrines of the faith; and in the Arian controversies they always sided with the Catholic party. They were heretical only in denouncing the orthodox for their readiness to receive penitents, and in accusing them by so doing of encouraging sin. Those who joined the Catholics from the Novatians were received with laying on of hands only; and even perverts to Nestorianism were received after long penitence. This was also the only heresy in which the status of the clergy was acknowledged, a fresh ordination not being required. This was the subject of one of the canons of Nicæa. [*Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

NOVELS. [Law, Ecclesiastical.]

NUNS. In the first ages of the Church there were virgins called "ecclesiasticæ," or canonesses, who, although resident in private houses, were registered in the Canon or Church books, and were specially under the bishop's supervision. In the fourth century there were monastic virgins living in a monastic society—to such the twenty-third canon of the third Council of Carthage, and St. Augustine [*De Mor. Eccl.* c. xxxi.] allude. St. Leo I. ordered that nuns should not receive the veil unless they were full sixty years of age. The Council of Chalcedon, c. xv., defined forty years for the office of deaconess, and the Novels, about the same period, required the same age in nuns. St. Athanasius relates that the sister of St. Anthony, then advanced in years, visited her brother in the wilderness in order to adopt his solitary life. St. Pachomius, at his desire, founded for her and for his own sister a monastery near the Nile, at a distance from the convent of men. The ardour of these women communicated itself to others, and soon four hundred virgins joined the new society. Two ladies of high birth, Euphrasia and Macrina, the former a widow of Lycia, retiring into the Thebaïd, and the latter a sister of St. Basil into the solitudes of Pontus, founded new monasteries on their own property. At the end of the fourth century there are said to have been forty thousand religious women in Egypt, and seventy-six thousand men. St. Scholastica, the sister of St. Benedict, promoted Monasticism in Italy.

The interior government of a monastery is entrusted to an abbess or superior, but the spiritual rule is in the hands of the bishop, or regular chief, who selects the confessors, and makes periodical visitations. The form of admission, or veiling of a novice at her profession as a nun, varies with the different orders. In England they were forbidden to have their girdle, veil, or chin cloth of silk; or silver or gold needles in their veil; or a garment of silk, or having rich embroidery, or artificially dyed cloth called burnet. They were allowed to wear a single ring, which they received at their dedication. An abbess left the cloister on business or to do homage accompanied by a sister; a nun might go out if she could not remain without danger or scandal in the convent, or on a holiday visit to parents or relations for three days, or in case of necessity for six days, but always with another nun in her company.

The various orders of nuns were founded on modifications of one of the three great rules of St. Basil, St. Benedict, and St. Augustine. The earliest regulation of convents in England was made at the Council of Cloveshoe; when the irregularities of visits by laymen and relaxation of discipline were forbidden, as well as the use and manufacture of particoloured apparel. Devotion, reading books and singing psalms, and restriction to residence in the cloister, were prescribed. In 877, by the dispensation of the king or bishop, they could leave the convent and marry. However, even in 785, a nun was regarded as the spouse of Christ, marriage with such an one was declared to be adultery, and being branded in A.D. 943 as incest. The solution of any discrepancy in these conditions lies in the fact that there were two distinct classes, generically included under the one name of nun; the "mynchen" (μοναχαι), who were women-monks, and "nonnæ," women of advanced age, spinsters or widows, who were classed with canons, the former observ-

[1] Eusebius, quoted in Browne's *Articles*, 357, said they did so, but apparently on insufficient grounds.

[2] Dupin, i. 449.

[3] *Anonymi Tractatus ad Novatianum Hæreticum.* Published in Migne's *Theologiæ Cursus*, iii. 1203.

[4] Extinguit quoque insolentem eorum professionem, qui humanæ naturæ et infirmitatis immemores, et immisericordem Deum prædicantes, peccatis pœnitentium veniam et solatium non relinquunt.

[5] *Liber de Hæresibus*, 82. Published by Migne.

[6] See Aug. *Epist.* 108, ed. 1668, *De Baptismo et Pœnitentia Petri, contra Novatianos.*

ing a stricter discipline. The names are distinguished in the councils of the beginning of the eleventh century.

In the Acts of the Apostles we find in the four virgin daughters of Philip the deacon [xxi. 9] the first notice of those professed women who are alluded to by St. Paul, and mentioned so frequently by the early Fathers Ignatius, Tertullian, and Cyprian. In the ages of persecution, as appears from the Council of Seville, their vows were irrevocable. They resided in their own homes, but were secluded from society; and if they were in poverty were maintained by the alms of the Church. In the third century, Ammianus Marcellinus relates the noble conduct of Sapor, who permitted the exercise of their religion to Christian nuns, and preserved them from harm. In the fourth century, with the return of peace, religious women were multiplied, and St. Chrysostom mentions a thousand as residing at Constantinople. At that period the common life began practically in the East and West. The nuns gave themselves up to devotion, psalmody, handiworks, and abstinence; wearing a dark dress and a cincture of wool. They had a place allotted to them in church, and were under the supervision of the deaconesses.

There were two kinds of consecration, one the vow of a young girl to a kind of perpetual noviciate at home, made at the age of sixteen years; she was called "Deo devota;" the other, the profession of perpetual vows at twenty-eight years of age, or, according to some councils, forty years, by virgins thenceforward known as "Christo dicatæ" or "Deo sacratæ." The veil generally used by women in the Primitive Church was appropriated as a habit by these women in particular. From the East the West adopted this conventual life; the monasteries of men being adopted as the exemplar, and the same founders of orders being recognised by both sexes, with similar habits and rules. Marcella at Rome instituted a sisterhood from information of similar communities given to her by exiled priests of Alexandria, in the time of St. Jerome. The regular canonesses adopted the so-called rule of St. Austin, which appeared in Africa; the Benedictines were founded by Scholastica, sister of St. Benedict, in 530; and the reformed branches of the order, the Cluniacs, appeared (founded by Abbot Odo), in 940; the Cistercians in 1118, founded by Humberlina, sister of St. Bernard; the Camaldolese by Romuald; the Carthusians in 1309. The Basilians were instituted in 309 by Macrina, sister of St. Basil. The rule of St. Austin, under various modifications, was professed by the Beguines in the Low Countries in the seventh century. The various communities of Hospitallers, and Knightesses were founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the Præmonstratensians in 1121, the Dominicans in 1206, the Franciscans in 1212, the Carmelites in 1122, Servites in the fourteenth century, Austin Eremites, Capuchins, and Poor Clares in 1225.

In the early Northumbrian monasteries there were often two communities, one of either sex. St. Etheldreda also founded such an one at Ely in A.D. 673. These hermaphrodite houses were also established by the orders of Fontevrault in 1100; the Bridgettines in the fourteenth century, and Gilbertines, the only English order, in 1148. The sexes were divided even in church by curtains and parcloses; and strict regulations confined them to their respective monasteries.

The noviciate, previous to the reception of the black veil and the assumption of an irrevocable vow, was fixed at one year's duration in the thirteenth century.

Since the Reformation of the sixteenth century many new communities have been set on foot in the Roman communion, some with rules of extraordinary and novel severity. Houses of mercy and establishments of religious women are also again appearing in England.

Respecting this latter revival, some wise words of Bramhall may be quoted: "So as the vow of perpetual celibate were reduced to the form of our English Universities, so long a fellow, so long unmarried, or of the Canonesses and Beguines, which are no longer restrained from wedlock than they retain their places or habits, so as their blind obedience were more enlightened and secured by some certain rules and bounds, so as their mock-poverty were changed into a competent maintenance, and lastly, so as all opinion of satisfaction and supererogation were removed, I do not see why monasteries might not well enough agree with reformed devotion."

O

OATH. An oath may be defined as a solemn appeal to a Superior Being, in which the person who makes such appeal calls upon that Being either to attest the truth of some statement made or to be made by him, or to witness and record some promise which he is about to make. According to this distinction, oaths fall naturally into classes—*assertory* and *promissory*. This definition by no means includes all that is implied in *every form* of oath; not all, indeed, which is implied in the English judicial oath, but it is based upon that characteristic of an oath which the oaths of all nations possess in common, and which may therefore be considered its essential element. Oaths of this, the simplest, form, which may be called by way of distinction simple *antestatory* oaths, have been common in all countries, having had their origin in the natural imperfection of society and the consequent distrust of men for each other.[1] Of such a character was the ancient Jewish oath [Gen. xxiv. 2, 3, 37] and the oath of a more public character [Judg. xxi.; and 1 Kings xviii. 10], and that given in Lev. vi. 3, 5, which is the first example of a strictly judicial oath. The frequency of Greek oaths, and the sanctity attached to them, appear from numberless Greek authors from Homer downwards;[2] and it was amongst the Romans that the judicial oath, as applied to witnesses and litigants, as well as judges, became invariable.

All these oaths were accompanied by a tacit assumption that the person taking the oath believed not only in the existence of the Being whom he invoked, but in his aversion to falsehood and his will and ability to punish it;[3] and any appeal to a Divine power to witness a statement or promise, accompanied by an assumption of this kind, contains all the essentials of an oath. The English form of oath, however, contains more than this. It is *imprecatory* in form, as well as antestatory; and it is, accordingly, defined by Paley as the "calling upon God to witness, *i.e.* take notice of what we say, *and* it is invoking His vengeance or renouncing His favour if what we say is false, or what we promise is not performed."[4] This we do in our oath by using the form of adjuration, "So help me God," *i.e. So*, or upon condition of my speaking the truth, and not otherwise. It is this latter portion of our oath which is the cause of the Moravians' objection to take it. Unlike the Quakers, they do not object to a solemn appeal to God as the witness of their words, but they shrink from what they consider the impiety of imprecating under any circumstances the Divine vengeance on their souls. It is evident that this portion of the oath must be superfluous to any one who believes that the Deity *will* punish falsehood without any invocation from us, the only persons whom an oath can be conceived to bind. Nor can this argument be fairly pressed, as has been sometimes attempted, against the use even of the simple antestatory form of oath. The assumption that the juror is convinced the Deity will punish falsehood without special invocation, does not render an oath completely superfluous to him as an inducement to tell the truth: for it should be the object of an oath to *remind* him of this which he is too prone to forget. The object, as it has been well expressed, of all forms of adjuration, "should be to shew that we are not calling the attention of God to man, but the attention of man to God; that we are not calling upon Him to punish the wrongdoer, but upon man to remember that He will."[5] And in this sense a wider and better definition of an oath would be "an outward pledge given by the juror that his assertion or promise is made under an immediate sense of his responsibility to God."

The Lawfulness of Oaths. The scruples of the Quakers and Moravians upon this point have been alluded to above; but, indeed, such objections are of considerably earlier date than either of these two sects; the unlawfulness of taking an oath having been one of the tenets of the old Anabaptists. Even in still more remote times we find that it was thought necessary by the Anglican Church to take measures against the spread of such doubts. Thus the Constitutions of Arundel contain a penal enactment, attainting of heresy those who should question the determination of the Church concerning any oaths to be taken in

[1] For an inquiry into the origin of oaths, and an acute disquisition on oaths generally, see Heineccius, *Exercit.* xviii., *De Lubricitate*, &c.

[2] See especially the story of the punishment inflicted on Glaucus and his family for the mere contemplation of perjury.

[3] Such Oriental forms of oath as the Persian invocation, "By the King's head!" and the like, cannot be considered as oaths proper, except in so far as they were accompanied by a belief that breach of them would be punished by the vengeance of some *divine* person, in which case they were *virtually* appeals *to* that divine person.

[4] Paley, *Mor. Phil.* bk. iii. pt. i. c. 16.

[5] Tyler, *Oaths: their Origin, Nature, and History*, p. 14.

the ecclesiastical or temporal courts, and providing that it should be publicly taught and preached by all that "in judicial matters an oath may be lawfully taken." And the declaratory part of the constitution, without its penal adjuncts, is embodied in our own Thirty-ninth Article. With regard to the *Scriptural* authority of the lawfulness of oaths, it is generally admitted that they are sanctioned in the Old Testament. This appears not only from such a command as "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God and serve Him, and shalt swear by His Name" [Deut. vi. 13] (which may be regarded rather as a prohibition against swearing by any other name than an express injunction to swear at all), but by such passages as Exod. xxii. 11, where there is a direct injunction to the civil magistrate to administer "an oath of the Lord" in confirmation of the truth. Those who deny the lawfulness of oaths do so generally on the ground that this permission of the Mosaic dispensation has been since abrogated, and that oaths have now been expressly forbidden to Christians both directly by our Lord Himself and mediately by His Apostles. That, however, the prohibition in Matt. v. 34 cannot be taken as an assertion of the unlawfulness of the judicial oath, at least, may be shewn from our Lord's own acts. It has been observed that to the question of the High Priest, "I adjure Thee by the living God whether Thou be the Christ?" our Lord, in replying "Thou hast said," submitted himself in effect and without any remonstrance to a judicial oath.[1] Had it been his wish to prohibit it to his followers, no better opportunity of doing so could have presented itself. And the passage in St. James is evidently directed not against the taking of oaths in general, but against a practice then common amongst the Jews, that viz. of avoiding any adjuratory appeal to the *name* of Jehovah, under the idea that swearing by the names of heaven, earth, &c., did not involve them in the guilt of perjury in the event of their having forsworn themselves.[2] Amongst the Fathers there existed a diversity of opinion on the subject of oaths. Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Basil, and Theophylact,[3] amongst others, seem all to have considered our Lord's words as peremptorily forbidding all oaths; while, on the other side, may also be marshalled a considerable number of authorities headed by Cyril of Alexandria and St. Augustine.

The Obligation of an Oath. The obligation of an *assertory* oath is of course absolute in its nature, involving an unequivocal moral duty of speaking the truth. But with regard to a *promissory* oath, the obligation is absolute to make it with a full present intention of performing its subject-matter; but with regard to its ultimate performance, cases sometimes occur which give rise to a conflict of duties. A disquisition upon this subject would be beyond the limits of the present article, but see for an elaborate treatise on the casuistry of oaths, Sanderson's *de Jurament. Oblig. Prælect.*, ed. 1688.

OBEDIENCE. [Counsels of Perfection.]

OBIT. [Annual Commemoration.]

OBJECTIVE. The terms "object" and "objective" were much used in Scholastic theology for the purpose of expressing that phase of anything which comprehends its existence, but of excluding that phase of anything which comprehends our knowledge of it. Thus the term "objective" distinguishes that which is really existent from that which is ideally known. An "object" is that which a thing is in itself independently of our cognition; that which is known, whether it is known or not, and which must exist as such before it can be known.

The correlative terms "subject" and "subjective" belong to that which knows in contradistinction to that which is known.

It may be useful to the general reader to illustrate the modern theological use of these terms by examples. Thus, the energy of thought may be directed towards the Divine Nature objectively and subjectively:—

Objectively, by contemplation of the Divine Nature as in Itself, and not as in its relation to us: *i.e.* our contemplation of It as "non-Ego."

Subjectively, by contemplation of the Divine Nature as It forms part of a system, of which "Ego" is the start-point if not the centre.

Applying the illustration to Faith, it will be seen that *Objective Faith* looks to that *in* which we believe, *Subjective Faith* to that *with* which we believe: the first being that phase of belief in God, *e.g.*, which fixes its gaze on God as its Object; while the second is that phase of faith which sees the believer in God, and the operation of his mind in believing. Or again, the first represents a dogma, the second a faculty.

In the same manner the terms may be applied to Worship. *Objective worship* is adoration in its purest and most unselfish form; adoration of God as its *Object* without reference to the person adoring. *Subjective worship*, on the other hand, is praise, prayer, or thanksgiving, offered for the advantage of the *Subject*, that is of the person worshipping.

A full account of the history and use of the words will be found in the notes at the end of Hamilton's edition of Reid's *Works*, Edinburgh, 1846.

OBLATION. That which is offered to God as the material substance for sacrifice. The word is also used to signify the act of the person so offering as distinguished from the act of the priest in sacrificing. The term is used with reference rather to the gift to God [קָרְבָּן, Corban, δῶρον], in the sense of that which had passed entirely beyond the disposal of its possessor and been devoted to sacred uses, than to the destructive consumption of it by sacrificial burning. Out of oblations so offered, a portion was taken to be consumed upon the altar (if it was not a whole burnt-offering), while the remainder formed

[1] Tyler, *Oaths*, &c., p. 21. See also pp. 247-255, where it is fully proved that in making use of the Hebrew phrase translated by ἐξορκίζω σε, and "I adjure thee" in the Greek and English gospels respectively, Caiaphas used the *received form* for administering a judicial oath.

[2] Calvin. *Comment. in Jac.* v

[3] Suicer. *Thes. Eccl. pat. Græc.*, s. v. ὅρκος.

part of the daily provision on which the priests and Levites subsisted; a portion being also eaten by the offerer, in some cases (especially in that of the passover lamb), as an act of communion, and a portion, in some cases, given to the poor. Thus, of the unleavened cakes of flour and oil, baked in an oven, a pan, or fried in a frying-pan, "the priest shall take from the meat-offering a memorial thereof, and shall burn it upon the altar, it is an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord. And that which is left of the meat-offering shall be Aaron's and his sons': it is a thing most holy of the offerings of the Lord made by fire" [Levit. ii. 9, 10]. A similar rule is made respecting peace-offerings of animal sacrifices. "He that offereth the sacrifice of his peace-offerings unto the Lord, shall bring his oblation unto the Lord of the sacrifice of his peace-offerings. . . . And the priest shall burn the fat upon the altar; but the breast shall be Aaron's and his sons'. And the right shoulder shall ye give unto the priest. . . . For the wave breast and the heave shoulder have I taken of the children of Israel from off the sacrifices of their peace-offerings, and have given them unto Aaron the priest and unto his sons by a statute for ever from among the children of Israel" [Levit. vii. 28-34].

In the highest possible sense the word *oblatio* is used in the Vulgate as the representative of προσφορὰ for the offering of Himself by our Blessed Lord; and though the Authorized Version uses the English word "offering" in preference, yet in the Prayer Book we find the Latin form appearing in the Prayer of Consecration, in the words, "Who made there, by His one oblation of Himself, once offered, a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."

The use of the word in association with the Holy Eucharist is of primitive date, it being often found as a general designation of the Eucharist itself. So Tertullian says, "Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, anuna die facimus" [Tertull. *De Coron.* iii.]. St. Cyprian also uses the expression in the same sense, "et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum" [Cypr. *Ep.* xxxvii.]. It is common in Irenæus [Iren. *Adv. Hær.* iv. 18, &c.] In the same sense it is used in the well-known expression of the Latin Canon "Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ Tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias."

In the modern English Liturgy the "oblations" are all offerings to God which are not of the nature of alms; but chiefly, and almost exclusively, the bread and wine which are offered as the material substances to be used in the Eucharistic sacrifice, and the subsequent Communion. In liturgical language this is called the first oblation, or the oblation of the elements; the second oblation being the sacrificial act of the celebrant, by which he offers the same elements after they have become the Body and Blood of Christ by consecration. [Eucharist. Offertory. Prothesis.]

OFFERTORY. That portion of the Eucharistic service in which the people, in virtue of the Priesthood of the Faithful, make their offerings to God.

[1.] The presentation before God of the consecrated elements, which is the great or proper oblation. [Eucharist.] In the Apostolic Canons the word "oblation" standing alone signifies this great oblation, the holy action of consecrating and offering the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ. [2.] The elements to be so employed were always solemnly offered to God in an introductory presentation, and this, too, was called an oblation. [3.] This was accompanied by other offerings for the service of God. These are not properly called oblations. The word "offertorium" is sometimes used (as in the Sarum Missal) for the anthems sung during the collecting and making these offerings, and sometimes, improperly, for the offerings themselves. Thus Freeman [*Principles of Div. Service*, ii. p. 345, note G.] writes, "The offertory, it need hardly be said—whether we mean thereby the words used or the contributions of the people—is but a department of the oblation." Bona, on the other hand [*Rerum Liturg.* II. viii. 3], shews from Amalarius and others that the offertory was the whole portion of the service from the end of the Creed to the end of the Oratio Secreta, thus making it include the oblation. But the extent of the offertory in one particular liturgy is not a definition; and in the next section he gives a principle upon which a definition may be founded by explaining Tertullian's words, "Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?" [*De exhort. Castit.* p. 668, Rigault], of the right of the laity to offer bread and wine at the altar. The word "oblations" is reserved in the English Liturgy for the offering of that which is designed for the Eucharistic service, and the more general term "offerings" includes both the alms and oblations, as in the definition given above.

Besides this oblation of the material for the Christian Sacrifice, offerings were made for the service of the sanctuary, for the support of its ministers, for the relief of the poor. These are a suitable adjunct to the oblation, not only [1] because the Christian thinks scorn to offer to God that which costs him nothing, and therefore supplements the uncostly offering with an offering of price [see *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*], but also [2] because the oblation is made to the Father,[1] and in our alms we make an offering to the Son, fully completing our worship, and carrying our thoughts to His future coming, when such service will in His infinite mercy be acknowledged as rendered to Him.

As a matter of principle, all offerings may be made at the altar, though this is not necessary in the case of alms, as it is in the case of oblations. But it is very necessary to mark clearly the distinction between the alms and the oblations, to

[1] There are exceptions to this. "In some rites (Syr. St. Jas., but especially Copt. St. Basil) the prayer of oblation is addressed to the Son as Priest, which the consecration never is" [Freeman, ii. p. 342].

mark, if offerings are made in kind, what are the materials of the coming Eucharist, and therefore proper oblations, what are offerings for God's other service. On this account, as well as for the decency and order of so holy a service, the form and manner of the offerings is a matter of ceremonial discipline. The third Apostolic canon forbids anything to be offered in the sacrifice at the altar besides what the Lord commanded, whether honey, milk, &c. Ears of new corn or grapes in the proper season are allowed to be presented on the altar, and also oil for the lamps and incense for the time of the Holy Oblation. All other fruits are to be carried to the bishop's house. The twenty-fourth canon of the third Council of Carthage runs thus, "Ut in sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur, quam ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est panis et vinum aquæ mixtum; nec amplius in sacrificiis offeratur quam de uvis et frumentis." For "sacrificiis" Hardouin reads, "primitiis," and the sense requires it: it was necessary to forbid an extension of the permission to offer "primitiæ." The twenty-eighth of the Trullan or Quinisextine Council notes that by some grapes are joined on to the unbloody sacrifice: this is forbidden, grapes are to be blessed only as first-fruits,[1] not as part of the oblation. These examples are sufficient for illustration. In modern usage no difficulty or doubt can ordinarily arise, as alms will not be confounded with oblations.

The prayer of oblation varies much in different liturgies. "None is simpler than the Syriac, 'Alleluia, receive our oblations;' and the revised English, in the prayer for the whole Church, 'We humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to accept our oblations, which we offer unto Thy Divine Majesty'" [Freeman, ii. p. 342]. From the various forms may be quoted [from Martene, I. iv. art. 6], according to the Gallican Ordo, "Veni Sanctificator omnipotens æterne Deus, benedic hoc sacrificium tuo nomini præparatum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum." To which Micrologus states is to be subjoined by Church use, "Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus ob memoriam Passionis, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis." It is to be remarked that the intercessions, which accompany the prayer of oblation, properly belong to that prayer. Our prayer for the Church Militant is not a simple prayer of intercession, with an oblation thrust into it, but a prayer of oblation, to which the intercessions belong. This is well seen in the prayer from a Missal of Tours, "Suscipe, Clementissime Pater, hanc oblationem quam tibi offero ego indignus famulus tuus pro me misero peccatore, et pro cuncto populo Christiano, pro fratribus quoque et sororibus nostris, et pro his qui nostri memoriam in suis continuis habent orationibus, ut in præsenti hoc sæculo remissionem peccatorum recipiamus, et in futuro præmia consequamur æterna' [Martene, I. iv. 6]. But these intercessions are framed and expressed in different modes. Thus, in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, while the general supplications are making, the priest says secretly the prayer of oblation, summing up the supplications in the words, "Sacrifices for our sins and for the errors of the people . . . that the good Spirit of Thy grace may tabernacle upon us, and upon these gifts presented unto Thee, and upon all Thy people" [Neale, *The Liturgies . . . translated*, p. 111]. Martene, in the chapter cited above, gives one instance, a Missal of Narbonne, which distinguishes expressly the oblations of the two elements; the general prayer "Suscipe hanc oblationem" being subjoined to the two distinct oblations.

From Freeman [ii. p. 343] must be noticed the connection of the solemn Hallelujah with this oblation. "The feast is now being spread by man for God, in the oblation of the gifts of bread and wine, conveying His reasonable service; by God for man in the same gifts, as the Body and Blood of Christ. Accordingly, the Church throughout the world says fitly in this place her Hallelujah. For the one occurrence and one application of this sublime hymn, or mutual exhortation to praise, in the New Testament, is when the marriage-supper of the Lamb is announced as ready. . . . The Western Church in the sixteenth century had entirely lost all knowledge of the significance of the Alleluia. . . . And in the English revision the Alleluia was, to our great loss, from the same cause omitted altogether."

For the changes that have been made in the English Reformed ritual see the *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*. As regards the present Liturgy it may be added, that while we have a valid oblation, it must be confessed that it is a meagre one. We need a fuller prayer of oblation, with a reintroduction of the alleluiatic hymn: but in practice it is possible to mark distinctly the offering of the congregation by appointing that the elements be brought to the priest by appointed officers. Our prayer of oblation is constructed, as it ought to be, in the name of the congregation; the prayer quoted from the Tours Missal being faulty from running in the name of the priest alone. The intercessions of our prayer are also sufficient to represent primitive practice, except in one respect, that we have only a commemoration of the departed, and not also prayer for them. [PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.]

Lastly, it is to be noticed that the solemn self-dedication which accompanies every memory of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, is expressed in the prayer of the greater oblation. As the material elements offered in the first or lesser oblation become the spiritual offering of the second oblation, so the faithful, who offer of their substance in the first, become a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice in the second. In this manner the first oblation passes into the second.

OFFICIAL. A priest who exercises ecclesiastical jurisdiction (contentious) in a diocese. In early times bishops availed themselves of assistants, as St. Gregory and St. Basil were

[1] Further rules, and rules regarding the "primitiæ" of milk and honey, may be seen in Bingham, XV. ii. 3.

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employed; and Pope Damasus sent the priest Simplicius to assist St. Ambrose. About the close of the thirteenth century, in order to reduce the assertions of the archdiaconal office, bishops used vicars-general and officials; but previous to that date the Canon Law is silent about such persons, as it regarded archdeacons simply as in fact the vicars of the bishops. The Council of Lateran contented itself with suggesting the employment of "fitting men" to bishops, and it appears that at first the titles of vicar-general and official were tenable together, as now in Italy, for the administration by one person both of voluntary and contentious jurisdiction. A bishop when absent from his diocese, or when ill and incapable, was obliged to appoint a vicar. He was sometimes called "missus dominicus." The principal officials and vicar-general in temporals and spirituals hold the consistory court as the bishop's representative, as if he sat in person. The official has a territory or district, and holds his office by commission, for hearing causes in a whole diocese, but without the power of inquiry, correction, or punishment of offences; he can only deprive of a benefice or give admission to it by special commission. A vicar-general holds all these powers except collation to a benefice. A commissary-general is a special deputy. An official's powers terminate with the death of him by whose appointment he acts; and also may be recalled. An appeal lies from their sentence, not to the bishop, but to him to whom an appeal would be made from the bishop himself. The official principal resides in the chief place and is an ordinary; others are deputies "officiales foranei" (*i.e.* living out of it), and from them appeal lies to the bishop. The official principal is the assistant of the bishop in matters of civil or criminal nature, to aid him in points of law, and to defend the rights of the Church. These officers were not at first deputed and assigned to any certain place, but supplied the office of the bishops at large in hearing ecclesiastical causes which were of a contentious jurisdiction. They were called "judices" or "officiales foranei," viz., "officiales astricti cuidam foro diœceseos tantùm." To them the cognizance of causes is generally committed by such as have ecclesiastical jurisdiction throughout all the diocese, but not the power of inquisition nor the correction of crimes, nor can they remove persons from their benefices or collate to benefices without a special commission. The archdeacon's official exercises jurisdiction in certain parts of a diocese for cognizance and hearing of causes transferred, in virtue of the office itself, by some general commission made to them for that purpose, and he may visit in the right of the archdeacon when the latter himself is hindered. [Ayliffe, *Parergon*, 160, 161.]

OLD TESTAMENT. [TESTAMENT.]

OPUS OPERATUM. This term, long used by Schoolmen, was employed by the Council of Trent in declaring the instrumentality of Sacraments, and the nature of their instrumental agency.

Some, at least, of the Schoolmen had used the words, if not in a different signification, yet certainly without the necessary limitations. At Trent an authorized usage was established. And doubtless, such of our theologians as employ the term employ it according to that usage; for our Church has avoided its use, and they who use it, use it, we must presume, in the sense of the Church which has adopted it.

The Council of Trent then [sess. vii. can. vi.] determined that the Sacraments are not merely outward signs of grace or righteousness received by faith, not merely signs of a Christian man's profession, but that they contain the grace which they signify, and confer it on those who do not place a bar to the grace. Canon vii. declares that the grace never fails to those who receive the Sacrament rightly; and canon viii. is, "Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere: anathema sit." Here the phrase *ex opere operato* is shewn, by the proposition to which it is opposed, to mean, that the Sacrament is itself the instrument by which the grace is imparted. For they who assert that faith alone is sufficient to obtain the grace, make faith the instrument at well as the mean. Faith is the mean [see our Art. XXVIII.], in that mean the instrument works; the Solifidian denies the instrumentality of the Sacrament, which the Council affirmed by the words *ex opere operato*. By the former canon is shewn what the *opus* is, the transaction, namely, of a sacrament which contains grace, and the necessary limitation is given, that the grace is imparted "non ponentibus obicem." That this teaching is identical with the teaching of our church is indisputable. The Sacraments contain grace; they are "no bare signs, no untrue figures of things absent" [Homily]. The inward grace is "a part" of the Sacrament [Catechism]. They confer grace on those who interpose no barrier. See Articles XXVII. XXVIII. They confer grace *ex opere operato*, that is by their transaction, as instruments. "They are effectual signs by which God works invisibly in us" [Art. XXV.]. "Instruments" [Art. XXVII.]. "Not only signs but rather sacraments (*i.e.* containing an inward grace), "insomuch that to such as rightly receive," &c. [Art. XXVIII.].

And that the phrase *ex opere operato* denotes instrumentality is confirmed by the authority of accredited theologians. Peronne writes [*Prælectiones Theol.* vii. p. 252], in treating of this Tridentine Canon, "Deus gratiam et sanctificationem communicat per sacramenta velut per signa practica aut instrumenta." Liebermann [*Instit. Theolog.* ii. p. 402], on the same topic, writes, "Ritus sacramentalis . . . tanquam causa instrumentalis," &c.

Further, Peronne [p. 249] explains *ex opere operato* by *ex virtute sibi insita et propria*. This is what has been noticed already, that the *opus* is the transaction of a sacrament which contains grace. The inward and spiritual grace is added to the outward sign to form the sacrament: it is of the very essence and definition of a sacrament. The *virtus*, therefore, is *insita* and *propria*.

There are, then, as regards the present question, the following modes in which the Sacraments may be regarded:—

[1.] That of certain Schoolmen before alluded to, who taught that the Sacraments work *ex opere operato*, without any restriction. These denied altogether the *opus operantis*.

[2.] That of certain Protestants, who taught (and teach) that the Sacraments are merely adjuncts and assistants to the mind in its operations; that the mind so assisted makes an *immediate* approach to God, and receives *immediately* from God the grace which the Sacrament denotes and has aided the mind to conceive and desire. These deny the *opus operatum*, and make the whole work an *opus operantis*.

[3.] That of the Catholic Church, lying between these two extremes. It teaches that the Sacraments are mediate agencies, *i.e.* instruments, without which God does not ordinarily work the special grace, and through which He always does work the grace when man does not interpose a barrier. It holds the *opus operatum* in the instrumentality of the Sacraments. It holds the *opus operantis* in the state of mind required to make man a recipient of the grace.

The error of the Schoolmen which has been spoken of was condemned in Article xiii. of the Augustan Confession, A.D. 1531 [*Sylloge Confess.* 127], "Damnant igitur illos, qui docent, quod sacramenta ex opere operato justificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu sacramentorum, quæ credat remitti peccata." And in 1540 [*ibid.* 174] the opinion is described, "quæ fingit homines justos esse propter usum sacramentorum ex opere operato, et quidem sine bono motu utentium." The Church of England wisely abstained from the use of words with which such errors had been connected. The Church of Rome vindicated itself from the charge (if the words of the Augsburg Confession are to be taken as a charge against the whole of that Church) by the decrees of Trent. Nevertheless, the charge was still urged by controversialists. Alphonsus and Bellarmine replied to it; and J. Fabricius [*Consideratio Controversiarum*, Helmstadii, A.D. 1705; art. *De Sacramentorum efficientia ex opere operato*] confesses that after their declaration the phrase might be admitted, and that there remained no further controversy about it. [From Perrone, *Prælect. Theol.* vii. p. 257, who names also Grotius and Leibnitz as acquitting the Church of Rome of the calumny.] After this, it is painful to find the charge repeated, as it often is. Hartwell Horne, *e.g.*, wrote, "The Romish Church asserts that the Sacraments produce justification in their recipients, as a matter of course, *ex opere operato*." [*Encycl. Metrop.*; art. *Sacrament.*] It may be asked also whether a divine of very much higher order has not drawn an erroneous distinction in the following words:—"When the Fathers explained themselves accurately, it always appeared that the Sacrament did not work *ex opere operato*; but that the effect was to be attributed to God's Spirit, acting according to covenant on the soul, when the soul did not harden itself against His grace." [Bishop Browne *On the Articles*, art. xxvii. p. 642.] For in the *opus operatum* is included, as has been shewn, that very covenant-working of God's Spirit which is here not only distinguished, but set in opposition to it. God works invisibly in us by the effectual signs; and we cannot, without overthrowing the nature of a sacrament, take from it the agency of the Holy Spirit, or represent that agency as external to the transaction of the sacrament. St. Peter's words, "Baptism doth now save us," are a statement of the *opus operatum*: for St. Peter's definition of the Sacrament was not the outward working alone, but with it the answer of a good conscience to God, Who works through the Sacrament.

We may now turn to the object of our inquiries. What effects follow from the use of the instruments by which God so wonderfully enables us to call His Holy Spirit into action, as distinguished from the effects attributable to the mind of the recipient; that recipient, when worthy, being also aided by a distinct working of the same Spirit? or, in other words, what results from the *opus operatum*, as distinguished from the results of the *opus operantis*?

The external change of state and relationship in the society of the Church is *ex opere operato*. On this point there can be no doubt. Again, there is in every case, *ex opere operato*, a sufficient tender of the grace of the Sacrament; sufficient, so that there can be no failure of reception of the grace owing to a withdrawal or hiding of it on the part of Almighty God; and effectual to all who do not interpose a barrier. Next, with reference to the state of the recipient, the cases which present themselves are three—first, of a worthy recipient; second, of an unconscious recipient; third, of an unworthy recipient.

I. There being no bar, grace is conveyed by the Sacrament, as by an instrument: the sacramental grace is *ex opere operato*; the instrument of the Sacrament, and the mean of faith [Art. XXVIII.] in the recipient, concurring.

II. There being no bar, and the mean of faith being impossible, the instrument, by God's promise, is effectual. The regeneration of an infant in baptism is *ex opere operato*.

III. In [1] the Sacrament of Holy Baptism. The universal and unalterable rule against rebaptizing [Rebaptism] must have for its foundation an indelible character impressed in baptism. If the baptism of an unworthy recipient were merely an admission into an outward society, it might be repeated; if it were merely a "sacramentum militare," the oath might be taken again. Further, this indelible character must be something of the nature of a dormant principle which can be awakened, of a gift in abeyance which can be brought into energy and use. Otherwise, how could subsequent repentance obtain that remission of sins which was not obtained at baptism, or how could the penitent be admitted, as a child of God, to the Holy Eucharist? This indelible character then must necessarily be *ex opere operato*.

[2.] In the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist,

Regarding this it must be observed, that while there is a sufficient offer of the Body and Blood of Christ, the doctrine of the True Presence does not necessarily lead to the assertion that the wicked are partakers of Christ. Our reasoning will be aided by a consideration of the natural Body of Christ. That Body was incorruptible: yet it does not follow that whatever having been part of the Body, when it had passed out of the sphere and organism of the Body still retained the quality of incorruptibility; that the blood shed, whether rightfully as at the circumcision, or wrongfully as by the soldiers, or from the strength of agony as at Gethsemane, continued to be the incorruptible Blood of Christ. It had passed out of His Body. Now, the sphere of the sacramental Body of Christ is His Mystical Body, the faithful; and an unworthy recipient is out of that sphere. While, then, the true Body and Blood is tendered him, he cannot be partaker of it. Receiving the Sacrament he does violence to the Body of Christ, and it is no longer that which was offered to him. Considering this, and seeing that the Holy Eucharist is of constant use, there is no necessity for asserting that an indelible character is in this case the effect of the instrument. There follows, therefore, *ex opere operato*, only the sufficient offer of the grace.

Lastly, the principles thus worked out will be easily applied to the other sacraments, or sacramental ordinances, in which there is a special grace annexed by promise, if not to an element, yet to a sign. Confirmation and Holy Orders cannot be repeated, but Absolution is of constant use.

ORDERS, HOLY. The estate of a Christian man, ordained and taken out of the rank of laymen, to be attached to the sacred ministry of the Church, and to exercise holy functions for the service of God and the salvation of souls. The three major orders are the priesthood, the diaconate, and subdiaconate, and are called "holy" as immediately concerned with the service of the altar. Grace to administer the duties efficiently is conveyed in all these, but the indelible character in the soul is impressed upon priests and deacons only. Every order is a degree, *βαθμὸς* [1 Tim. iii. 13], but every degree is not an order. A degree signifies superiority although devoid of power, order has power for a special act. For instance, an archbishop has no power for a special act; if he be not already a bishop he is ordained by three bishops, and, as an archbishop, is not necessary in giving episcopal ordination, for three bishops together give consecration [*Council of Nicæa*, c. iv.] Bellarmine says the episcopate and presbyterate form one order, not in genus but species; they are two species of the priesthood; one order, but different degrees [*Recognit. Op.* i. p. 9]. The term *χειροτονία* is used by Theodoret and St. Chrysostom, and "ordinatio" by Tertullian, St. Jerome, and Hilary the deacon, when speaking of the ordination of a bishop. But the English Church rightly calls the office "the ordaining or consecrating of bishops," for the episcopate is a distinct order from the priesthood, having two separate acts peculiar to itself, the power of confirmation and of ordination. In the Apostolical times, although the orders and offices of the bishop, the priest, and deacon were essentially distinct, yet the names were used in common, until, in order to avoid confusion, the several titles were allotted to the individual orders. The episcopate embraces the priesthood and diaconate. Corresponding to the Jewish hierarchy of the sons of Aaron, priests and Levites, there have been bishops, priests, and deacons in the Church of Christ throughout all antiquity, receiving a grace of a spiritual and sacred function [Rom. xii. 3; Eph. iii. 7] from the Holy Ghost, whereby they are sacred and made "persons public," "and their acts authentical;" so that by them saving grace is conveyed to souls for the remission of sins.

The "matter" of Ordination, so far as it can be called such, the laying on of hands [1 Tim. iv. 14], is given in lieu of the incommunicable breathing with which it was conferred by our Lord. Thus Ordination is not properly a sacrament, as the matter ordained by Christ in a sacrament cannot be changed. The imposition of hands signifies the overshadowing of God's protection or of His Spirit, which it procures upon the promise of Christ's presence with His Church when it prays to Him, but it is not generally necessary to salvation, and is limited to a particular effect of ministering to the Church the ordinances of God, according to the trust reposed in the office. "Yet that breath," says Bishop Andrewes, "though not into them for themselves, yet goeth into and through every act of their office and ministry, and by them conveyeth His saving grace unto us all." In a large sense orders have a sacramental form. [André's *Droit Canon.* ii. 701. Bishop Andrewes' *Respons. ad Epist.* i. *Petri Molinæi.*]

ORDERS, MINOR, are not sacred or holy. There are four, those of the Acolyth, Exorcist, Reader, and Porter. Their names and functions may be traced back to the earliest date in the Western Church.

I. The *Porter*, "ostiarius," *πυλωρός*. His duty was to open and close the church-doors, to prevent the entry of unbelievers, and guard the approach to the altar at the time of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. Porters also took care that the division of the sexes was observed in church time, and kept order and silence. They formerly, by the fourth Council of Carthage, A.D. 398, c. ix., received the church keys from the archdeacon [*Delect. Actorum*, i. p. 131], but, in later times, they were made to touch the bell-rope to signify their duties as bellringers. Sometimes they were promoted to be acolyths, but ordinarily laymen executed the office.

II. The *Reader*, "lector," *ἀναγνώστης* or *ψάλτης*. The book of lessons, or lectionary, is presented to Readers at ordination [fourth Council of Carthage, c. viii.]. They originally read out the lessons from the Old and New Testaments with a loud voice in the night office, and the passage from Holy Scripture which the bishop was about to expound; they guarded the church books, and blessed the bread and new fruits. They were

often younger than porters, and had charge of the sacristies. Their ancient duty of chanting the lessons is now discharged by all clerks indiscriminately. Children who were entered among the clergy were first admitted to this order.

III. The *Exorcist* [ἐξορκιστής] received a book of forms of exorcisms when ordained, as his original office was to exorcise devils from the bodies of the possessed. They now warn non-communicants to give place to those who are approaching the altar, and furnish water for the celebrant. Their power of exorcism is now transferred to the priesthood only [fourth Council of Carthage, c. vii. *ibid.*].

IV. *Acolyth* [ἀκόλουθος], "ceroferarius," the lighter of the church lamps and taper-bearer. A candlestick containing a lighted taper, and an empty cruet, are placed in his hands at ordination; his duty being to furnish the cruets of wine and water to the celebrant [fourth Council of Carthage, c. vi. *ibid.*].

Pope Cornelius [martyred A.D. 252] says that in his time there were at Rome forty-six priests, seven deacons, as many subdeacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty-two porters, exorcists, and readers [*Ap.* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. VI. c. xliii.; ed. Migne, tom. ii. p. 621]; and the Pseudo-Ignatius mentions these orders [*Epist. ad Antiochen.* sec. xii. *Patrologia*, ed. Migne, tom. v. p. 908]. Abbots in priests' orders, and cardinal priests, having received episcopal benediction, may give the minor orders. [André, *Droit Canon.* ii. 702. Maillane, *Du Droit Canon.* iv. 236.]

ORDINARY. An ecclesiastical superior in possession of ordinary jurisdiction, but more particularly a bishop, who has ordinary jurisdiction within his diocese; although others by custom or privilege enjoy the same name. Roman canonists call the Pope Ordinary of Ordinaries.

The judge ordinary, Lyndewood says, is the prelate or judge of the place within whose jurisdiction a person is. In matters of jurisdiction, he that hath ordinary jurisdiction is the ordinary, but in matters of order or special dispensation the bishop alone is understood under this designation, as the perpetual and natural ordinary of common right over those under his charge.

The word ordinary embraces also those who by right, privilege, or custom, exercise authority and jurisdiction, as a chapter over canons; a dean in cases of morals or excesses correcting or reforming the capitular members; an archbishop in visitation. An abbot or prior within the cloister also exercised similar powers. Archdeacons are also local ordinaries; as are vicars-general, chancellors of dioceses, and officials, who, although acting only by commission, are yet ordinaries in their capacity of ecclesiastical judges.

ORDINARY OF THE MASS. [Liturgy.]

ORIGENISM. There were two sects of Origenists in the early ages of Christianity, one which professed to be followers of the great Origen, ὠριγένιος, and the other founded by a Syrian of the same name, a sect of an immoral character, and hence stigmatized as "Origeniani turpes" by some heresiologists. It is the school of thought, or the sect, that followed in the wake of the famous Alexandrian, which is always intended in modern times under the above name. [Alexandria, School of.]

Origen himself was so far an eclectic that he made it a principal object of his life to effect an harmonious union between sound philosophy and Christianity; and to present the latter in such a form to the intellectual classes of all religions that they should be ready to accept it as the most reasonable of all. He may also be said to have been almost the founder of Mystical Theology; and he carried the principle of allegorical interpretation to an extremely bold length, enunciating speculations which seemed to come into conflict with the traditional belief of the Church. His vast intellectual power, however, gathered around him most of the leaders of thought among the Christians of Alexandria, and some of his distinctive speculations were exaggerated by his pupils in the succeeding generation. Even in his lifetime this exaggeration had reached such an extent as to draw complaints from him. His works also were corrupted and interpolated at a very early date; and his very high authority led heretics like the Arians to make great efforts at enlisting such learned writings on their side. It is altogether improbable that Origen himself ever held heretical views, but extremely probable that his bold speculations became heretical in the hands of others, whose minds were not fortified by the same stupendous learning, scriptural knowledge, and earnest practical Christianity.

Among the disciples of Origen, Pierius and Gregory Thaumaturgus were charged with errors respecting the Blessed Trinity, amounting almost to Sabellianism [Dorner, *Person of Christ*, I. ii. 172, Clarke's transl.]. But the better established tenets of the Origenian school may be said to be those of the pre-existence of souls, and the final redemption and restoration of the lost.

The soul being of a spiritual nature is considered to be naturally indestructible, its eternal existence being dependent solely on the will of God. But all things exist as emanations from the exuberant life of God, and it is a necessary law of His unbounded love that His life should pour itself forth into all possible forms of being as so many receptacles. Hence the existence of the soul is, in a sense, a necessary existence,—necessary that is to the Love of God. But if its existence is thus necessary, then it must have a kind of co-eternity with the Divine Nature itself, and thus a pre-existence through an indefinite period is a natural condition of the soul. The Origenist philosophy further considers that souls are condemned to inhabit bodies as a punishment for sins committed during their pre-existent state. Made happy by God's love, they could only lose their perfect happiness by their own acts and shortcomings; but these brought unhappiness upon them, giving them a capacity for corporeal existence. The resurrection of the body so received is not altogether denied, but the resurrection body is assumed to be a pure

ethereal vehicle capable of assisting, though not of hindering, the holiness of the soul. [Pre-existence of Souls.]

The opinion of Origen's followers respecting the punishment of hell, and perhaps of Origen himself [Damnation], was, that it will consist of intense mental torture, the sting of conscience; and further, that a time will come, when even this will pass away, and those who have suffered under it, perhaps for ages, will be restored to the favour of God. These doctrines are dealt with elsewhere. [Everlasting Punishment. Universalism.]

ORIGINAL SIN. The doctrine of original sin lies at the foundation of the Christian faith. It is a scriptural doctrine, and apparently one that was known to the people of God from of old. It was a maxim among the Jews that "the whole world sinned in the same sin whereby the first man transgressed; for he was the whole world" [*Carpzov in Rom.* v. 12]. It was probably the basis of the rite of circumcision. "Who can bring a clean thing out of the unclean?" says Job [xiv. 4] in speaking of man's frailty. Similarly, "What is man, that he should be clean? and he that is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?" [xv. 14]. "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; in sin hath my mother conceived me," is the language of the Psalmist [li. 5]. Man must be cleansed from this sin before he can advance in his way towards heaven. St. Paul, therefore, in treating of man's justification, speaks first of the incidence of original sin, and of its removal. "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" [Rom. v. 12]: "even upon them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression" [ver. 14]; "through the offence of one many be dead" [ver. 15]; "for judgment was by one to condemnation" [ver. 16]; "by one man's offence death reigned by one" [ver. 17]; "by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation" [ver. 18]; "by one man's disobedience many were made sinners" [ver. 19]. [See Müller, *Chr. Lehre, v. d. Sünde*, ii. 472.] "We were by nature children of wrath" [Eph. ii. 3]. "Sinful flesh" is the Apostle's synonym for "human nature;" hence, speaking in the person of universal humanity, he says, "I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing" [Rom. vii. 19]. It is "the old man," as contrasted with the new man in Christ purified from primeval taint [Eph. iv. 22-24]. Hence, also, the thoughts of man's heart are declared to be only evil continually, as being that φρόνημα σαρκὸς, the "carnal mind" which is enmity against God [Rom. viii. 7; Syr.]. These statements of doctrine have guided the teaching of the Church from the earliest period; although only casual references to birth sin are found in the earlier writings of the Fathers, and more rarely in the Greek than in the Latin writers.

The theology of the East and of the West have each their own peculiar features; while the former was compelled by circumstances to define accurately the Trinity and Christology of the Catholic faith, the latter was performing a work of equal importance in vindicating the doctrines of redemption and grace.

The Greek Fathers declare that a perverted will and sin are co-ordinate with the human race, and that death has dominion over it by reason of its origination from Adam after the Fall. The same fatal cause has interrupted man's communion with heaven. Sin, they say, is the natural outworking of man's free-will; it is a following of Adam as well as the natural result of man's aboriginal taint. The text so frequently quoted by them from the LXX. Version shews that this doctrine was firmly held in the Eastern Church. Our English Version expresses faithfully the Hebrew text in Job xiv. 4. The LXX. has τίς γὰρ καθαρὸς ἔσται ἀπὸ ῥύπου; ἀλλ' οὐθείς, ἐὰν καὶ μία ἡμέρα ὁ βίος ἀντοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The Vulgate Version by its greater explicitness marks the sense in which the Church had accepted that rendering, "Quis facere potest mundum de immundo conceptum semine." Justin Martyr says that the entire race of men from Adam had become "subject to death and the transgression of the serpent, as well as guilty of individual sins" [Tryph. *ed. Par.* A. 316]; where the generic taint is distinguished from personal sinfulness. Again, "Being by nature the children of fate and ignorance, we become through the regeneration of baptism the children of free-will and intelligence, although evil has a ready ally in the perverse and varied concupiscence of our nature" [*Ap.* i. 58, E.]. Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr, identifies the likeness of God in which man was created with the gift of the Spirit. This was lost to him through sin [*Coh. c. Gr.* sec. 13], and he became subject to death [7], and from a state of liberty he fell under the slavery of evil [11]. Irenæus says that at the Fall man lost the image and likeness of God in which he was created, that the whole race having become transgressors in Adam, became subject to death, and were led captive by the devil; that the gift forfeited was the robe of righteousness in the Spirit; which is restored through Christ as the corrective of fleshly concupiscence, and of death [Iren. Cambr. ed. iii. 19, 32, 33, 35, v. 12, 16, 19, 21, 35]. Similarly, Athanasius and Cyril of Jerusalem speak of Adam's loss as the withdrawal of the indwelling Logos; and one and all of the Greek Fathers are careful to assert the free-will of man in opposition to the fatalism of the Manichæan. Concupiscence is defined by Methodius as an involuntary instinct of the mind; "we have no option as regards τὸ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ἢ μή, but it does depend upon ourselves whether or no we are led away by our lusts." Origen describes man as born with depraved appetites [Huet, *Origeniana*, ii.], but his Platonic notion of the pre-existence of the soul, and of its penal relegation to earth, lessens the value of his authority. In the converse way he held that human reason had its glimpses of the divine and godlike from its memory of better things in a former state of existence. Both evil and good varied in degree

in different individuals according to their antecedents in a former world. Origen was neither Traducianist nor Creationist in his views; the former system was too gross; the latter he could not reconcile with God's even-handed justice and impartial love for all His creatures. Thus he speaks of man's innate corruption, his sin-stained birth, and the consequent necessity for infant baptism [*Hom.* viii. and xii. *in Lev. in Luc.* xiv. *in Rom.* lib. v.]. He indicated, in fact, the faith of the Church, though he travestied it with his philosophy. The voice was the voice of Jacob, but the hands were the hands of Esau. Macarius, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Gregory of Nazianzum, as cited by Augustine [*Contr. Jul.* i. but see Ullmann as regards Greg. Naz. p. 428-430], speak as one man, in saying that the sin of Adam was extended over the whole human race. "Blooming as is the rose," says Basil, "thought saddens as it contemplates it. As often as I see this flower, I am reminded of the sin whereby earth was condemned to bring forth thorns and thistles" [*Hom. de Parad.*; see also Bas. in Psa. xxx. 12, xxxiii. 5, li. 5; Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxv. ed. Morel. p. 436, *Or.* iii. *de Pace*, p. 221, *Or.* ii. *in Pasch.* 684]. Chrysostom speaks distinctly of the moral taint brought in by Adam's sin [see on Rom. vi. 14]. "A whole swarm, ἔσμος," he says, "of passions were introduced by it as well as death. Human nature has been driven wild by them as a restive horse, ἵππος δυσήνεος"—testimony which is the more valuable as being pre-Pelagian. Similarly, on Rom. vii. 6, "Adam's sin depraved man's nature, and [ver. 14] it brought in concupiscence, that, without being in itself sin, when unchecked leadeth straight to evil." Augustine, in writing against Pelagianism, is scarcely more precise. These testimonies from the Greek Fathers before the appearance of Pelagius may suffice.

On this doctrine the Latin Fathers are more explicit. Tertullian says that death was introduced by the Fall, and condemnation was transmitted through the seed of the first man to the whole perishing race. It is the first trace of Traducianism, which holds that the soul is generated as well as the body, "ex traduce" [*de An.* 36], and was a natural corollary upon Tertullian's notion of the materiality of the soul [*de An.* 7]. Creationism is the correlative opinion, which ascribes the origin of each individual soul to a direct act of creation. Evil being innate in man through the corruption of his origin, was not unmitigated evil; the inner light of the soul was obscured rather than extinguished. The worst have their good points, the best are tainted with evil. The soul regenerated in baptism is no longer cut off from the light as by a thick veil, but is wholly illuminated. The original state of Adam was righteousness, with which he was invested as with a robe; that righteousness was the gift of the Spirit; it was lost to him by his transgression, and his offspring inherit his condemnation. If at a later period Tertullian's Montanist notions led him to counsel delay in the baptism of infants, it was caused by his deviation from Catholic doctrine in other particulars, and has no dogmatical import. In all other respects, he might have subscribed the statements of Augustine as regards original sin. The Latin Fathers followed in his steps so far as he was Catholic. Cyprian only differs from him in advising that infants should be speedily baptized and so freed from the "contagio mortis antiquæ" [*ad. Fid.*]. Ambrose pronounces the race of man in its unity to be guilty of sin through the propagation of infection from Adam, and speaks decidedly on the evil nature of concupiscence. Hilary of Poitiers expresses the same doctrine, and all agree in claiming for man freedom of will, without attempting to explain its antagonism with birth sin and the corrective operation of grace. Lactantius stands alone in asserting the Manichæan notion that the sinfulness of man is a matter of necessity, and that the body is the matrix of evil. Pelagius at length boldly cut the knot that none could hope to untie. He claimed for man an unbounded liberty of action, but denied his inherent sinfulness. He was aware, however, that his notions thwarted the stream of popular theological opinion and apostolical traditions. Jerome also asserts that his followers were afraid of uttering their heresy openly lest the people should stone them [*Dial.* iii.]. Pelagius declared that the only evil inherited from our first parent was a proneness to follow in the path of disobedience; but all, if they would, might render a faultless obedience to the Law of God. No change whatever in human nature was brought about by the Fall. Death, he said, was a part of man's original constitution. Concupiscence also was no result of the Fall, but inseparable from man's moral being. In opposition to him, Augustine asserted, as the Catholic teaching of the Church, that Adam's transgression tainted the entire race of man with sin; that concupiscence is its distinctive form, whereby the sensual appetites and passions lust against the Spirit, and without God's grace, obtain the mastery, by concupiscence being meant the first devious inclination of man's mind to move in lines that are oblique or contrary to the direction of God's will. It is φρόνημα σαρκός, the "carnal mind" or "fleshly idea," that is, as such, at enmity with God, and cannot be subject to His Law so long as it remains uncorrected by grace. Death was brought into the world by Adam's sin. Man's free-will, the reflex of the Divine Will, was lost to him by the Fall as regards good; there remained only spontaneity, the negation of outward constraint, and free-will as regards evil. Men differ in their individual character solely by their varying grades of evil. Guilt, as the correlative of sin, involves judicial damnation, wherefore the removal of guilt by baptism is necessary also for infants. In fact the primitive practice of infant baptism was a sure voucher for the loyalty of Augustine's appeal to antiquity with reference to the doctrine of original sin; as was also the rite of exsufflation and exorcism of the spirit of evil, which was of old a highly significant part of the ordinance of baptism. [See Aug. *De Pecc. Mer. et Rem.* i.

23, 63; *De Nupt. et Concup.* ii. 18; *Conc. Constant. Can. ult.*] The original taint of our nature, and liability to death, is communicated from father to son by generation; though Augustine neither expresses the Traducianism of Tertullian, nor the Creationism of the Greek Church, Scripture and the Church being silent upon the subject. "Certa fide tenendum esse," he says, "contagium propagari, licet quomodo traducatur nunquam noverimus" [*Ep.* 167], and again, "Libentius disco quam dico: nec audeo docere quod nescio" [*Contr. Jul.* v. 3]. He declares simply that the soul is the breath of God, though no part of the Divine Substance, as the Manichæan taught; but that the intimate union subsisting between the soul and the body causes the former to be a close participator in the taint of the latter. If it be evil God is not the Author of that evil. Augustine identifies the whole human race with our first progenitor, in whose loins we existed "ratione seminis." He was the impersonation of the whole human race, and the whole race was Adam. His sin therefore infected the entire stock. Its guilt and penal consequences were shared by all. The ills of life prove the existence of original sin; "Quid igitur restat, nisi ut causa illorum malorum sit aut iniquitas vel impotentia Dei, aut pœna primi veterisque peccati; sed quia nec justus nec impotens est Deus, restat, quod non vis sed cogeris fateri, quod grave jugum super filios Adam, a die exitus de ventre matris eorum usque in diem sepulturæ in matrem omnium non fuisset, nisi delicti originalis meritum præcessisset" [*Contr. Jul.* iv. 16]. In truth original sin may be a mystery, but it is a mystery that helps us to resolve the still greater difficulties that would otherwise beset the idea of a moral Governor of the world. The condemnation of Pelagius by twenty-four councils in less than as many years, from that held at Carthage, A.D. 412, to the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, did not put an end to the controversy; but it became modified as Semi-Pelagianism, called by Prosper "Reliquiæ Pelagii" [*Ep. ad Aug.*]. This allowed that death and a taint of corruption were derived from Adam; but the taint consisted only in a weakening of man's nature as by disease; he was still a free agent, and had no need of preventing grace; he had as full natural power to rise to excellence by his own endeavours, as to sink into greater depths of vice by his wickedness. John Cassian of Marseilles was at the head of this party, which was condemned by the synods of Orange in Provence and of Valence in the Dauphiny, A.D. 529; but it was allowed still to be of the Church Catholic. Thus matters continued until the ninth century, when John Scotus Erigena gave a fresh impulse to discussions concerning original sin. The necessary existence of sin in every human being, which Augustine referred to the infection of man's nature, was held by Scotus, in an absolute sense, to be a result of the original constitution of man's nature. He argued upon Platonic principles that human nature, like every other form of positive existence, has its being in God; but evil cannot be derived from God: it had no real substance therefore, but was a mere negation of good, neither had it any being in the knowledge of God. Man s nature was never absolutely perfect: he was never purely free from evil. There was concupiscence before the forbidden fruit was plucked, and sin existed in an inchoate condition before the overt act of transgression. Concupiscence, he said, formed no part of original sin, which wholly consists of our loss of original righteousness, and the debt due to God by the void. It was "carentia justitiæ, ut *formale;* et debitum habendi, ut *materiale*" [So Scotus, *Lib. Sent.* ii. dist. 32]; and again, "Peccatum originale non potest esse aliud quam ista privatio, non enim est concupiscentia" [*ib.* dist. 30]. Calixtus, among the most distinguished of the Lutheran divines, advocates the same opinion [*Epitome Theol.* ed. Titius, p. 66-71], though he hardens the scholastic term "languor" into "malitia."

This righteousness was given to Adam as a superadded grace or ornament of his nature, not *quâ* individual, but as an embodiment of the entire human race. Its loss was owing to Adam's wilfulness, and original sin is a sin of the will; not of each individual, for babes have it who have no will: but the universal will sinned in Adam, in whom all men already had a rudimental existence [Schleiermacher, *Glaubenslehre*, secs. 71, 72].

Original sin was not imputed, but derived by bodily propagation [compare Pet. Lomb. *Lib. Sentent.* ii. dist. 30, Durand, qu. 2, on this passage; Nic. *de Orb.* on the same; Thom. Aq. *Sum. Theolog. Prima. Sec.* qu. 81, art. 1-3, qu. 85, art. 2-4; also the *Summa c. Gentiles*, lib. iv. c. 50-52; Christlieb, *Leben und Lehre d. J. Scot. Erig.*]; though Occam, the doctor of the Schools whom Melanchthon especially admired, "deliciæ quondam nostræ," lays down that Adam's sin is ours not by propagation, but by imputation, a view followed by the Romanist writers, Catharinus and Pighius, but combated by Bellarmine [*De Amiss. Gr.* I. v. 16]. The doctrine of original sin was from its mystery an especially favourite subject for discussion with the Schoolmen. The three doctors who chiefly served as a guide to the rest were St. Anselm, Peter Lombard, and St. Thomas Aquinas. They taught that Christ died in order that He might restore to man this superadded grace of original righteousness. With regard to concupiscence the Schools looked upon it as the penal consequence of original sin and the incentive (fomes) of actual sin; later doctors represented it as a poison instilled into man's nature at the Fall, whether by some deleterious property of the forbidden fruit, or by the venomous breath of the serpent; and it may be noted that the Master of the Sentences had also compared original sin to the action of a poison. It was not sin, but a lower condition of health; and as such it remained after baptism, which, however, removed every taint of sin and left the soul pure as in its first origination from the breath of God in paradise. It was held that none were damned everlastingly on account of original sin. Its punish-

ment consisted in the milder sentence of exclusion from the beatific vision [Scot. *in Lib. Sent.* ii. dist. 33]; an opinion which was also held by earlier doctors of the Church [Voss, *Hist. Pelag.* II. iii. 4]. According to Anselm, the individual first corrupted nature, but ever after nature corrupted the individual, "Persona corrupit naturam—natura corrumpit personam." The first was "peccatum originale originans," and became "peccatum originale originatum." With Anselm, original sin was a bodily taint communicated by propagation, and by reason of its close union with it the soul became defiled. While Peter Lombard and Thomas of Aquino defined original sin to be concupiscence, Anselm agreed with Scotus in making it the privation of original righteousness, and all three agreed that it involved guilt and condemnation. Man's freedom of action, they said, was unlimited in the direction of evil, but crippled to a certain extent as regards good. Abelard and Duns Scotus, however, denied that man's freedom was at all affected by the Fall, and affirmed that it was as free for him to rise towards heaven as to sink into lower depths of degradation; that he underwent no change of nature, but only lost the superadded grace of righteousness. Thus original sin was a negative not a positive deterioration; it was a loss and not a taint.

Pelagian notions with respect to original sin were revived at different periods by various sects; by the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, the Anabaptists at the time of the Reformation, and also by the Socinians. The Reformers objected to the Schoolmen that they were tainted with Pelagian notions. At the period of the Reformation the Scholastic theory with respect to original sin was universally received in the Western Church, and the Reformers combated Roman doctrine as one with the teaching of the Schools. In the Council of Trent the great authority on this point was that of Thomas Aquinas [Pallavic. *Istor. d. Conc. d. Trento*, vii. 8]. Hence it was decided that Adam, by transgression, lost the original righteousness in which he was created for himself and for us; and transmitted to us the penal consequence of sin, which is the death of the soul; that the sin of Adam became our own, not by imitation, but by propagation; and that it could only be remitted by the merit of the death of Christ. Baptism is the instrument of remission, whereby the whole of that which has "veram et propriam peccati rationem" is removed; and all were anathematized who should say that sin is only shorn, "radi" (radersi), and no longer imputed to the baptized. It would seem that in the unbaptized concupiscence was considered by the Tridentine Fathers to have a more positive character. Further, it was asserted that concupiscence, the *fomes* of sin, remains even in the baptized for trial (in agonem), but it works no harm in those who yield not to it, but struggle manfully against it with the grace of Christ.

If, then, the Fathers of the Council of Trent allowed that the Apostle terms concupiscence sin, they still denied that the Church had ever so understood it. The words are remarkable, and as they supplied the text for wording our own article on original sin, they are now quoted. "Manere autem in baptizatis concupiscentiam vel fomitem hæc S. Synodus fatetur et sentit, quæ cum ad agonem relicta sit, nocere non consentientibus, sed viriliter per Christi Jesu gratiam repugnantibus, non valet: quinimo qui legitime certaverit coronabitur. Hanc concupiscentiam quam aliquando Apostolus peccatum appellat, S. Synodus declarat Ecclesiam Catholicam nunquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod vere et proprie in renatis peccatum sit, sed quia ex peccato est, et ad peccatum inclinat" [*Sessio quinta*, 1546; Pallavic. VII. x.]. Our Article, closely following up this decree, says, "Manet autem in renatis hæc naturæ depravatio;" where the alterations are significant; for the term "concupiscentia" being ambiguous, as applying either to that which the Schoolmen termed "fomes," and also to the vicious lusting after that which is forbidden, and therefore actual sin, is exchanged for a term that can only involve the former rudimental kind of concupiscence; viz. "naturæ depravatio;" for so the Saxon Confession [A.D. 1551] justifies the change of terms. "Vitandæ sunt in Ecclesia ambiguitates. Ideo expresse nominamus hæc mala *depravationem*, quæ sæpe ab antiquis scriptoribus nominatur *mala concupiscentia*" [Art. *de Pecca. Or.*]. In the next year the same alteration was adopted in the Article of King Edward VI. Again, it is not declared that this "depravation of nature" is "truly and properly" sin, or that actual sin accompanies it, as Melanchthon said, "Semper cum peccato originali simul sunt peccata actualia," but that it merely has "the nature of sin;" the words of the Tridentine Council, "veram et propriam peccati rationem," bearing upon the Augsburg definition, "quod vitium originis vere sit peccatum," are softened down in our Article to "peccati tamen in sese rationem habere concupiscentiam." Roman theology therefore denies that this "fault of our nature" is actual sin. That of the Reformers says only that it hath the nature of sin. Is it altogether impossible to harmonize these two statements? [Bp. Harold Browne *on the Articles*. Archb. Lawrence, *Bampt. Lect.* Pallavicino, *Istoria d. Conc. d. Trento*, vii. Paul Sarpi, *Hist. Conc. Trid.* ed. 1621, 195. Herzog, *Sünde*. Müller's *Chr. Lehre. v. d. Sünde*, b. IV. c. iii. iv. Gieseler, *Dogm. Gesch.* sec. 72.]

ORTHODOX. Holding true doctrine, the standard being the doctrine acknowledged and received by the Church Catholic.

The doctrine implicitly held by the Church from the beginning was unfolded and explicitly declared by degrees; as heresies, springing up one after another, gave occasion for fuller creeds, for explications of the articles of the creeds, for denials by accredited councils of the several specific heresies. Also, out of the growing Christian literature there was marked out by common consent a line of doctors acknowledged to be true representatives of Catholic theology.

Consequently, the meaning of the term "ortho

dox" became gradually more and more defined. "The faith of Christians did at first consist in few points, those which were professed in baptism, whereof we have divers summaries in the ancients —by analogy whereto all other propositions were expounded, and, according to agreement whereto sound doctrines were distinguished from false: so that he was accounted orthodox who did not violate them. *So he that holds that immovable rule of truth which he received at his baptism, will know the words and sayings and parables which are taken out of the Scriptures,* &c. Iren. i. 1." [Barrow, *Unity of the Church*, i.]

From this early state the requirements of orthodoxy soon increased; and the term can now be strictly applied only to one who holds, besides the baptismal creed, the Constantinopolitan Creed, and (in the Western Church) the Athanasian Creed, the explications of the creed, and the denials of heresies set forth by the six Œcumenical Councils.

The term is often applied, however, more loosely: dissenters from the Church of England (*e.g.*) who separate on account of Church government, not on account of Church doctrine, being called by many "orthodox dissenters."

'ΟΥΣΙ'Α. This term was used in ancient philosophy, from whence it was indirectly imported into the nomenclature of theology. It was first applied by Plato to denote the true nature and "essence" of a thing [*Phæd.* 78, c.].[1] With the Peripatetics it signified material substance. Thus Aristotle says οὐσίαι δὲ μάλιστ ἔιναι δόκουσι τὰ σώματα [*de An.* ii. 1]; and λέγω δ' οὐσίας μὲν τά τε ἁπλᾶ σώματα, οἷον πῦρ καὶ γῆν [*de Cœl.* iii. 1].[2] Hence, according to Hippolytus, the word expressed not only genus, species and individual, but also matter, form, and space. [*Philos.* vii. 19.] The Stoic school made the term simply synonymous with ὕλη. These conflicting definitions led to heretical confusion. The school of Alexandria introduced the term into ecclesiastical literature; but it was long considered to be a synonym for ὑπόστασις, a word of barbarous origin [Socr. *H. E.* iii. 7], and more especially in the Western Church, where "substantia" was the rendering of the philosophical expression οὐσία, though it was identified rather with ὑπόστασις, *quâ* theological terminology. Thus Damasus, Bishop of Rome [*Ep. Synod. ad Episc. Illyr. de Syn. Arim.*; Theod. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 22], defines the Holy Trinity to be τῆς ἀυτῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας, where the former term is the exact equivalent for "substantia" *quâ* etymology, and the second term in all probability came in from the margin as the explanation of a later hand.

Before the Council of Nice the two terms were used indifferently to express the same notion of spiritual substance, as Photius declares [*Bibl.* 119]; and the council fell into the same mode of expression when it anathematized all who should affirm that the Son is ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας, the two terms being treated as synonymous. [See Petav. *Dogm. Theol.* II. iv.] Even Athanasius not unfrequently uses the two terms as convertible, in deference possibly to the dogmatic phraseology of the Latin Church, which used "persona" for the Greek hypostasis, and rendered both οὐσία and ὑπόστασις by the homogeneous term "substantia." [See Or. iii. c. *Ar.* 65.] The same peculiarity may be observed in the language of the Councils of Dedication, Antioch [A.D. 341], Sardica [A.D. 347], and Sirmium [A.D. 351. Socr. *H. E.* ii. 30]. The Council of Ariminum [A.D. 359] upheld the semi-Arian creed of Sirmium, and proscribed the use of the term οὐσία as being nowhere found in Scripture [Socr. *H. E.* ii. 30, 37]; possibly also from the fear that the Peripatetic and Stoical acceptation of οὐσία having become popularized, material notions might attach to the Deity. For this reason its decision was branded by the Catholic Fathers as ὅρος ἄθεος [*Libell. Synod.*]. At the Council of Alexandria [A.D. 362], the application of these two terms was discussed, the subject having been brought up by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova [Socr. *H. E.* iii. 7]; but nothing was definitely settled [Newman's *Arians*, v. 2; Bishop Kaye's *Athanas.* 139]. Basil at length draws an accurate distinction between the two terms, οὐσία καὶ ὑπόστασις ταυτὴν ἔχει τὴν διαφοράν, ἣν ἔχει τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον. Substance and hypostasis are distinguished as the universal and the particular [*Ep.* 391]; the first was thenceforth limited to "substance," the latter to "person." [HYPOSTASIS.]

The meaning of the term οὐσία is best reached through the scriptural term ὁ ὤν [Ex. iii. 14, and elsewhere], from the ἀεὶ ὤν and τὸ ὂν of Plato [*Phædo and Timæus*]; for the word is not found in the LXX. in any theological sense; but, viewed in that relation, no more suitable term could be devised to convey to the mind some idea of the Ineffable; for it involved no limit of time, past, present, or future; and it embodied at the same time, the force of the revealed Name I AM, while it was a standing witness against the Pagan notion of a passive unintelligent "anima mundi." Still this abstract term was felt to be inadeqate, by philosophizing divines, such as the pseudo-Dionysius, the father of scholastic mysticism, who, with a refinement of scruple, termed the Deity ὑπερούσιος, κυρίως οὐσία ἐπὶ θεοῦ οὐκ ἂν λέγοιτο, ἔστι γὰρ ὑπερούσιος. He possibly borrowed his expression from the words of Plato οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας. [*Pol.* vi. Plotin. *Enn.* vi. 4, 9, 15, 18.]

Probably it was for a similar cause that the heretic Basilides, with a reckless audacity, termed the Supreme non-existent; *i.e.* according to any mode of existence of which the human intellect can have cognizance; λέγω εἶναι θεὸν οὐκ ὄντα, πεποιημένον κόσμον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐκ ὄντα οὐκ ὤν. [Hippol. *Philosoph.* x. 4]. Similarly also the Marcosians affirmed that the Supreme was ἀνούσιος [Iren. *c. Hær.* I. viii. 1, Cambr. ed.; Hippol. *Phil.* vi. 42]. But the Cabbala of the

[1] Bishop Kaye's *Athanas.* p. 42, n. 4: "By the essence of a thing I understand that by which it is what it is."

[2] Yet he speaks of the Deity as ἀκίνητος οὐσία.

Jews was the authority followed by these heretics, where the Supreme or "Boundless" Ein Soph, before the evolution of the Sephiroth, wherein the Deity revealed himself, was simply "Ein," negation, or "Mî," who? [CABBALA.] Such too was the Hindu Brahm, the universal spirit, which only became the creative Brahma through union with the ideal Máyá; but in his previous condition could only be expressed as Tad, "that." [Rowland Williams' *Christianity and Hinduism*, p. 91. Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, 33, n. 1, 40, 46.]

In more modern days Hegel has reproduced the notion: "Dieses reine Seyn ist nun die reine Abstraction, damit das Absolut-Negativ, welches gleichfalls unmittelbar genommen das Nichts ist" [*Encycl. d. Sci. Phil.* 86, 87]. It is an exact parallel to the ὅλως οὐκ ὄντα of Basilides [Hipp. *Philos.* vii. 20, 21]. These analogies from ancient and modern philosophy serve to mark strongly the peculiar excellence of revealed religion in setting forth a practical and therefore a sufficiently adequate idea of God the Supreme Governor of the world. Natural religion harmonizes altogether with revelation, and assures us that the God with Whom we have to do has a personal subsistence. The natural and moral world is made up of instances of design, that design must have a designer, that designer must be a Person, and that Person is God [Paley]. He is not a mere mundane soul, like the Gnostic Demiurge, nor as the "vis vitæ" of Pantheism; but an Intelligent Disposer of the whole course of the universe; preserving in their orderly progression the countless worlds that people space; and descending to the daily and hourly wants of each individual soul of life; whether by a continuous providential care, or by the operation of general laws framed in the eternal counsels from all eternity. Οὐσία then, as the generalization of ὁ ὤν, implies a real individual self-existent Being. As Suidas says, it is that which exists in itself, without depending upon anything else for its subsistence, in the way of accident; οὐσία ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὂν καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑτερῷ ἔχον τὴν ὕπαρξιν, ὡς τὸ συμβεβηκός.

When Paul of Samosata, and after him Marcellus [Epiphan. *Hær.* 73], explained away the true Divinity of Christ by saying that He existed merely ὡς ῥῆμα ἐκ στόματος, the ancient belief was enounced that the Divine Nature pertained to the Son as truly as to the Father, and that He was ὁμοούσιος [Platonic γενονστής]; hence from the union of the two natures in one Christ, the term οὐσία, which designated the Divine Nature, came to be applied also to the human, and through the Manhood of Christ to our own nature. Thus Athanasius on Gen. vi. 7 says that the totality of mankind is called "man," διὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οὐσίας. So also the Council of Chalcedon, in its definition of Faith, declares that the Son is of one substance [ὁμοούσιος] with the Father according to the Godhead, and of one substance with us according to the Manhood. [Routh, *Opusc.* 426.] Οὐσίαι is also applied to the celestial hierarchy, with the epithets "supercelestial" and "celestial" by the pseudo-Dionysius [c. iv. 5]; they are termed ἀσωμάτοι by Chrysostom [*Hom.* i., *ad Stager.*]; and νοεροὶ, or intelligent, by John of Damascus. [*Orth. Fid.* ii. 3. HOMOOUSION. HYPOSTASIS. NICENE CREED.]

P

PAGANISM. The relation of the early Church to the various forms of Polytheism which it sought to supplant is a subject of great importance to the modern student of ecclesiastical history.

I. The Pagan State and Christianity. For the contest between Christianity and Paganism, so far as the circumstances of it are known, was almost as much a contest between the civil authorities of the Roman Empire and the new religion, as between Christianity and the old religions of the civilized world. Of all that took place with respect to conflicts between the new and old religions in countries external to the Roman Empire, such as the Parthian Empire in the West, and the Germanic nations in the North, we know next to nothing. But within the bounds of the Roman Empire, Christianity was a standing enemy of many existing institutions in every country, and these institutions being upheld by the state, Christians came to be looked upon, in respect of their religion, as national enemies wherever they existed.

It was part of the policy of the Roman Empire, as is well known, to tolerate all national religions within the boundaries of the nations which professed them, but this toleration did not extend to those religions when they began to exercise a proselytizing influence beyond those boundaries. Now, it was an essential characteristic of Christianity that it was a proselytizing religion. Its teachers acted under the especial commission, "Go ye into all the world, and make disciples of every creature," and no other religion ever shewed such an aggressive character. Thus Christianity was, *in limine*, a foe to the existing religious institutions of the world as they were looked at from a statesman's point of view.

But, more than this, Christianity refused to become a peaceable member of any eclectic system. The scepticism of the Academies was superseded during the early spread of Christianity by an eclecticism originating with Ammonius Saccas and his disciples the Neo-Platonists. This system became extremely fashionable among the intellectual classes in the more learned regions of the Roman Empire. It was an attempt, a last attempt of heathenism to work itself into an alliance with a foe of whom an inner conviction seemed to say that he would, in the end, prove too strong for it. But Christianity would not come to terms. It would not even consent to the drawing up of preliminaries for a treaty of peace. The words of its Master were being continually illustrated by all Christian missionaries, "I came not to send peace but a sword." Christianity sought not toleration, not compromise, but universal supremacy. Thus, theoretically at least, the contest between Christianity and Paganism was a war which could only end by the extermination of one or the other, and the process of resistance to extermination on the part of Paganism was that which constituted the substance of the struggle between it and Christianity.

But, apart from this general antagonism between the two religious systems, there was a special institution of the Empire, its *official* religion, with which Christians came into fatal conflict almost by accident. This official religion had more of the rising eclecticism in it than of the old and decaying Polytheism, but it was little concerned with moral or theological principles, its one prominent requirement being the recognition of the emperor as an object of worship. The sacrifice of a few grains of incense to him was the test of religious obedience. To frequent the temples, to offer sacrifices to the gods, to take part in the mysteries, might be parts of religious practice, and every one was at liberty to adopt them or not to adopt them as they pleased. But *public* piety, that which established a citizen as, *quâ* religion, a good citizen, was the religious veneration of the emperor, neither more nor less. Thus the religion of Christians when tried by this test was necessarily open to misconstruction. To burn incense to the emperor was idolatry, not to burn it seemed to be disloyalty and rebellion. They who would gladly have taken an oath of allegiance if it had been offered to them simply as such, refused, with an unyielding firmness, to do so when it was presented to them under the form of an idolatrous rite. It seems strange that the astute statesmanship of the Empire did not devise some means by which men so really loyal to it as the early Christians were, might be permitted to live in peace; but, perhaps, the explanation is to be found in the fact that the kingship and kingdom of Christ were ideas which entered largely into their religious teaching, and formed a prominent feature in the popular theology of the multitude. Such an idea would look like rebellious rivalry to the mind of a Roman statesman—one who would never be able to appreciate the force of such words as "My kingdom is not of this world;"—and thus his only

antidote to that worship of Christ which recognised Him as the King of the Christians, though an invisible one, would be the repudiation of Him by adoption of the visible Emperor as their "numen." If the novel rite of deifying the living Emperor had not been invented, the Christians could have declared their allegiance to him without any hesitation, as is shewn by the Apologies:[1] and in such a case it is not improbable that they might, so far as public authority was concerned, have been tolerated in their religion, provided its proselytizing principles had not caused any disturbance of public order.

II. Popular Paganism and Christianity. At the same time that Christianity was thus opposed to the state religion of the empire, it was also in a position of strongly aggressive opposition to the popular religion of every country within its boundaries, that of the Jews alone being, and that only for a short time, an exception. Whether the popular religion was Polytheism, or some one of the many varieties of Fetichism, it was certain to be denounced as false by Christian teachers, and as so entirely false that nothing would satisfy Christianity except the entire abolition of what was denounced. Thus Christians arrayed against themselves a large class, in those whose personal interest it was that the old religions should be maintained, and in the bulk of the ignorant among the people at large, whom stolid habit and unreasoning prejudice would enlist against innovators to whom no old religion was sacred. Such a position of antagonism to the old religions was as essential to Christianity as uncompromising opposition to Baal was essential to Elijah: and even where Christians were not aggressive by positive opposition, their negative opposition was necessarily conspicuous. For the rites of Polytheism were not confined to the temples, they pervaded all the customs of public and social life. They were prevented from attending the public games by the association of idolatrous rites with them, "the many images, the long line of statues, the chariots of all sorts, the thrones, the crowns, the dresses," by the preceding sacrifices, and the procession. "It may be grand or mean," says Tertullian, "no matter, any circus procession whatever is offensive to God. Though there be few images to grace it, there is idolatry in one; though there be no more than a single sacred car, it is a chariot of Jupiter: and anything whatever of idolatry, whether meanly arrayed or modestly rich and gorgeous, taints it in its origin" [Tertull. *de Spectac.* vii.]. The theatres were equally forbidden, for "its services of voice, and song, and lute, and pipe, belong to Apollos and Muses and Minervas and Mercuries, . . . and the arts are consecrated to the honour of the beings who dwell in the names of their founders" [*ibid.* x.]. Even in the intercourse of private life, the Lares and Penates of the hall, the libations of the dinner table, the very phraseology with which ordinary conversation was largely decorated, all partook of the nature of idolatry [Tertull. *de Idol.* xv. xvii. xxi. xxii.], and the necessities of their anti-idolatrous principles thus secluded Christians from the social assemblies of their heathen acquaintances, and made them, in many respects, a separate community.

Above all, Christianity was the deadly foe of a widespread immorality, the extent of which is almost inconceivable. Polytheism was always a religion of mere ceremony, unassociated, as a religion, with any moral law. Hence the most religious man in the sense of Polytheism might be a shameless profligate, emulating the gods to whom he sacrificed in their reputed licentiousness, and guilty (as was Socrates) of crimes against which even nature revolts [Tertull. *Apol.* xlvi.]. Vices of this class were terribly common among the Romans of early Imperial times, and are exposed with scornful indignation by Tertullian in his Apology. Something of the extent to which profligacy was carried may also be seen by his denunciation of infanticide, in one bold sentence of which he says, "How many, think you, of those crowding around and gaping for Christian blood, how many even of your rulers, notable for their justice to you and for their severe measures against us, may I charge in their own consciences with the sin of putting their offspring to death?" [*ibid.* ix.]. Against the class of crimes thus indicated Christianity protested by word and example, Tertullian fearlessly declaring in respect to the latter that Christians were conspicuous for "a persevering and steadfast chastity."

Popular habits and customs being thus so contrary to the spirit of Christianity, it could not fail that a very strong opposition must have been offered to its progress: and although vast multitudes were quickly gathered to the standard of the Cross, there was still a large and influential mass of the population, in every country of the Empire, who looked upon it as the sign of an institution which sought the abolition of their cherished customs and habits, which made its disciples bad citizens and bad neighbours, and which was therefore to be hated, and, if possible, extinguished.

III. Pagan Philosophy and Christianity. Apart from the ruling powers of the Empire, and from those classes which formed the bulk of the nations composing it, there was also a considerable class of highly educated men, especially in Rome and Alexandria, on whom old-fashioned Polytheism had no hold, but who yet set themselves against Christianity. Among such were the Epicurean Celsus, who wrote a comprehensive work, *The Word of Truth* (now known only through Origen's refutation of it), against the new faith; the cynic Crescens—φιλόψοφος καὶ φιλόκομπος—the boasting braggadocio of Justin Martyr's apology [Just. Mart. *Apol.* ii. 3; *Euseb.* iv. 6]; Trypho the Jew, against whom the same apologist wrote an important work, his *Dialogue*

[1] "Though we decline to swear by the genii of the Cæsars, we swear by their safety, which is worth more than all your 'genii.' . . . Do you not know that these 'genii' are called demons? . . . We respect in the emperors the ordinance of God, Who has set them over the nations. . . . But as for demons, that is, your 'genii,' we have been in the habit of exorcising them, not of swearing by them" [Tertull. *Apol.* 32].

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with Trypho; and Lucian the satirist, who opposed Christianity as a superstition unworthy of intellectual men [Lucian, *de Morte Peregrin*, xi.-xvi]. Indeed, the contemptuous tone in which grave writers like Pliny, Tacitus, and Suetonius, mention the new faith seems to shew that the literary class in general was opposed to it, and did not even think it worth while to make any effective inquiry as to its real principles. That they gradually learned to feel more respect for it is shewn by the rise of the Eclectic school of the Neo-Platonists, but even among these there were bitter opponents of Christianity, though there were indeed others who theoretically adopted a large portion of its principles. [Eclecticism. Neo-Platonism.]

IV. Persecutions of Christians by Pagans. The broadest and most evident form of the struggle for life and for supremacy between Paganism and Christianity was that of the continuous attempt of the former to suppress the latter by force. In this the state and the populace always co-operated, and there is no reason to think that the intellectual classes and philosophers held aloof.

The first approach to a general persecution was that begun at Rome under Nero [Tertull. *Apol.* 5]. St. Paul's account of his own sufferings [2 Cor. xi. 23-27], his reference to the Amphitheatre at Ephesus [1 Cor. xv. 32], to actual persecution of Christians [1 Cor. iv. 9, and perhaps in Heb. xi. 35-38], to the position of the Apostles as the "offscouring of the earth," to the "much tribulation" through which the faithful entered into rest, to his deliverance "out of the mouth of the lion," all seem to shew that the struggle between Paganism and Christianity had begun even in Apostolic times. But it is probable that persecution was then of a local kind, arising out of charges made by Jews against Christians for whom they entertained a deadly hatred. Suetonius mentions, indeed, that the Jews were driven out of Rome by Claudius on account of an insurrection raised by one "Chrestus," and Christians who were not Jews may have been expelled with them, though anything like a Christian insurrection (as the historian's words are sometimes interpreted) was so alien to the spirit of the early Christians as to be beyond probability.[1] After the great fire of Rome, in the year 64, Nero however (who is said by Dion and Suetonius to have been himself the incendiary) accused the Christians of causing it, and brought upon them a terrible stream of indignation from the excited Romans. Tacitus wrote his Annals about thirty years afterwards, and he describes their sufferings in a few graphic words. Nero invited the citizens to festivals in the Imperial gardens (now the Vatican), and the chief spectacle which he there offered them was the martyrdom of their hated neighbours. Some were sewn in the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; some burned to death; some smeared over with inflammable substances and used as torches or bonfires to light up the gardens after dark.[2] This persecution lasted for four years, and there can be no doubt that it was carried on in other cities as well as at Rome.[3] During the course of it St. Peter was one of those who were crucified in the gardens of Nero, and St. Paul was beheaded a short distance out of Rome. How many others went to make up this great vanguard of the army of martyrs it is impossible to say, but the words of the heathen historian point to a great multitude rather than to any inconsiderable number.

It is usual to reckon ten periods of persecution, at intervals spreading over the latter half of the first, the second, the third, and the early years of the fourth century. But this enumeration is arbitrary and cannot be supported by historical evidence. During the whole of that time there was persecution going on in some part of the Empire, although emperors like Hadrian, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva and Trajan [Tertull. *Apol.* 5] were unlikely to give it any encouragement. Yet Pliny's famous letter to Trajan [Plinii *Epp.* x. 96] shews that it was difficult to save Christians from the popular cry for their extermination, and the martyrdom of St. Cyprian is another illustration of the same fact. The last and most terrible of the general persecutions was that which immediately preceded the accession of Constantine, when it seemed as if Diocletian had nearly accomplished his object of destroying the very name of Christian. It is not the purpose of this article, however, to go into any details respecting these periods of persecution, and the subject may be dismissed with the following table, which represents the conclusions that may be arrived at from a full examination of historical data:—

Chronological Table of Persecutions.

A.D.	
64—68	Under Nero. Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul. [Tertull. *Apol.* 5. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 25.]
95—96	Under Domitian. Banishment of St. John. [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 17, 18.]
104—117	Under Trajan. Martyrdom of St. Ignatius. [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 36.]
161—180	Under Marcus Aurelius. Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and the Martyrs of Lyons. [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 15, v. 1.]
200—211	Under Severus. Martyrdom of St. Perpetua and others in Africa. [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 1, 4, 5.]
250—253	Under Decius. Martyrdom of St. Fabian. [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 41, 42.]
257—260	Under Valerian. Martyrdom of St. Cyprian. [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 10, 11, 12.]
303—313	Under Diocletian, Galerius, and Maximinus. Martyrdom of St. Alban. [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 1-17, ix. 1-11; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 6, 7.]

[1] The words of Suetonius are "Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit" [Sueton. *Claud.* xxv. 12]. It is possible that his "Chrestus" was one of the many "false Christs" of the day, such as Theudas, Judas of Galilee [Acts v. 36, 37], and Bar Cochebas.

[2] "Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. . . . Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat" [Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44].

[3] St. Mark was martyred at Alexandria at this time, St. Gervase and St. Protase at Milan.

V. The Decline of Paganism. The long and bitter struggle between the Paganism and the Christianity of the Roman Empire came to a close with Constantine's victory over Maxentius. As early as A.D. 311, Galerius had been terrified by a shocking and mortal disease to issue a decree in which he, with the Emperors Constantine and Licinius, directed that persecution should cease, that churches should be rebuilt, and that the Christians should be allowed to worship in peace [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 17]. But the execution of this decree was much hindered by Maximinus and Maxentius, and it was only on their defeat by Licinius and Constantine that a real toleration began. After that event [A.D. 313] the Emperors immediately published the famous Edict of Milan [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* x. 5; Lactant. *de Mort. Persecut.* xlviii.], in which the previous decree was rigidly enforced and all persecution entirely suppressed. In the year 321 a severe blow was given to expiring Paganism by an edict in which the Emperor established the Lord's Day as a public festival, and a day of abstinence from labour. When he became sole Emperor in A.D. 324, he issued one of a still more decided tone, in which he exhorted all his subjects throughout the Empire to forsake Paganism and worship Christ only; and from that time he and his successors ruled the Empire as Christian emperors.

Before the end of the fourth century Paganism had become so much weakened, and the Christian population so decidedly predominant, that the emperors were able to take measures towards its final suppression. Theodosius [A.D. 381] forbad apostasy to Paganism, and suppressed its sacrifices, though still tolerating its minor rites [*Cod. Theodos.* xvi. 7], the Western Emperors Gratian and Valentinian following his example. When Theodosius became sole Emperor [A.D. 392] he forbad all kinds of idolatry under severe penalties[1] [*ibid.* 10, 12]. The last traces of Paganism died out in the Eastern Empire in the first quarter of the fifth century [*ibid.* 10, 22], and its final extinction in the West was at the same time effected by the supremacy of the Northern invaders. If, since that age, Christianity has lost ground, it has not been to the old Paganism, but to its Eastern successor Mahometanism. The former never revived after the time of its last great effort to regain supremacy in the Diocletian persecution, and for nearly three centuries the Empire was wholly Christian.

PANDECTS. [Law, Ecclesiastical.]

PANIS BENEDICTUS. [Antidoron.]

PANTHEISM. The term Pantheism is of yesterday. It was known formerly as "Atheism." Cudworth's Hylozoic and Eleatic schools of philosophy were not atheistical, as believing in no divine principle, but Pantheistic, as holding that the universe, of which we have an idea through the senses, is the Deity, and that the Deity is the universe; substantially, it was the same thing as Spinoza's "Eins ist Alles, und Alles ist Eins," unity is the universe, and the universe is unity. Pantheism was a term first used by Fay, in his answer [A.D. 1709] to the English Deist Toland's "*Socinianism truly stated, being an example of fair dealing in theological controversies, to which is prefixed indifference in disputers, recommended by a Pantheist to an orthodox friend:*" London, 1705. Again [A.D. 1720], appeared his *Pantheisticum sive Formula Societatis Socraticæ;* from which time the term came into general use.

Pantheism runs together the distinct ideas of the Creator and the creature; it deifies the universe, and amalgamates together the notions of the finite and Infinite, unity and universal substance.

The system is a necessary result of the negation of the two received points of Christian faith; that the world is create, and that truth has been revealed to man from heaven. The old crux "ex nihilo nil fit," is repeated. The universe as it is now is stated to have existed from all eternity; if then the world has had a necessary existence without beginning, it is a necessary condition of the Divine Substance as being co-eternal with it. Again, a direct revelation of truth is denied. It is not questioned that man may possess the truth, but that he can gain a knowledge of it from any other source than the energy of human reason. He works it out for himself. Therefore the Divine Substance and Divine Truth are identified with the spirit of man. Moreover, since human reason is a variable changeful element, self-consistent at one while, self-contradicting at another, it is therefore a finite intelligence, but the Divine Intelligence is infinite; nevertheless the finite and Infinite are also one, of which latter the finite is only a particular mode. And, further, since a divinely revealed system of truth is denied, and human reason is declared to be the only source of truth; since, also, there is no such thing for man as absolute truth, but only such modes of it as are discoverable by his finite intelligence—therefore all opinions stand on the same level: whether they affect religion, philosophy or political principle, they may be expected to wax and wane, to ebb and flow like everything else in this world. Truth, like time, is in a state of perpetual flux.

The history of Pantheism is fully treated in the "Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, and Schools of Thought." It may be sufficient, here, to observe that Pantheism has occupied the thoughts of men from a very early period of our race; when the marks of a designing Mind, which are everywhere present in the visible world, were considered to be so many proofs that the world itself was the source of the intelligence which it indicates, and men acknowledging that intelligence worshipped and served the creature and not the Creator. From Central Asia possibly it passed with the Aryan race into India along the course of the Indus and Ganges; but however that may be, it is India which yields the earliest proof of a pantheistic religious faith, in the emanation system which underlies the religious philosophy of the Vedas,

[1] The Senate, however, still continued Pagan, and offered the usual divine honours even to Theodosius after his death.

and of the Manû code, or Manava Dharma Sastra, the most ancient of written authorities. Brahm, the Absolute, is the spirit from whence all things emanate, and to whom all things return. He is all things. Shaking off his sleep that never had a beginning, he gives birth to Máyá, illusion, matter that seems, but is not; and then proceeds forth the Brahminic Trinity, of Brahma, Vishnû, and Siva; the creator, the preserver, the destroyer, who restores all things to the primeval substance Brahm. By the union of Brahm and Máyá, this world of illusive appearance and the various forms of immaterial matter were engendered; the mundane system is temporal, and when its destiny is accomplished, it will be destroyed by Siva, to be succeeded by another manifestation of Brahma and a new universe. The progression is infinite. The universe is Brahm, and Brahm is the universe.

The Valentinian scheme, as given by Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Tertullian, was borrowed from the Isiacal theology of Egypt, placing at the head of its emanational scheme abysmal substance; the sleeping Brahm. From thence are evolved Mind and Silence, the correlatives of Osiris and Isis in the Egyptian scheme; Isis representing material substance, Osiris the vital principle and active intellect. From this pair all other things emanate. The "ogdoad decad and dodecad" of Valentinus were derived from the parallel Egyptian scheme. [Harvey's *Introd. to Irenæus*, Cambr. ed. I. xxiv.] In Persia we find a dualistic theory, of good and evil, light and darkness, the pure and impure, personified in Ormuzd and Ahriman; both, however, emanated from Indefinite Time, a Platonic *ἀπειρία*, Zeruane Akerene, as the Avesta terms it; but a yet earlier Persian creed bore the broad stamp of Pantheism. Thus Crœsus [Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII. vii. 27] seems to doubt whether he shall hereafter have an individual existence, or whether his individuality is destined to be merged again in the divine principle, when he expresses the hope that after this life he may suffer no more evil, whether he be with the Deity, or whether he be no longer anything [*μήτε ἦν μετὰ τοῦ θείου γένωμαι, μήτε ἦν μηδὲν ἔτι ᾧ*]. According to Herodotus, the Persians considered the entire vault of heaven to be God [*τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Διὰ καλέοντες*, i. 132], possibly also the earth; for Diogenes Laertius says of the Magians that they deified the elements [*οὓς καὶ πῦρ εἶναι καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ*]; Herodotus also records that the ancient Persians did sacrifice to the sun and moon, to earth, fire, water, and air [i. 131]. The ancient religion of Persia was far more closely connected with the Pantheism of the Brahmin than with the Polytheism of the Greek; and it was from this source possibly that Thales and the Ionic school of philosophy borrowed their principles, and believed that a divine life existed in the elementary forms of matter. The earlier religious belief of Greece knew nothing of any theogonia of gods and goddesses [Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* I. ix. 13]; thus the Hesiodic Muses hymn Earth and Heaven as the source of all [*Theogon.* 44]. The first traces of a *θρησκεία*, or religious system, were sketched out in the time of Joshua and the Judges by the Thracian *theologic*, i.e. *theogonic* poet Orpheus. But Jupiter is represented by him as the principle and the mean, the substance and the end of all things, the universal spirit [De Gérando, *Hist. Comp. des Syst. de Phil.* i. 300; from Apuleius]. And his preceptor Linus is responsible, according to Stobæus, for the pantheistic formula, "One sole energy governs all things; all things are of all, and all is of all things; all things are unity, and every part is all; for of old all things were generated by one, and in the end of time all things again shall be unity; unity and multiplicity together."

These primitive notions of Greece disappeared and were altogether unknown to the many when Gnosticism, which stood in the same relation to theosophical notions as eclecticism to philosophy, revived a knowledge of them. [Gnosticism.] But they had never been lost to philosophy. Philosophy had never been able to conceive a pure notion of the Deity. It was always somehow or other entangled with matter. Pythagoras introduced the emanation system into Greece from the East, and taught it under his theory of numbers [Harvey, *Introd. to Irenæus*, Cambr. ed. p. xlii.]. Timæus of Locri and Ocellus of Lucania were eminently pantheistical. The writings attributed to them may be spurious, but they undoubtedly give utterance to true Pythagorean notions [De Gérando, *Sur la Nature de l'Univ.* i. 424, 425]. Xenophanes, contemporary with Pythagoras, and founder of the metaphysical school of Elea, was essentially a Pantheist as were his followers Parmenides and Zeno. Pantheism had never been lost to the schools, and the large infusion of the Pythagorean element into Neo-Platonism caused the Eclectic system of Alexandria, and in consequence, Gnosticism, to be deeply tinctured with Pantheism. Pantheism again disappeared to emerge again in the writings of J. Scotus Erigena; his work *De divisione Naturæ* is eminently Pantheistic. The titles of the four sections into which the work is divided are—I. The substance that creates and is not created; II. That which creates, and is created; III. That which is created and creates not; IV. That which is neither created nor creates. I. Representing the cause of all things, whether positively or negatively considered. II. Prototypal causes, as Platonic ideas. III. Generated matter, under the conditions of time and space. IV. is to the first as II. is to III. In I. the create in its negative aspect, or non-being, means that which Erigena comprehends under the name of apparent being; all the phenomena of existence as accidents of the supreme substance, which alone has real existence. All is God, he says, and God is all, God is the only true substantive Being. The divine progression in all things is termed "resolution;" the return of all to their source is deification [De Gérando, iv. 363]. The age, however, had no taste for his philosophy; Erigena attracted no following, and no more is heard of Pantheism until A.D. 1200,

when Amalric of Bena and his pupil, David of Dinanto, developed it in a flagrant form from the teaching of William of Champeaux [Theology, Scholastic], who affirmed that individuals, identical in substance, only differ by the variety of accidents and passing forms. Gerson gives the following as Amalric's notion: "All is God and God is All. The Creator and the creature are one Being. Ideas are at once creative and create. God is the end of all things, in such a sense that all things must return into His Being, to constitute with Him an immutable individuality. As Abraham and Isaac are humanity individualized, so all beings are but individual forms of one sole Substance" [*Concord. Metaph. et Log.* 18]. The Arab philosophers of Spain in the Middle Ages extracted their Pantheism from Neo-Platonic writings, as Judaism did from the Cabbala. Passing over Jordano Bruno, who was a pronounced Pantheist, and burnt for his profession at the close of the sixteenth century, we next come to Spinoza. His principles in the barest possible form were these:—There is but one sole reality, one sole substance; this substance is God. This eternal and infinite substance has a necessary development by its own inherent energy, and shews itself in the two essential modes of being, viz. extension and thought. These modes comprise the infinite attributes of infinite substance. The development of substance produces all the phenomena of life. But these phenomena as being finite have only an apparent existence; in their real being they are the Deity itself, and are identically one. The distinction of thought and extension, of mind and matter, disappears by fusion in this common identity or divine unity. All is God, God is all; there is no personal existence in God. There is no freedom of will in man; but the mind is determined in its volition by causes which are themselves determined by antecedent causes, and so back in serial infinity. Human will is identical with the divine idea. Will and intelligence are one. There is nothing in all this that had not been said by Pantheists in preceding ages. It started into life at once as a complete system in the Vedas. Substitute unity for substance, and Spinozism was taught on the banks of the Ganges many ages before the Christian era. [Spinozism.]

Spinoza, like Erigena, formed no school during his lifetime; but he struck a chord that unfortunately has never ceased to vibrate. Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, though immediately disciples of the school of Kant, were as pantheistic as Spinoza. Subject and object were a primitive dualism in Kant's system. Subject is the principle of the form of our conceptions; furnishing as the percipient faculty the conditions of perception; and as the faculty of knowledge the conditions of judgment. Object is the principle of the matter of our conceptions, and conveys to us all our phenomenal intuitions. The objective was made so completely subordinate to the subjective in this "critique of pure reason," that it was not difficult for the next thinker to dispense with it altogether, and to make subjective substance the one existent principle. This was effected by Fichte in his transcendental idealism. Ego = ego, was his equation, the terms of which must be interpreted by the dictum of Descartes "cogito, ergo sum," expressing the notion that subjective thought is the only real substance, that the thinking being and the object of its thought are identical. It was a revival of the old Neo-Platonic notion of Plotinus with a strain of Buddhism. The idea of an external world was wholly annihilated. The opening of one of his lectures is blasphemy that cannot be repeated. Schelling made another step in advance, and got rid of the notion of subject altogether, denying to it the real and transcendental existence of the Fichtean scheme. Ego was no longer ego; it was a non-reality. Reality is only to be attributed to absolute existence. "There is only one existence, eternal and immutable." Yet there is an antithesis in this existence, the antithesis of unity and plurality, and in that plurality form is wholly one with matter. The universe and the Deity are one. Real and absolute existence is the copula which unites unity and plurality. Unity *quâ* unity and plurality *quâ* plurality have no existence properly so called; the finite is an illusion—the Brahminic Máyá. There is but one existence pure and simple, Reason is the Deity. He followed the Eclectic and Neo-Platonic lead. The theory of Hegel is very similar. He aims at unity as the very soul of truth. He finds this unity in the identity of existence and thought, "Cogito, ergo sum" once more; and in the unity of substance, and in oneness of subject and object of thought; it is Neo-Platonism again. This substance is the Deity who develops himself and reveals himself in infinite form; the Absolute including within itself the Spinozist notions of extension and thought. The Absolute is not absolute life, for it is eternal flux, perpetual development; "Gott ist in werden," *θεὸς ἐν τῷ γενέσθαι, i.e.* the progressional condition is continuous. It is thus that the sole connecting link of thought that unites the present with the very dawning period of man's glimmering reason is the monstrous theory of Pantheism; that the universe and its Creator are inseparably and immutably one.

PARABLE. In its gospel signification a parable is the narration of some real or imaginary event which is intended to be interpreted with a heavenly meaning. Derived from the Greek *παραβολή*, a placing beside, the primary meaning would be a simple figure, comparison, or illustration; in which sense the word is used in classical Greek, Aristotle expressly distinguishing *παραβολή*, an illustration, from *λόγος*, the parable of Scripture. A parable, says Jerome, is a similitude, "quæ ab eo vocatur, quod alteri *παραβάλλεται*, hoc est assimilatur, et quasi umbra prævia veritatis" [Hieron. *Ep.* cxxi. 6]. These last few words point out the difference between the gospel parable and the earlier apologues. The New Testament use of the word is confined to those teachings of our Lord which convey a Divine lesson in human shape: a method which is

strictly Oriental: the sages of the East employing a sententious form of teaching, which our Lord adopted and sanctified by applying it to His own sacred purpose. In the parables of the Old Testament we have this difference, that no spiritual end was designed. The three most striking are Judg. ix. 8-15; 2 Sam. xii. 1-4, xiv. 2-7; but the prophets frequently used a similar form [Isa. vi. 9]. "Nulli enim dubium," says Jerome again, "ænigma ut parabolam, aliud proferre in verbis, aliud tenere in sensibus" [Hieron. *in Ezech.* v. 17; see also Prov. xxvi. 7]. Josephus speaks of a triple interpretation of the law among the Hebrews:—[1] *Auditio;* a simple unfolding of the Scripture, "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old:" [2] *Extensio;* when the history was expounded by a mystical extension: [3] *Parabolica;* when what was to be said was involved in parables [Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 17]. Augustine calls a parable "similitudo de aliquo," even in such a passage as Rom. viii. 3. He also divides all our Lord's parables into two classes, "parabolas Dominus aut secundum similitudinem aliquam ponit, . . . aut ex ipsa dissimilitudine aliquid probat" [August. *in Psa.* lxviii. 12; and *Quæst. Evang.* ii. 45]. Of the former sort are those of the man and his two sons, the man and the two debtors, and very many more; of the latter, those of the unjust steward, the man in bed and the loaves, and the like.

In the introductory essay to Trench's *Parables* is an exhaustive treatise on the origin and nature of scriptural and other parables, with abundant authorities and illustrations; where the following digest is given of the distinction between a parable and other kindred compositions: "To sum up all, then, the parable differs from the fable, moving as it does in a spiritual world, and never transgressing the actual order of things natural—from the mythus, there being an unconscious blending of the deeper meaning with the outward symbol, the two remaining separate and separable in the parable—from the proverb, inasmuch as it is longer carried out, and not merely accidentally and occasionally, but necessarily figurative—from the allegory, comparing as it does one thing *with* another, but, at the same time, preserving them apart as an inner and an outer, and not transferring, as does the allegory, the properties and qualities and relations of one *to* the other" [Trench's *Parables*, p. 10, 4th ed.].

The word παραβολὴ only occurs twice in the New Testament elsewhere than in the Gospels, viz. in Heb. ix. 9 and xi. 19. In the former, the reference is to the sacrifices of the Mosaic law, as being a type of good things to come, παραβολὴ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἐνεστηκότα, "a figure for the time then present:" in the latter, to the sacrifice of Isaac, as a type of Christ. St. John uses the word παροιμία four times, and never παραβολή, but when the former word is translated "proverb" in the text of the Authorized Version the margin adds "or parable."

PARACLETE. [ὁ Παράκλητος.] The normal sense of this word is that of an "Advocate," and so it is rendered both in the Vulgate and in the English Version in St. John's first Epistle, "If any man sin we have an Advocate [παράκλητος] with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous" [1 John ii. 1]. This is the classical use of the word, which follows its derivation from παρακαλέω, to call another to aid as pleader of one's cause. The word seems, however, to mean something more in the only other places of Holy Scripture in which it is used. Our Lord had been speaking to the Apostles of His own office as their Advocate with the Father, and of the prevailing power of prayer through Him, when, He adds, "I will pray [ἐρωτήσω] the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter [ἄλλον παράκλητον], that He may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth" [John xiv. 16]. "But the Comforter [ὁ παράκλητος], the Holy Ghost, Whom the Father shall send in My Name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you" [John xiv. 26]. "When the Comforter is come Whom I will send unto you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of Me" [John xv. 26]. "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you. And when He is come, He will reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. . . . When He, the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth, for He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak; and He will shew you things to come. He shall glorify Me: for He shall receive of Mine, and shall shew it unto you" [John xvi. 7-14]. In the first of these passages only will the word bear the meaning of "Advocate," the others referring to "witness" and "instruction;" a Witness of Christ for the rebuke of the world: an Instructor for the Apostles by "bringing all things" respecting Christ "to their remembrance," by "guiding them into all truth," by revealing to them "things to come," by bringing back to them [ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν] that which He should receive from Christ in Heaven.

The idea of "Consolator" was, therefore, associated with the title ὁ Παράκλητος by some of the Fathers. St. Chrysostom says that the Holy Spirit was called by this name, because of the afflictions under which the Apostles were then suffering [Chrys. *Homil. in Joan.* lxxv.]. St. Cyril of Jerusalem gives the same interpretation [Cyril. Hier. *Catech.* xvi.]. St. Augustine admits the sense of *Consolator*, as well as that of *Advocatus* [Aug. *Homil. in. Joan.* xciv.]. Origen explains that the Holy Spirit is called Paraclete, because consolation is the gift which every one must receive who receives the gifts of the Holy Ghost worthily [Origen, *de Princip.* ii. 7]. But that there has always been some doubt as to the true sense of the word is shewn by the fact that St. Isidore identifies it in one place with *advocatus*, and in another very shortly afterwards with *consolator*. St. John Damascene (who is followed by Hesychius) defines the name as belonging to the Holy Spirit, because He receives the suppli-

cations and prayers of mankind [Damascen. *De Orthod. Fid.* i. 10].

In the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, the Latin Paracletus is rendered "Fre-friend;" but "Comforter" is found in the early English versions of the fourteenth century. It must, however, be remembered that "comfort" did not mean "consolation" in early English. The fourteenth century version reads, "And he *comfortide* hym with nailes, that it shulde not be moued" [Isa. xli. 7]; and "I may alle thingis in him that comfortith me" [Philip. iv. 13]. When the word "Comforter" was first used as the English form of Paraclete it was used, therefore, in the sense of Strengthener, or Supporter, rather than in that of Consoler; and such a meaning seems to agree well with that derived from the use of the word made by our Lord. Παράκλησις is, however, often used in the sense of consolation in the New Testament, and παρακλήτωρ is used in the sense of "consoler" in the Septuagint.

The title of "Paraclete" was blasphemously assumed by the heretic Manes, his name being associated with this act of maniacal folly by both Eusebius and St. Chrysostom. [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 31. Socrat. *Hist. Ecc.* i. 22. Epiphan. *Hær.* 65.]

PARADISE. An Old Testament word adopted by our Blessed Lord in the supreme hour of His Passion, when He said to the penitent thief upon the Cross, "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise" [ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, Luke xxiii. 43]. It is also used by St. Paul, who appears to identify it with "the third heaven" [2 Cor. xii. 2, 4] of Jewish theology. [Heaven.] It is also used a second time by our Lord, in His message to the Church of Ephesus, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of Paradise of God" [Rev. ii. 7].

The Old Testament sense of Paradise was a literal one, the word signifying in its original Persian form, from which it was taken into the Hebrew language, a pleasure-park largely planted with fruit trees. It seems generally to look to "the garden of the Lord" [Gen. xiii. 10], which was planted "eastward in Eden" [Gen. ii. 8], as the abode of our first parents in their state of innocency. The idea of a pleasure place planted with trees, like what we call a "park," as distinguished from a garden planted with flowers, is plainly associated with the refreshment and repose so much needed in the hot climate of the East. In a similar way, the "shadow of a great rock in a weary land" [Isa. xxv. 4, xxxii. 2] is spoken of by the prophet, and more than once associated with the protecting Providence and Presence of God.

This literal sense of the word, thus combined with the illustration afforded by prophetic language, may serve to give us an idea of the sense in which our Lord would use it while He was upon the Cross. He was referring, undoubtedly, to a place in which His Presence would be manifested after His death, and while His Body was still on the Cross, or in the tomb, "to-day." If, however, that place had been Heaven, it is most improbable that He would not have used the word "Heaven," which He so often did use, and which He used especially on one occasion in association with His Human Nature, "The Son of Man which is in Heaven" [John iii. 13]. Nor may we venture to speculate on the possibility of Christ being (in any way to which He would have referred at that time) in Heaven between His Death and His Resurrection, since, even after the latter, He said, "I am not yet ascended to My Father" [John xx. 17]. The rational conclusion is, therefore, that our Lord spoke of an intermediate state, in which His soul, and the soul of the penitent thief, would be in company, when separate from their mangled bodies, and that such an intermediate state or place, neither Heaven nor earth, our Lord was pleased to call "Paradise." Thus the Liturgy of Chrysostom says of our Lord, "In the grave bodily, in Hades spiritually as God, with the thief in Paradise as on a throne [ἐν παραδείσῳ δὲ μετὰ λῃστοῦ, ὡς ἐν θρόνῳ], wert Thou O Christ, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, Who art incircumscript, and fillest all things."

Hence the idea of Paradise is associated with the Intermediate State of the souls of the blessed in the interval between Death and the general Resurrection. It is a place where there is peace and refreshment, as in the garden of the Lord, whose trees afford shelter from the wind, and shadow from the scorching sun, and tranquillity from the storms that beset a life in the world without. It is a place where God Himself condescends to "walk in the cool of the day" [Gen. iii. 8], and to bless with a sense of His Presence those whom He takes to rest and refreshment even from such excruciating agonies as those of the penitent thief. It is a place which is "the third heaven" in comparison with any experiences of previous existence; where the "Tree of Life" is restored to those who are received there; and which is so truly a restoration of the first Paradise, that no blessedness lies beyond except that of the full Beatific Vision of the Resurrection Kingdom. [Rev. xxii. 4.]

PARDON. [Absolution.]

PARDONS. [Indulgences.]

PARISH [παροικία]. "A parish is that circuit of ground which is committed to the charge of one parson, or vicar, or other minister, having cure of souls therein." [Blackstone's *Comm. Introd.* iv.] The word originally referred not to the *parish* of the priest, but to the *diocese* of the bishop. Its meaning is [1] "living in a place as πάροικος, sojourning;" and [2] "an ecclesiastical district, much like διοίκησις." These two words were for three hundred years at least of the same import, "denoting not what we now call a parish church, but a city, with its adjacent town or country region." [Bingham's *Antiq.* IX. viii. 1.]

The earliest instance of a city divided into ecclesiastical districts is the city of Alexandria. These several districts were known by the name of *laura* [λαύρα, *i.e.* a street,[1] *vide* St. Epiph. *Hæres.* lxix.; *Arian*, c. 1]. In each of them was a church

[1] The word also means a collection of cells in which hermits lived, as *e.g.* in Egypt.

and a presbyter appointed to serve it—to one of them we find the heretic Arius presented by the Bishop Achillas [A.D. 311]. But all these districts formed the one παροικία of the bishop. In other large cities the clergy were usually attached to the cathedral or mother church, and from that served other churches in town and country. As time went on and numbers increased, what is called the parochial system became a necessity. "Rural presbyters" (ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι), *i.e.* persons appointed by the bishop to the charge of rural districts, are mentioned by St. Epiphanius as belonging to Carchara in Mesopotamia in the middle of the third century [*Hæres.* lxvi. n. 11]. They are also alluded to by Dionysius of Alexandria, by St. Athanasius, and by the Councils of Illiberis [*circa* A.D. 305] and Neocæsarea [A.D. 315]. The latter council, in its thirteenth canon, forbade them to officiate in the city churches, save in the absence of the bishop and city presbyters. About this time the smaller divisions began gradually to take the name of parishes. The Council of Chalcedon [A.D. 451] speaks of the country *parishes* as belonging to the bishop (τὰς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀγροικικὰς παροικίας ἢ ἐγχωρίους), and to the Council of Vaison [A.D. 442] it seemed good "ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus *parochiis* verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem" [can. ii.]. For a long time, however, according to Thomassin [part i. bk. ii. c. 21], such offices as those for public baptism, the reconciliation of penitents, and the consecration of the Eucharist, were confined to the mother Church, and were not permitted in the *tituli* or lesser churches. Even in the fifth century the presbyters of these churches in Rome received every Sunday the Blessed Sacrament, consecrated by the bishop, and did not themselves consecrate.

There was also no special appropriation of ecclesiastical revenues to particular places. The clergy were provided for out of the revenues of the great or mother Church, where the tithes and oblations of the faithful formed a common fund, which was in the hands of the bishop, and managed by an officer called *œconomus*, or guardian. In England it must have been a considerable time before this community of possessions between bishop and clergy was discontinued. Bede [*Eccl. Hist.* bk. iv. c. 27] mentions how it existed in the time of St. Cuthbert at Lindisfarne [A.D. 664], and how St. Gregory had instructed St. Augustine to "establish that course of life which was among our ancestors in the Primitive Church, among whom none called anything that he possessed his own; but all things were in common to them."

There is great uncertainty about the date of the first division of parishes in England. No record remains of their existence in the ancient British Church. Many writers (*e.g.* Godwin, Dugdale, Camden) ascribe their institution to Archbishop Honorius [A.D. 640], but it probably took place not before, if so soon as, the end of that century. The law of King Edgar [A.D. 970] provided "ut dentur omnes decimæ, primariæ ecclesiæ ad quam parochia pertinet." This proves that parishes were then in existence. No doubt, as the laity began to build and endow churches, parishes increased in number and became settled in boundary, and thus too the laity acquired their rights of patronage.

The boundaries of parishes depend not on title-deeds or parliamentary enactments, but "on ancient and immemorial custom." At first they were generally conterminous with the manors, as it was frequently by the piety of the lords of the manors that churches were erected. The ancient ceremony (happily not wholly disused) of "beating the bounds" has preserved the just rights of parishes as settled by ancient custom.

In the time of Cardinal Wolsey the number of parish churches was reckoned at 9,407. Camden enumerates 9,284. In the population abstract of 1831, the number of parishes and parochial chapelries in England and Wales is estimated at 10,700. Since that date the number has increased considerably. The Legislature made partial provision for such increase in the Acts 6 & 7 Vict. cap. 37, and 7 & 8 Vict. cap. 94 (Sir Robert Peel's Acts), and also in 19 & 20 Vict. cap. 104 (the Marquis of Blandford's Act). [Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl.*, pars I. lib. ii. et iii. Bingham's *Antiq.* ix. 8. For legal questions see Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, Phillimore's ed., and Stephen's *Blackstone*, vol. i. pp. 116-122, and vol. iii. pp. 116-121.]

PARSON ["persona ecclesiæ"]. "One that hath full possession of all the rights of a parochial church. He is called parson, *persona*, because by his person the Church, which is an invisible body, is represented. . . . He is sometimes called the *rector* or governor of the church; but the appellation of *parson* (however it may be depreciated by familiar, clownish, and indiscriminate use) is the most legal, most beneficial, and most honourable title that a parish priest can enjoy; because such a one (Sir Edward Coke observes), and he only, is said 'vicem seu personam ecclesiæ gerere'" [Blackstone's *Comm.* I. xi. 5]. By law, the freehold of the parsonage house, glebe, church, and churchyard, are in the parson, save in the case of a lay rector, who holds the freehold of the chancel. The tithes and dues also belong to him, unless appropriated. The repairs of the body of the church and churchyard fall upon the parishioners, those of the chancel on the parson, or on that anomalous person who is not a "persona," the lay rector.

Blackstone mentions four requisites as necessary to becoming a parson:—

1. *Holy Orders.* Formerly a deacon could be inducted to a benefice, though, if he did not take priest's orders within one year, he was *ipso facto* deprived; but now, by 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 14, sec. 14, only those in priest's orders are capable of admission to a living.

2. *Presentation.* The patron *may* present a layman, but the latter must take priest's orders before institution. If the person presented be not objected to by the bishop, either [1] because of his own, or [2] because of the patron's unfitness,[1] there next follows—

[1] For the reasons on which a bishop may object, see Stephen's *Blackstone*, iii. p. 28.

3. *Institution, i.e.* "investiture of the *spiritual* part of the benefice; for by institution the care of the *souls* of the parish is committed to the charge of the clerk." This is the most important part of all the stages by which a clergyman becomes rector or vicar of a parish; for by it the bishop gives over to the parson a portion of his own pastoral charge, with a solemn invocation of the Blessed Trinity. [Mission. Cure of Souls.] After institution he can enter on the parsonage house and glebe, and receive tithes, but cannot grant or let them, &c., until

4. *Induction.* This is "investiture of the temporal part of the benefice." It is performed by mandate from the bishop, and by it the clerk receives "corporal possession of the church," usually tolling a bell as a sign thereof.

After all these ceremonies the clerk becomes a "parson imparsonée," or "persona impersonata," the only further requisite to the full validity of his title being that he should "read himself in" by saying Divine Service, reading the Thirty-nine Articles, and publicly declaring his assent to both.

The word "persona" was also applied to certain offices in cathedral and collegiate churches, the dignitaries of which were called "personæ ecclesiæ, personæ principales, and personæ privilegiati." By the Hereford Statutes, the bishop, dean, precentor, treasurer, and chancellor, were "personæ in dignitatibus constitutæ." At York, chantry priests of St. William's College were called "sacerdotes personæ," and at Beverley the "rectores chorales" were known as "personæ." In various foreign churches the inferior cathedral clergy were called "personats."

PASCHAL CONTROVERSY. Various difficulties have surrounded the reckoning of Easter from the first origin of the Christian Church. The three synoptical Gospels are unanimous [Matt. xxvi. 17-19; Mark xiv. 12-16; Luke xxii. 7-9] in their statement that our Lord instituted the Holy Eucharist at His last Paschal Supper. St. John is equally precise in saying that the Jews would not enter the judgment-hall "lest they should be defiled" through blood pollution, and be precluded from eating the Passover in the evening [John xviii. 28]. How came it then that our Lord should have celebrated the Passover on one evening, and that the Jews should have deferred the memorial feast till the corresponding period of the next day? This is a real difficulty, but the following is probably the solution.

Since the appearance of the new moon determined the Jewish calendar, an assembly was held in the Temple, on the closing day of each month, to receive intelligence respecting the first φάσις of the new moon. If nothing was announced, a day was intercalated; yet if the appearance of the moon was afterwards authenticated the intercalation was cancelled. This naturally caused much confusion, especially in the critical month of Nisan. Hence [Talmud, *Rosh. Hashanah Gem.* 1] it was permitted that in doubtful cases the Passover might be observed on two consecutive days. For the intercalation of a day at Jerusalem could hardly be known in Galilee; and according to Maimonides [קדש החדש], in these more distant parts of Judæa, the Passover was in some years kept on one day, at Jerusalem on another. Our Lord coming in from the country followed the letter of the law; but the main body of the Jews observing rather the "tradition of the elders," sacrificed the Passover on the following day, in consequence of the intercalation of a day in the preceding month. Thus our Lord ate the Passover on the evening of the 14th Nisan, and was upon the same day the "very Paschal Lamb" by the death of the Cross [Harvey, *Creeds*, 328].

Easter has been the high festival of the Church from the days of the Apostles; though the primitive ritual, like the primitive creeds, followed no invariable rule. Thus while the churches in a large majority celebrated Easter Sunday on the first Lord's day after the 14th of Nisan on which our Lord suffered; others, such as the Asiatic churches, commemorated our Lord's death on the 14th of Nisan, as being the very day of the Saviour's Cross and Passion. This they did irrespectively of the day of the week on which it might fall. The Paschal fast also was variously observed. Tertullian speaks of it as extending over the Holy Week [*de Jejun.* xiv.]; Epiphanius says "the Catholic Church solemnizes not only the 14th Nisan but the entire week" [*Hær.* L. 3]; drawing a distinction between the orthodox and the Ebionite Quartodeciman, who kept fast only on the 14th of Nisan. The Western and more Catholic rule was to observe the Friday preceding Easter Sunday as a rigid fast, the Church identifying the Apostles' sorrowing with their own; and the fast was not resolved till Easter morn; while the Asiatic Quartodeciman party regarded the 14th Nisan, from a doctrinal point of view, as the commemoration day of man's redemption; and at the hour in which our Lord said "It is finished," *i.e.* at three o'clock in the afternoon, the fast was brought to an end [Eus. *H. E.* v. 23], and the day closed with the collective agape and celebration of the Lord's Supper. Whether the fast was resumed and maintained till Easter Day does not appear, neither is it certainly known whether these churches celebrated Easter on the Lord's Day next following, or on the next day but one to the 14th Nisan, on whatever day of the week that might fall. The latter, however, would seem to have been the practice, from the decree of an early synod [Eus. *H. E.* v. 23] convened to consider the case, which ordained that the Feast of the Resurrection should be celebrated on the Lord's Day, and on no other, and that the Paschal Fast should then be brought to a close; for the ordinance would not have been needed if there had been nothing in this particular to amend. Hefele, however, sees in this decree a proof that the Asiatic Easter was always celebrated on the Lord's Day. The Council of Arles, A.D. 314, at which British bishops were present, similarly decreed that Easter should only be celebrated on the Lord's Day.

Irenæus declares that with respect to the

Paschal Fast there was great divergence of practice: some churches fasting for one day, as the Ebionites, some for two, and some for the forty hours, day and night, that immediately preceded the dawn of Easter; and he speaks of it as an old standing discrepancy; *οὐ νῦν ἐφ ἡμῶν γεγοννία, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν.* [*Ep. ad Victor. Fragm.* iii. Cambr. ed.] The Primitive Church, therefore, knew no fixed rule for the universal observance of the Paschal Fast.

With respect to the precise day on which the Lord's death should be commemorated there was a threefold difference of practice. [1.] The Catholic Church affirmed that our Lord suffered on the 14th of Nisan; but seeing that the new creation dates from Easter morning, the Lord's day next following was the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*, and the Friday preceding was the *πάσχα στανρώσιμον*. Thus the rule was fixed according to the day of the week on which our Lord suffered, and was declared to be the truer ordinance, *τάξις ἀληθεστέρα*. This was the practice of the Church of Rome, and of the generality of churches throughout Christendom, and was said to have been derived from the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul [Eus. *H. E.* v. 23; Socr. *H. E.* v. 22]. [2.] The Asiatic rule was professedly based upon the authority of St. John the Evangelist and of St. Philip, and was adopted by the Churches of Proconsular Asia [Eus. *H. E.* v. 23], and those of neighbouring provinces; by Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilicia [Athanas. *ad Afr.* c. 2, *de Synod. Arim. et Sel.*]; and, as Chrysostom says, Antioch [*In eos qui Orat. in Pascha jej.*, ed. Bened. i. 608]. It was the belief of all the Churches, that our Lord was put to death on the 14th of Nisan, the day on which the paschal lamb was slain. But many denied that the Last Supper was instituted at the Paschal Feast, or that our Lord celebrated the Passover at all in the last year of His ministry, the statements of the synoptical Gospels notwithstanding [see *Chron. Pasch.* i. 10-16]. The Asiatics commemorated the Lord's death on the 14th of Nisan, being guided by the day of the Jewish month, as the more general practice followed the day of the week on which Christ died. They were taunted for their Judaizing practice; though the Church of Rome in its ritual and liturgy had more perhaps in common with the Synagogue than the Churches of Asia. The Quartodecimans were but a small party in the Church. Still fewer in number were [3] the Ebionite or Judaizing Quartodecimans, who held by the observances of the Mosaic Law, and engrafted on them the Christian celebration, making the 14th of Nisan a day of hybrid ceremonial, in which type and antitype, shadow and substance, law and gospel were hopelessly confused. These three varying rules created a plentiful source of dissension; the Church was long unconscious of the coming evil, but while men slept the tares were sown. At first the bond of charity was known to be stronger than all, and difference of calendar made no alteration in the gospel law of love. Thus Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, having had occasion to visit Rome [A.D. 160] to confer with Pope Anicetus on other matters, found that the Asiatic rule differed essentially from that of Rome. Both could claim Apostolical authority, and therefore each reverently forbore from pressing a rival claim; while Anicetus assigned to his guest as his senior the privilege of consecrating the holy elements. But immediately afterwards a change came over the spirit of Rome. For the heretical Quartodeciman rule had been introduced there by Blastus, "his omnibus [*Marcioni sc. Tatiano*, &c.] etiam Blastus accedens, qui latenter Judaismum vult introducere" [Pseudo-Tert. *de Præscr. Hær.* 53], and with it the whole sweep of Ebionite perversion. Victor, therefore, Bishop of Rome, knew the Quartodeciman practice only in conjunction with a pestilential error, and never again dissociated the two in his mind. With a keen perception of the truth of his own position, he was blind to all that might be advanced by others, and threatened with excommunication [A.D. 180] all those churches which commemorated their Lord's death on the day of the month, and not with him on the day of the week. It was the first germ of that system of aggression which reached its climax in the Hildebrandine theory and practice of the Papacy. Synods were immediately held by his order [Eus. *H. E.* v. 23] in Palestine, Pontus, Gaul, Alexandria, Corinth and Rome, and the more Catholic rule was everywhere pronounced to be binding. It was also determined that the Feast of the Resurrection was the true close of the Paschal Fast, and that the Lord's day and no other should be the day for its celebration. The Asiatics remained unconverted and unconvinced, and continued to observe the 14th of Nisan as a day of mixed character, fasting till the ninth hour, and then rejoicing for the achieved work of man's redemption. In opposition to a somewhat crushing array of names, not of individuals but of churches, Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, and a friend of Polycarp, put forth a writing in the name of the Asiatic bishops, claiming the authority of St. John and St. Philip, whose tombs were still at Ephesus and Hierapolis, and urging the precedent of Polycarp, Melito, and other venerable bishops, in favour of their own Apostolical tradition. Still Victor pronounced them "heterodox," and not only essayed to cut them off from communion, *ἀποτέμνειν τῆς ἑνωσέως πειρᾶται*, as Hefele limits the words of Eusebius, but authoritatively pronounced them excommunicate, *στηλιτεύει διὰ γραμμάτων, ἀκοινωνήτους ἅρδην πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφούς* [Eus. *H. E.* v. 24]. The violent decree, however, was a mere "brutum fulmen," for none of the other Churches assented to it, and Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, wrote a letter of expostulation to Victor on the subject of his intemperance; the result was that Rome stood alone in its extreme antagonism to the Churches of Ephesine communion.

Hitherto the Paschal controversy had turned upon two points; [1] the proper day for the memorial of our Lord's death, and [2] the day on which the Paschal Fast should be resolved in the

Paschal Controversy

joyful commemoration of Easter. A third difficulty, of an Ebionite complexion, arose [A.D. 170] at Laodicea, the capital of Phrygia Pacatiana in Asia Minor; it was stated that our Lord instituted the Holy Eucharist on the 14th, and was put to death on the 15th of Nisan, the Jewish method of computing the commencement of the day from sunset having been apparently ignored [Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26]. The Paschal Feast of these schismatics combined the Eucharistic with the Paschal rite, and was essentially of a Jewish cast; for these Quartodecimans held that our Lord, by the significant rite of the Last Supper, had perpetuated the Jewish ordinance. The Church, of course, affirmed that the Passover, like any other typical observance, had only a temporary character, and that it was merged in the Christian commemoration of the sacrifice of the death of Christ upon the Cross. It was an entirely new phase of the Quartodeciman theory, and caused an evil report of Judaizing notions to be attached to the orthodox following of St. John and St. Philip and St. Polycarp. But the writers of the Asiatic Church at once denounced it as wholly inconsistent with Christian principle; and fragments still exist of writings that were put forth against it by Melito, Bishop of Sardis, and Apollinaris, Bishop of Hierapolis, both of whom followed the more orthodox Asiatic rule. "They err," says this latter writer, "who affirm that our Lord ate the Passover on the 14th Nisan with His disciples, and that He died on the great day of unleavened bread (*i.e.* 15th Nisan[1]). They maintain that Matthew records the event as they have imagined it; but their notion agrees not with the Law, and thereby the Gospels are made to wear a contradictory appearance" [*Chronicon Paschale*, i. 13; in Dindorf's *Byzant. Hist. Script.* xvi.]. This was the phase of Quartodeciman opinion which was introduced into Rome by Blastus, and was denounced at once by Irenæus [Eus. *H. E.* v. 20] in his treatise "de Schismate." His follower, Hippolytus, took an active part against it [*Fraym. in Chron. Paschal.* i. 12, 13; and *Philosoph.* vii. 18]; and Clement of Alexandria was induced by the treatise of Melito to refute the same error in his work on Easter, a few fragments of which are preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale* [*ib.* 14]. The Laodicean Quartodecimans closely followed the Jewish custom, whereby in a backward season as regards barley harvest, or whenever the solar cycle required it, an entire month was intercalated at the vernal equinox. Hence in some years there was with them a double Paschal celebration, and in others a total omission. These notions died out again before the end of the third century, but they caused an evil name to be attached to the orthodox Quartodeciman practice, and greatly embittered the differences that already existed between some of the Asiatic churches and the rest of the Christian world.[2]

Further, the more Catholic practice, like the Eastern, divaricated into two branches, and the Churches were unable to settle down upon one uniform rule. It was a question of astronomy; for the Jewish calendar ceased to be any reliable guide after the destruction of Jerusalem.[3] The equinox was then taken as the fixed date from whence Easter should be calculated. But astronomers differed as to the precise incidence of the equinox. At Rome it was March 18th, at Alexandria it was the 21st, according to the Macedonian calendar. The Asiatics, retaining their old custom, commemorated the death of our Lord on the full moon after March 21st. The rest of the world celebrated Easter on the first Sunday after the equinoctial full moon; but if the moon was at the full on Sunday, then on the succeeding Sunday, for the plain reason that the full moon in such a case coincided with the lunar age on the day of our Lord's death and not of the Resurrection. Hence those churches which followed the earlier equinox, occasionally found themselves rejoicing in Easter festivities, while the other churches were still practising the mortifications of Lent. And worse still; when the full moon fell on March 19th, Western churches celebrated their Easter accordingly; but the Alexandrian Church of necessity deferred their Easter till the next full moon, as being the first after the equinox of March 21st.

To obviate this difficulty various recurring cycles were devised, wherein the return of the full moon to the same solar position coincided after a certain number of years with the same day of the week and the same day of the year. But they were more or less inaccurate. The earliest was that of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus. As a rare waif of time this was discovered incised on the right face of the pedestal of a marble statue of Hippolytus seated on his episcopal throne, which was dug up [A.D. 1551] between Rome and Tivoli, near the Church of St. Lawrence, and is now preserved in the Vatican. Eusebius [*H. E.* vi. 22] attributes to Hippolytus the discovery of the cycle of sixteen years; and here it was found displayed for one hundred and twelve years [A.D. 222-333]; Easter Sunday on each of

[1] The 15th Nisan was the first day of unleavened bread [Lev. xxiii. 5; Num. xxviii. 16]; but in order that it might be certain that no leaven remained in the house, diligent search was made, and all leaven put away before mid-day on the 14th. This is the meaning of יום הראשׁן, "the previous day" in Ex. xii. 15, *i.e.* previous to the day on which there was a total abstinence from leaven. On this day also the Paschal Lamb was slain, after the "Tamid" or perpetual sacrifice of the afternoon, when all leaven had been put away [Ex. xxxiv. 25]; and was eaten at the vesper commencement of the 15th. The Passover, though sacrificed before the Tamid, would still have been valid as an ordinance. Hence the 14th Nisan was introductory only to the true feast of the 15th, and therefore generally the day of preparation. In Matt. xxvi. 17, *πρώτη τῶν ἀζύμων* refers evidently to this day of preparation, and not to the first entire day of unleavened observance.

[2] Thus Athanasius in his epistle to Epiphanius, as quoted in the *Chron. Paschale* [i. p. 9, B.], accuses the entire Quartodeciman party of Judaizing, *ἐξ ἡμῶν εἶναι δοκοῦντες καὶ Χριστιανοὶ αἰχοῦντες λέγεσθαι, ξηλοῦσι τὰ τῶν προδεδωκότων Ἰουδαίων.*

[3] See *Chron. Pasch.* i. 9, 10.

these years being given on the left face of the pedestal. But the cycle of sixteen years only shewed the recurrence of the Paschal day with regard to the day of the year, and not of the week. The same ancient authority also shews that the Paschal Fast was continued till Easter Sunday; the 18th of March being assumed always as the vernal equinox. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria [A.D. 246-265], set forth an eight-year cycle, κανόνα ὀκταετηρίδος [Eus. *H. E.* vii. 20]. Twelve years after his death [A.D. 277], Anatolius, an Alexandrian by birth and education, but Bishop of Laodicea in Syria, drew out the famous nineteen-years' cycle, originally the observation of Meton, the astronomer. The ancient Jews could only have celebrated the Passover after the vernal equinox; therefore this, with him March 19th, was made the basis of computation. The cycle was adopted at Alexandria, the equinox, however, being advanced two days to March 21st; and whenever the full moon happened on a Saturday, the next day, contrary to the Roman custom, was declared to be Easter Sunday. The Asiatics still followed the Jewish computation as harmonizing with the Saviour's practice, and cared nothing for the equinox, which their Easter occasionally anticipated; and for this reason the term Protopaschitæ was applied to them.

The confusion caused by these differences must have been very great, and especially in conterminous Churches, where one custom ended and another began; but it was not till A.D. 314, that an attempt was made to produce uniformity by synodal action. In that year the Council of Arles in its first canon decreed that Easter should be solemnized "uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem;" and the Bishop of Rome sent forth an encyclical letter to enforce the desired harmony of action [Mansi, *Coll. Conc.* ii. 471; Hard. i. 263]. But a provincial council could speak with no authority to the Church Catholic; neither was the Roman bishop as yet the Supreme Pontiff, and practice continued to be discordant. It then became one of the two principal subjects for discussion and arrangement in the Council of Nice. No decree on the subject appears in its canons, and it is difficult to see any reason for the omission, unless it be that the Fathers were unable to make up their minds upon a point that could only be settled by the astronomical expert. Thus they delegated to Eusebius of Cæsarea the duty of determining the right rule of Easter, and of recommending the most accurate cycle to be adopted in framing the calendar. The Epistle of Constantine to the Churches shews clearly the general points on which the Nicene Fathers were agreed, viz. 1. That from henceforth the vernal equinox, and not the Jewish calendar, should determine the incidence of Easter. 2. That when the equinoctial full moon fell on a Sunday, Easter should be celebrated on the Sunday following; both for the reason already given and because the Jewish festival would have been celebrated and over. Also by making Easter of necessity subsequent to the vernal equinox, there was no longer danger of a double observance in the same year. But which equinoctial day was adopted, the Roman or the Alexandrian? The Latin translation of the Prologus Paschalis of Cyril of Alexandria, says that the Alexandrian Church, as representing the astronomical science of the day, was ordered to announce to the Church of Rome the true incidence of Easter in each year, and that it should be notified from Rome throughout the Churches [Petavius, *Doct. Temp. II. App.*; Hefele, *Conc.* i. 313; Ideler, *Handb. d. Chron.* ii. 258]. Leo I. repeats the account [*Ep.* 121 *al.* 94]; and Ambrose virtually says the same thing: the Nicene Council having, according to his statement, adopted the cycle of nineteen years, which, as has been shewn, was the Alexandrian computation [Ambr. *Ep. ad. Epis. cop. Æm.*]. But independently of the equinox, the Paschal difficulties were not yet foreclosed. The Roman Church still clung to its faulty cycle of eighty-four years, the Alexandrian to that of nineteen, and it still continued to be a matter of reproach that the two principal Churches of Christendom were often found to celebrate Easter on different days. The Council of Sardica therefore, as seen by the lately discovered Festal Letters of Athanasius [Cureton, *from the Nitrian Syr. MS.* A.D. 343], endeavoured to compose the difference by drawing out a Paschal scheme for half a century. But it only defined the lunations, and [A.D. 387] matters shewed worse than ever when Rome celebrated Easter on the 21st of March, but the Alexandrian Church, since the 21st was its equinox, postponed the celebration till after the next full moon, or till late in April. The Quartodeciman party also still survived, the Nicene injunctions notwithstanding, as may be seen by the anathemas against the τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῖται of the Councils of Antioch [A.D. 341], can. 1; Conc. Laodic. [A.D. 364] can. 7; Conc. Constantinopol. [A.D. 381] can. 7. It may be observed here that the Jews learned from the Christian Church to frame a Paschal cycle, which was first adopted in the presidency of Hillel II. at Tiberias, A.D. 358. The Paschal difference thus continued to cause more or less inconvenience and heart-burning for another century and a half, till Dionysius Exiguus did good service to chronology by first dating events from the Christian era, and by giving fixity to the cycle of nineteen years for determining Easter. This he did by adopting the Alexandrian method of calculation, and reforming the Roman calendar accordingly, in which the Churches of Italy readily acquiesced, while those of Gaul and Britain still held by their "old style." When the Heptarchy became Romanized, the Dionysian method was accepted in Britain, though in Wales and in the northern parts of the island, the old eighty-four year cycle of Rome was still retained. A council was held on the subject, A.D. 664, at Streaneshalch (Whitby) King Oswy having found that his queen and her ladies were fasting in Lent while he indulged in the festivities of Easter. The Roman order was then fully confirmed in Britain. As Montalembert has justly observed, this difference had no

thing to do with Quartodeciman practice, which in fact had died away in the sixth century [*Moines de l'Occid.* iv. 159]. In our present calendar the Prime or Golden Number marks the particular year of the nineteen-years' cycle; and these Golden Numbers added in the margin from March 21st to April 18th, indicate the days of the plenilunium on which Easter for each particular year depends, and which is the Sunday next following; unless Sunday should be the day of full moon, in which case Easter falls on the following Sunday. [Hefele, *Concilien*, i. Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronol. Chronicon. Paschale* in Dindorf's *Byzant. Hist. Scr.* xvi. xvii. Gieseler, *H. E.* i. Cureton's *Festal Ep. of Athanasius*, transl. from the Syriac.]

PASSION OF CHRIST. The true and real suffering, even to death, of the Body and Soul of our Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man.

It has been truly said that the suffering life of the Saviour began with His conception in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, for such an act of unbounded humiliation must needs be reckoned one of suffering. So also in the first shedding of His blood at circumcision; in His subjection to His parents for many long years; in the poverty of His birth, and the lowness of His station in life; in all that whereby He humbled Himself to become like the lowest of ourselves, we must account that He suffered for our sakes. And when His ministry was about to begin, He added yet to these a more bitter trial, the forty days' fast and the strong temptation. From that time at least He became a "Man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief." But the term "Passion" belongs more properly to that which He underwent during the fifteen or more hours that elapsed between the night of the Last Supper and three o'clock on the following afternoon; beginning with His agony in the garden of Gethsemane, and ending with His death upon the Cross.

The idea of a good man suffering was familiar enough to the Jews, who had the example of Job before them. It was so far familiar to the heathen that the wisest among them had predicted for a perfectly good man a fate almost exactly similar to that which actually befell our Lord.[1] But the suffering of One Who was not only the best among men, but God as well as man, involved ideas to which the world was not soon or easily reconciled. In the first ages, when the idea was not familiarized, men could not be brought to entertain it. A crucified God and Saviour was to many a contradiction of terms, "to the Jews a stumbling-block," even as when they cried, "If Thou be the Christ, save Thyself and come down from the Cross;" "to the Greeks foolishness"—beyond the compass of their ordinary philosophy. For a little time, even the chosen disciples looked doubtingly upon the death of their Master. They "trusted that it had been He Which should have redeemed Israel," and behold, their expected Redeemer had died the death of one accursed by the law. But when we thus call to mind the unbelief of the Jews and Gentiles, and how "slow of heart," even the chosen ones of Christ were "to believe" in His sufferings; let us also remember that our belief in them is formed upon the tradition of eighteen centuries, upon the coincidence of prophecy and narrative, upon the knowledge of what a crucified Saviour can do for us; and that, therefore, the incredulity of the first ages was far less unreasonable than any such incredulity would be in our own day.

Some of the early heretics endeavoured to set aside the idea of a suffering God-Man by absurd theories which were generally resolvable into the unhistorical fancy of a phantom figure upon the Cross instead of an actual person [DOCETÆ], anticipating the grotesque perverseness of unbelief which characterizes some modern Rationalists. But a true appreciation of the one great fact of the Incarnation will give a key to the doctrine of our Lord's Passion, and shew that it was the orderly sequel of the great mystery by which it had been preceded. It was no such marvel that when He had taken human nature in its entirety, with its capacities for ordinary human life, He should experience those capacities to the extent of suffering; the true marvel is in the original condescension of becoming man, and so opening out the way to that experience: that He, being God, should inseparably unite His impassible Godhead with a nature of which suffering and death were the foreordained and customary lot.

But the suffering death of Christ was not the ordinary sequel of human life, nor merely such a sequel accompanied by great sorrow and pain, nor merely the heroic resignation of an unparalleled martyrdom. It might have been all these, it might have lived in the loving memory of Christians, and have been worthy to be set forth throughout subsequent ages as a marvellous example, and yet if it had not been something more it would not have been enough to fulfil the object for which it was undergone. But it was a great deal more, for it was the Passion of that Person in Whom the Divine Nature was united with the Human Nature: and although the Divine Nature itself did not and could not suffer, but only the human, yet in this, as in all other circumstances of our Lord's Life and Work, the union of the higher with the lower nature gave to the latter a power and force which it would not by itself have possessed, infinitely extending the virtue of its acts through all ages and over all human beings. Hence the Passion of Christ, God and Man, the sufferings of His Body and the sufferings of His Soul, gave to His Blood that redeeming power which is so often predicated of it in Holy Scripture, a power of atonement as a sacrifice, of purification, and of spiritual nutriment by its sacramental administration. His sufferings had a vicarious operation, so that "the Just suffered for the unjust" [1 Pet. iii. 18]; and they also flowed out like a stream of life through the ages that were to come, and became an ever enduring power,

[1] "He shall be scourged, he shall be tormented, he shall be bound, he shall have his eyes burnt out, and after suffering every evil, he shall be crucified at a stake." [Plato, *Repub.* ii. p. 361, E.]

to be pleaded in Litanies and Liturgies, and used in Sacraments.

In dwelling upon the Passion of Christ, therefore, it will give but an imperfect view of its power, and of what it effected, if the human aspect of His sufferings is alone, or in undue proportion, set forth. So also in estimating the force of Scriptural and Patristic language respecting it, the Person of Whom such language is used must be fully kept in mind, or it may seem exaggerated in tone and overclouded as to fact. But if it is duly kept in mind that it was the Sufferer's Divine Personality which made His sufferings different from mere human sufferings, such as those of dying heroes or of martyrs, then the intensity of their character, their value as a sacrifice, their everlasting power as the treasure of the Church, will be more clearly appreciated, and the true reason why such exalted language is used respecting them will be better understood.

PASSIVE OBEDIENCE. [Nonjurors.]

PASSOVER. So called from the action of the destroying angel in passing over the threshold of the Israelites, red with the blood of the Paschal Lamb, when all the first-born of Egypt were smitten [Exod. xii. 13]. The Hebrew term is Pesach, from "pasach," to pass over, with an idea of condonation also involved in it [Isa. xxxi. 5]; the Aramaic form of which, "Pischa," gives πασχὰ in the Greek and Latin. It was the first of the three solemn feasts at which every male was bound to present himself before the Lord, all of which exhibit in one form or other thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth. Thus at the Passover the first ripened grain was offered in a wave-sheaf of barley; at Pentecost thanksgiving was made for the wheat harvest; and at the Feast of Tabernacles the ingathering of the vintage and of the oil olive was celebrated [Exod. xxiii. 15, 16, xxxiv. 22]. The maintenance of the people doubtless was the reason why the exodus took place at the beginning of the harvest; and the greatness of the event caused the more ancient subject of the thanksgiving to recede into the background, though not wholly to vanish, and the Passover was chiefly known as the celebration of Jewish deliverance from the house of bondage. The Paschal week, the first and last days of which were sabbatical, began on the fourteenth day of the first month, Abib [Exod. xxiii. 15], afterwards termed Nisan [Esth. iii. 7], the Macedonian Xanthicus "ripener;" and therefore when the moon was at the full. The Paschal solemnity is mentioned less frequently than might be expected in the Old Testament. After the first celebration in the exodus from Egypt, the institution is reaffirmed in the first month of the second year [Numb. ix. 1]. At Gilgal the manna ceased on the second day of the Paschal feast [Josh. v. 10], corresponding with the day of our Lord's Resurrection; angels' food was superseded by the bread of life; and direct revelation from Heaven was foreclosed when the promised Comforter was about to be sent. In the reign of Hezekiah, the festival was restored after a period of neglect [2 Chron. xxx.]. After the Captivity it was duly kept under Zorobabel [Ezra vi. 20], according to the warning of prophecy [Ezek. xlv. 21]. Elsewhere it is not mentioned. The season, however, is indicated in Ruth, who returned to Bethlehem in the first days of barley harvest [Ruth i. 22]; and in the sanguinary vengeance of the Gibeonites upon the sons of Saul, which David permitted to be executed at the same holy season [2 Sam. xxi. 9].

The Karaite sect doubtless preserved the ancient method of determining the Paschal moon. If between the "birth" of the new moon and the fourteenth, the growing barley rubbed out freely and showed fitness for the harvest, it was a customary year; but if it was unripe and milky, a month was intercalated. As this, in ordinary seasons, depended on the lunar period, a cycle was formed after the Captivity for the determination of the Paschal moon with something like regularity; and taunts were plentiful among the Karaites when in a particular year the Passover was kept by the Talmudical Jews according to these tables, but with the old moon still visible in the heavens. [Makrisi, in De Sacy, *Chrestom. Arab.*] In older times the new moon was determined by observation, and a reward was given to the first person who announced the "birth" of the moon to a conclave which sat for the purpose of receiving intelligence in a chamber of the Temple. The Talmud records an instance when, in consequence of the uncertainty of the lunar phase, the Passover was observed on two consecutive days. [*Gemara in Rosh. Hashanah.*]

The time of the Paschal Sacrifice was originally in the evening twilight, "bein 'ar 'vayin" [Exod. xii. 6], "between the two occultations" of the sun beneath the horizon, and of the twilight in the darkness of night; but afterwards the time was changed to the afternoon of the 14th, immediately after the evening daily sacrifice [Jos. *de. Bell. Jud.* vi. 9, 3; *Mishna, Pesach*, v. 3], *i.e.* between three and five o'clock. The locality was the fore-court of the Temple, where each householder, assisted by the Levites [2 Chron. xxxv. 11; Ezra vi. 20], slew his lamb. The Babylonian Talmud [*Joma*, fol. 12, A] says that strangers coming up to Jerusalem had the loan of an apartment rent free, and they left for the host the lamb's skin and the earthenware that was used by way of acknowledgment. The Jerusalem Talmud in the treatise *Pesach* gives very interesting particulars with respect to the observance of the Passover. On the 15th of Adar preparation was made for the influx of strangers by repairing ways and bridges, cleansing water-courses and "garnishing" the tombs. A few days before the feast all household utensils of silver, tin, and brass, were brightened up, and plunged in scalding water, heated in a cauldron only used for this purpose; iron articles were made red-hot, and then quenched in it. Earthenware vessels must be new, and purified by triple immersion in the running stream [Vaihinger in Herzog, *Pascha*]. Paschal lambs were offered for sale in the outer court of the Temple. On the 13th of Nisan water was drawn from the living stream by the master of each house, and

brought home in a covered vessel [Mark xiv. 13; Luke xxii. 10], for the purpose of preparing the unleavened bread on the morning of the 14th from the meal of wheat, barley, oat, rye, or spelt, a cake of which was offered in the Temple. On the 14th of Nisan personal purification, descending to the most trifling particulars, was enjoined, and search was made through every house for leaven; which gives a curious instance of the Talmudic application of Scripture: for it is written, "No leaven shall be found in your houses" [Exod. xii. 19]; but "to find" is the correlative of "to search," therefore search must be made diligently. Moreover, it is written, "I will search Jerusalem with candles" [Zeph. i. 12], therefore the search for leaven must be made with candles. Any leaven that was found was burnt in a fire kindled after mid-day in the open air. St. Paul [1 Cor. v. 7] makes evident allusion to this putting away of leaven. If the 14th fell on the Sabbath, all these preparations were made on the 13th, and sufficient leavened bread was reserved for use on the day of unleavened bread [14th Nisan, Luke xxii. 7], on which day it was still allowed until the unleavened bread was baked. It would seem, therefore, that the Eastern rule was more strictly in accordance with our Lord's Institution of the Eucharist, than that of the Latin Church, and that the Bread of Blessing was leavened. [Filioque.] In the afternoon the feast was ushered in with the blowing of trumpets. The lambs were taken to the Temple, and at the time of the evening sacrifice the multitude was divided into three bands; when the first detachment had filled the outer court the gates were closed. The priests standing in double line received the blood of each lamb as it was slain in a gold or silver bowl, which was then passed from hand to hand, and the blood was poured upon the base of the altar before it coagulated. The full bowls passed along one line, and were returned empty by the other. But the gold and silver vessels each had their respective line of priests. The vessels also had no footstands, that they might not be set down, and so cause the blood to coagulate [*Pesach*, v. 5]. The Levites hung the lamb upon the hooks with which the wall and pillars were studded. They then stripped off the skin, disembowelled it, and the fat and kidneys having been placed on a dish were conveyed to the priest, who sprinkled salt upon the contents, and consumed them with incense in the altar fire [*ibid.* 9, and *Tosaphtah*, iii. 7]; the altar having an area of twenty-eight cubits. The lamb was then wrapped up in the fleece and carried home. During all this process the Hallel Psalms were chanted by Levites from a raised platform [Hallel]; the same process was repeated with the second and the third detachments; only the numbers of the third, who as later comers were called "the band of laggards" [*Tosaphtah*], were considerably diminished, and Rabbi Jehudah says that their Hallel never reached the text, "I am well pleased that the Lord hath heard the voice of my prayer" [Psa. cxvi. 1]. The tradition, therefore, of the Tosaphtah [iv. 8, Supplement to the Mishna] is entirely apocryphal, which says that in the time of Agrippa the crowd of householders was so great that a kidney having been set apart from each sacrifice, in obedience to his order, there were found to be six hundred thousand pairs of kidneys; or there were then twice as many householders as there were males of full age at the numbering in the desert [Numb. xxvi. 2, 51]. Each Israelite slaughtered his own lamb; "Mactat Israelita," says the Mishna [*Pesach*, v. 6], and Philo bears out the assertion [*v. Mos.* iii. and *de Decalog.*]. As in the Roman Church a want of intention on the part of the celebrant vitiates the Sacrament, so in the Paschal Sacrifice, if the lamb was not slain "ratione Paschatis," the act was void so far as a due celebration was concerned [*Gemara, Hieros. Const.* ii. *in Pesach.* v. 2]; though the act of dipping the bitter herbs in the "pulmentum" made the intention good [*Gemara in Pesach*, x. 3]. The last band having retired, the outlet of the water-courses was stopped, and the whole area flushed with water, it being the glory of the priests on this occasion to wade in blood up to the knees [*Mishna, Pesach*, v. 8; *Tosaphtah*, iv. 7]; the court thus became once more "as clean as milk," and ready for the thank-offerings of the midnight service.

These things having been done in the Temple the lamb at home was trussed upon a cruciform broach of pomegranate wood, as best resisting fire, one length being thrust through longitudinally, the other crosswise through the brisket [*Pesach*, vii. 1, 2], and, without touching the sides, cooked in an oven. When the table was lighted and all prepared, a cup was filled with red wine, and after prayer and blessing by the master of the house, it was handed round to those present. Then each of the guests dipped the bitter herb, whether lettuce, endive, or chicory, into a mess of figs, dates, almonds, and various fruits with wine; while it was being eaten the householder, in accordance with Exod. xii. 26, declared to the younger celebrants the meaning of the feast, and the cup was a second time filled and passed round. The lamb was then apportioned, and a third time the "cup of blessing" כוס דברכה [1 Cor. x. 16], was received. The Hallel Psalms were commenced between the second and third cups, and continued up to Psa. cxiv. 8, as the school of Hillel directed, but including ver. 9, according to the followers of Shammai. [Hillel.] Maimonides sides with the former. After the cup had been filled a second time, unleavened bread and an acetous confection were placed on the table; the master of the house then broke the bread, blessed it, and having dipped portions into the dish gave them to his guests. The remainder of the Hallel canticles was finished before the fourth and last cup of wine was completed; it being a matter of religious necessity that four cups should be passed round; the expense of which was defrayed to the poor from the Temple treasury [*Pesach*, x. 1]. If the Hallel had not been completed when the last cup was finished the remainder was repeated in pri-

vate, and not of necessity in the banquet-room. After the last cup of the Paschal Feast it was unlawful to use any more wine on that day. Between the first and third cup wine might be used, but not between the third and fourth [*Pesach*, x. 8]. The essential elements of a true observance were the bitter herbs, unleavened bread, and the Paschal Lamb [*Gemara*, viii. A. *in Pesach.*; *cf. Tosaphtah*, ii. 5], a portion of which no larger than an olive satisfied the "religio" of the feast. It was the duty of the paterfamilias to lead the younger members in such parts of the Hallel as were of an antiphonal character, which were "Blessed is he that cometh," *Ans.* "In the name of the Lord" [Psa. cxviii. 26], and "We have blessed you," *Ans.* "out of the house of the Lord" [*ibid.*]. The former of these suffrages will be remembered as being used by the people as a popular refrain in our Lord's final entry into Jerusalem. It has been shewn, however, that the whole of the 118th Psalm had an antiphonal character [HOSANNA]. Persons absent on a journey, or incapacitated by legal impurity, were allowed to keep the Passover on the 14th of the second month Jyar, when leaven was tolerated in the house, and the Hallel hymn might be omitted [*Pesach*, ix. 3]. At midnight the Temple was again thrown open, and the people, who on that night never thought of sleep, carried their thank-offerings to the Temple, none coming empty-handed. These were dressed in the women's court, and the families of the people feasted upon them in the chambers of the Temple, or took their portion home. But it was forbidden to take any part of it without the walls of the city. At the vesper commencement of 16th Nisan the sheaf of first-fruits was severed with all due religious ceremony. A part of it was rubbed out, parched, ground, and bolted thirteen times; a homer of the meal was then delivered to the priest to offer for the people, with the remainder of the sheaf of first-fruits as a wave-offering.

The Talmudical account supplies many points of comparison with the close of our Lord's ministry that are of interest; some of which may be found under HALLEL and HOSANNA. It is certain that the Mishna, though compiled by Jehuda A.D. 219 [TARGUM], describes with sufficient exactness the Temple Service in our Lord's time. Hence it is an extremely valuable aid for the right understanding of evangelical archæology. In the usual course, the daily sacrifice was slain at half-past two in the afternoon of our time, and offered at half-past three. On the vigil of the Sabbath, it was slain and offered an hour earlier; and an hour earlier still, if the vigil of the Passover fell upon a Friday. Hence the darkness that covered the earth when our Lord hung upon the cross, from the sixth to the ninth hour [Matt. xxvii. 45], must have interrupted the daily sacrifice; "Christ our Passover" having been offered, the more shadowy sacrifice was no longer required. The wave sheaf also of the morning of the Resurrection [Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10, 5; Lev. xxiii. 10, 11] must have been offered in face of the rent veil of the Holy of Holies. The fact that first the bitter herbs were dipped in the dish by the guests, and afterwards that the master of the feast gave a sop of the unleavened bread to each person present, harmonizes the accounts of St. Matthew, who refers to the bitter herbs [xxvi. 23], "He that dippeth his hand in the dish with Me, the same shall betray Me," and of St. John, who speaks of the intinction of the bread [xiii. 26], "He it is to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it." The custom of all at table dipping into the same dish was so completely national that in Rabbinical Hebrew "Tabal," to dip, is a synonym of "Acal," to eat [Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.*]. The second instance was a peculiar Paschal rite. That two similar warnings should have been given to Judas at the Last Supper is only in keeping with the many indications of his guilt that our Lord had already in his mercy vouchsafed, but they were of increasing intensity. "He who dippeth his hand with Me in the dish" might be said of all who were present; the personal delivery of the sop was beyond the possibility of mistake.

The Passover determined the proper time for the other moveable feasts; the second day of the feast of unleavened bread being the starting-point; whence the first week was ἕβδομας δευτεροπρώτη, and the Sabbath of that week σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον, as being defined by the second day of the Paschal Week. [EASTER. Harvey, *Prolusio Academica*, 1854. Herzog, *Pascha*, 1855. *Talmud, Tr. Pesach.* Maimonides, חמץ ומצה].

PASTOR. Literally, "a shepherd," and hence a title applied to the priests, and more especially to the bishops of the Church or "flock" of Christ [Acts xx. 28; 1 Peter v. 2]. In its highest sense it is applicable to our Lord alone. As He is the Priest for ever, the "High Priest of our profession" [Heb. iii. 1], so is He the "Good Shepherd" [ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός, St. John x. 11], and the "Shepherd and Bishop of souls" [1 Peter ii. 25]. And as His earthly representatives minister by His commission and authority, so they are called by His names of priest and pastor.

The pastoral office of our Lord was predicted by Isaiah xl. 11: "He shall feed His flock like a shepherd: He shall gather the lambs with His arm, and carry them in His bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young." Similar allusions are to be found in other parts of the Old Testament, but the word pastor, as applied to men in a sacred sense, does not occur until we come to the writers after the Captivity. Ezekiel, for example, is bidden to "prophesy against the shepherds of Israel, that feed themselves and not the flock" [xxxiv. 2]. Zechariah is told to "take the instruments of a foolish shepherd," for there is to be raised up "a shepherd which shall not visit those that be cut off, neither shall seek the young one," &c. [xi. 15, 16].

In the New Testament, though ever lovingly recorded as a precious title of our Blessed Lord, it is only once distinctly used as relating to an ecclesiastical or spiritual order of men, viz. in

Eph. iv. 11: "And He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers" (ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους). The ποιμένες here spoken of were clearly the assistants of the apostles in *pastoral*, as the evangelists were in *missionary*, work. Hence ποιμαίνω is frequently used of tending the flock of Christ. Our Lord Himself had given the command to the prince of the apostles ποίμαινε τα πρόβατά μου [John xxi. 16], and that apostle, in his first epistle, exhorts, as their co-presbyter (συμπρεσβύτερος), the presbyters of Asia-Minor [ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ.) [v. 2-4], so that when the Chief Shepherd ('Αρχιποίμην) should appear they might receive the crown of glory. In this passage, too, we see the different κλήροι of the Church as intrusted to individual ποιμένες. Their distinctive work was the *training* of those who were *made* disciples by others.

The word pastor is rarely used in the Prayer Book, but is in the first Ember Collect (probably composed by Bishop Cosin), in the opening prayer at the consecration of bishops, and in the collects for the feasts of St. Matthias and St. Peter. The clause of the Litany which mentions "bishops, priests, and deacons," was for a time altered to "bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church," but it was restored to its present form in 1661.

The one requisite for a faithful pastor, as St. Chrysostom observes, is love—love to the one Pattern and Exemplar, the Good Shepherd. And this love, as our Lord's charge to St. Peter shews, is to be proved and tested by "feeding the flock," even "the sheep of Christ which He bought with His Death, and for whom He shed His Blood."

PATRIARCH. A title derived from Acts vii. 8, implying a father of churches, and first used in the East. There were originally three great patriarchates, *Rome* for Europe, *Alexandria* for Africa, and *Antioch* for Asia, besides *Jerusalem*, next to them in position but far inferior in power, and *Constantinople*. The privileges of the first three, as of ancient custom, were settled in the Council of Nicæa [can. vi.]; the Council of Chalcedon constituted Jerusalem [A.D. 451, act vii.]; Rome and Constantinople were made patriarchal as the seats of the Emperors. [*Ibid. Conc. Const.* 381, c. iii.] Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem were called Apostolical Churches; the Emperors raised Constantinople to be the second patriarchate, equal in dignity to Rome; Cæsarea, before the Council of Chalcedon, took precedence of Jerusalem; Alexandria ranked before Antioch, and to Rome was given primacy, simply to conform the ecclesiastical to the civil and political arrangement, the primate or patriarch being established in every province where there was an imperial exarch. The Emperor Justinian elevated Carthage and Justiniana Prima into patriarchates, as Henry I. subjected the archiepiscopal see of St. David's to that of Canterbury, after St. Anselm, at the Council of Bari, had been distinguished by Urban II. as "Pope of the other orb." The ancient British Church, until St. Augustine accepted the pall from Rome, was independent of the Roman patriarch, and subject only to the Bishop of Caerleon. William of Malmesbury, however, distinctly says that the Archbishop of Canterbury is regarded as Primate and Patriarch of England, and the Council of Winchester affirmed him to be Primate of all Britain, which is a synonym of patriarch. The canonists class primates as patriarchs inferior in distinction to the five greater patriarchs, including Canterbury, Toledo, Venice, Aquileia, Lyons, Vienne. A protarch, a primate, or patriarch, in the language of the ancient Church, signified one and the same thing; where pre-eminence was more of order and care than of single jurisdiction and power. [*Apost. Const.* c. xxxiii.] Their authority consisted in ordaining metropolitans, confirming them or imposing of hands; in giving the pall; in convening patriarchal synods, and presiding in them; in pronouncing sentence according to the plurality of votes, when metropolitical synods were insufficient to decide some important difference; and in some honorary privileges, such as the acclamation of the bishops to them at the end of a general council.

Patriarchal jurisdiction being of human institution, must proceed either from some canon or decree of a general council, or of such a provincial council as possessed power to compel obedience, or from the grant or concession of a sovereign prince, or the voluntary submission of a free people, or, lastly, from custom and prescription, or the grandeur of a particular city—Bourges, Magdeburg, and Gran, and some add Pisa. Venice was created in place of Gran, when that city was laid desolate by Nicolas V.; the patriarchate of the Indies by Paul III., from whence Lisbon claims to be patriarchal. In fact, in the case of this class, the distinction between primate and patriarch is purely verbal, being the title of an archbishop with an accession of dignity and powers of jurisdiction. Aquileia became patriarchal in the sixth century, and the bishops of Lyons, Bourges, and Toledo were raised to the same rank when their sees were capitals of kingdoms. In 1354 Pope Innocent declared the Archbishop of Canterbury to be Primate of all England and Metropolitan, and the Archbishop of York Primate of England. They have the common right of convening their suffragans and proctors of chapters and dioceses in convocation, presiding, proroguing, and dissolving it at the direction of the Crown, of visitation of their provinces, of appointing coadjutors to infirm or disabled suffragans, and committing the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to persons named in the commission during the vacancy of a see, of receiving appeals from the courts of suffragans and archdeacons, and of administering probates of wills. But the Archbishop of Canterbury has the power of dispensations where they are not contrary to God's Word, and of admitting persons to be ordained before the canonical age throughout England; he is the sacerdotal head of the English Church, the first peer of England, is a Lord of the Privy Council, and crowns the sovereign, who is regarded as his parishioner. Until A.D. 1152 Ireland belonged to his province, as York

was metropolitan of Scotland until A.D. 1466. The Archbishop of Armagh is Primate of all Ireland, and the Archbishop of Dublin Primate of Ireland. The English bishops replied to the Pope, when he sent over Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, as his legate, that England had never acknowledged any apostolical power in any man but only the Bishop of Canterbury [*ap.* Twysden, *Hist Anglic. Script.* x. col. 1663], and the English law recognised no legate *à latere* except the Archbishop. [Schelstrate. Le Quien. Dr. Neale's *Essays.* Bingham's *Origines*, b. ii. c. xvii. sec. 12, 19. Morin, *De Patriarcharum Origine Exerc.* iii., &c. 1686. Frances, p. 11. Bramhall's *Just Vindication.* Overall's *Conv. Book*, p. 153. Hammond, *Of Schism*, c. iii. p. 224, ed. 1849.]

PATRIPASSIANISM. This was a development of the heresy of MONARCHIANISM, made necessary by the manifest fact that the Person who suffered upon the Cross manifested attributes of the Divine Nature. The Monarchians had avoided dealing with the subject of Christ's work until the necessity was forced upon them, and then Praxeas invented the theory that it was the Divine Person called "the Father" by Trinitarians who had thus suffered. Praxeas was originally a Montanist, of Phrygia; but after forsaking the Montanists he lived at Rome, where he eventually became a disciple of the second Theodotus. His heresy was an attempt to reconcile the Unitarianism of the Monarchians with the decision of the Church against Artemon and others respecting the Divinity of Christ, and was refuted by the well-known treatise of Tertullian [Tertull. *Adv. Praxeam*], in which he shews that the Trinity of Persons is consistent with the MONARCHIA of God. Praxeas was followed by Noëtus, whom Hippolytus calls a native of Smyrna, and who is said also by other writers to have taught philosophy at Ephesus. The heretical opinions of Noëtus are very clearly stated by Hippolytus. "He makes his statement thus. When indeed, then, the Father had not been born, He (yet) was justly styled Father; and when it pleased Him to undergo generation, having been begotten, He Himself became His own Son, not another's. For in this manner he thinks to establish the monarchia, alleging that Father and Son so-called are one and the same, not one individual produced from a different one, but Himself from Himself; and that He is styled by name Father and Son, according to vicissitude of times. But that He is one who has appeared amongst us, both having submitted to generation from a virgin, and as a man having held converse among men. And on account of the birth that had taken place, He confessed Himself to those beholding Him a Son, no doubt; yet He made no secret to those who could comprehend Him of His being a Father. That this Person suffered by being fastened to the accursed tree, and that He commended His Spirit unto Himself, having died (to all appearance) and not being (in reality) dead. And He raised Himself up the third day, after having been interred in a sepulchre, and wounded with a spear, and perforated with nails" [Hippol. *Contr. Hæres.* ix. 5]. These opinions of Praxeas had not any continued independent existence, nor did either of them form a sect outside of the Church, being too much tolerated, perhaps, by Popes Zephyrinus and Callixtus, whom Hippolytus alleges to have been seduced by them. They soon developed into the more subtle heresy of Sabellius, with which they were, for a few years, contemporary. [SABELLIANISM.]

PAULIANISTS. The Paulianists were the followers of Paul of Samosata [COUNCILS, p. 160; HERESY, p. 309], and were confounded by Balsamon with the PAULICIANS. They appear to have rejected the Catholic formula for Baptism, and to have baptized with some Unitarian form of words, for the Council of Nice in its nineteenth Canon directs that they should be baptized as heathen, when desirous of admission into the Church. This at least is the suggestion of Augustine: "Istos sane Paulianos baptizandos esse in Ecclesia Catholica Nicæno Concilio constitutum est. Unde credendum est eos regulam baptismatis non tenere, quam secum multi hæretici cum de Catholica discederent abstulerunt, eamque custodiunt" [*Hæres.* 44]. So also Innocent I.: "Paulianistæ in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti minime baptizabant" [*Ep.* xxii. *ad Episc. Maced.* 5]. Their party was broken up by the edict against heretics put forth by Constantine [A.D. 330], when many of them were baptized after due probation, some sincerely penitent, others as dissemblers; these latter, after a time, formed a fresh nucleus for Paulianism, but the party became extinct in the fifth century.

PAULICIANISM. A heresy which had its origin among the Manichees of Armenia in the seventh century, and was, in effect, a kind of Reformation of MANICHEEISM. In a history of the latter heresy that was written by Petrus Siculus about A.D. 870, it is stated that the sect of the Paulicians was founded by an Armenian named Constantine, who dwelt, about A.D. 660, in a village not far from Samosata named Mananalis. Through the visit of an orthodox deacon, who was for a time his guest, Constantine became acquainted with the writings of St. Paul, and with the true Evangelical history. These opened his eyes to some of the abominations of Manicheeism, and he conceived the idea of reforming it on Pauline principles, from which, probably, the sect took its name. According to Photius, Constantine took the name of Silvanus, and those who assumed his position after his death called themselves by the names of Titus, Timothy, and others of St. Paul's companions. Their towns and sacred places also received the scriptural names of Macedonia and Achaia, Corinth, Colosse, and Ephesus.

The characteristic principles of the Paulicians were [1] dualism, and [2] the negation of Sacraments. They were as free from ritual and as impulsive as modern dissenters; they were spiritual, and all others were carnal; themselves were Christian, all else Jews and heathens. The soul, they said, was from the good principle, the Supreme arbiter of its future condition; the body

was the creation of the evil principle, who, like the Valentinian Demiurge, was the tyrannical ruler of this nether world. Hence they held that the Fall was a first step in the right direction, as being an act of rebellion against the principle of evil. Their Christology was wholly Docetic. Christ was their "all in all," and with Him the soul alone can have communion either here or hereafter. His human nature was created in heaven, and had only an ideal existence; it was His mission to redeem mankind from the dominion of evil. They had nothing in common with Manichæan fatalism, but allowed that salvation was free for all to accept or reject, and that the very worst men are capable of redemption; yet no man can save himself, Christ alone being able to save. Their scriptures were limited to those of the New Testament, the Old Testament being ascribed to the evil principle, who thereby sought to enthral the souls of men. But the Epistles of St. Peter, the Apostle of circumcision, the denier of Christ, and the antagonist of St. Paul, were wholly rejected; the Apocalypse also was ignored by them. Especial veneration was paid to the Gospel of St. Luke as the work of St. Paul's companion; and to the "corpus epistolarum" they added a fifteenth to the Laodiceans. The Sacraments, so far as any outward and visible sign or form is concerned, were rejected. It was enough that Christ was the living water, no other sacramental element was required. The Word was the Bread of Life, the soul's only nourishment. To be born into the world, ὡς διὰ σωλῆνος, was all that Christ owed to His Mother, whose worship was denounced as idolatrous; the heavenly Jerusalem being the true Theotokos and not the Blessed Virgin Mary. To pay reverence to the Cross was a gross heathen superstition. Christ Himself, with outstretched arms, was the only true life-giving Cross of Salvation, like Horus in the Valentinian system, who was also "Stauros" [Iren. *c. Hær.* i. p. 18, 32, 62, Cambr. ed.].

The history of the sect was chequered with every variety of fortune. Constantine the founder was stoned to death by order of the Emperor Justinian II., A.D. 687. Simeon the envoy, who was charged to carry the sentence into execution, afterwards joined the Paulicians, and was burned as a Manichæan, A.D. 690. Persecution, as is usual, only caused the heresy to spread far and wide in the seventh and eighth centuries. In 740, the Emperor Leo the Isaurian brought the chief of the sect, Genesius, to Constantinople for examination by the metropolitan, but the patriarch was defeated by the subtlety of the heretic. The judge questioned from his own point of view, the accused answered from one widely different. If Genesius anathematized all who apostatized from the true faith, he held his own opinion to be the only true and saving belief. If challenged on the score of not worshipping the Cross, "Cursed be he," he said, "who refuses worship to the Holy Cross;" but Christ was the Cross that he meant. If asked why he refused to adore the Mother of God; "Anathema be he, it was answered, who refuses worship to Her on whose breast the Saviour lay;" but the heavenly Jerusalem was the Mother that he meant. Similarly with respect to the Sacraments, he anathematized all who received not the Body and Blood of Christ, but the Word was to him as the flesh of Christ and the stream of life. He maintained his belief also in the Communion of Saints, and the one holy Catholic Church, with the mental reservation of that title to members of his own communion only. The farce ended by his acquittal upon every point, and he obtained a safe convoy in the Emperor's suite back to Mananalis. The patriarch was evidently more tolerant in spirit than keen of sight. A.D. 844, the fanatical Theodora, relict of the Emperor Theophilus, put 100,000 of this sect to death in Western Armenia. The leader of the expedition went over to the side of the persecuted, and fled with several thousand Paulicians to the hill country of the Argæus, where he took up a strong position, and acquired for the sect a political and military importance; training the people to the use of arms and building fortresses that became a standing menace to the Byzantine territory. The Saracens had now become fully developed in their strength, and made common cause with them against their old oppressors the Greeks.

Our knowledge of the Paulicians is chiefly derived from the work previously mentioned, written by Peter a monk of Sicily, who was sent by the Emperor Basil the Macedonian to negotiate an exchange of prisoners after a successful foray that had been made upon Ephesus and the neighbourhood [A.D. 867]; when the cathedral was converted into a stable for their horses and mules by the Paulicians and their Moslem allies. A nine months' sojourn gave him an insight into the history and tenets of the people. We see from this account that the connection of Paulicians with Europe may be traced back to the strong colony which the Emperor Constantine Copronymus deported from Armenia to the Thracian and Byzantine district in the middle of the eighth century; knowing that he could not have a better breastwork against the incursion of barbarians from the North and from the West than this hardy race of mountaineers, inured to war and the rougher phases of life. They thus obtained a *locus standi*, which has enabled them to influence the religious destinies of Europe. Already men had begun to draw a contrast in their minds between patriarchal luxury and apostolical poverty. By a natural process of Eclecticism the Paulician simplicity of worship was separated from dualistic heresy, and a desire soon grew up to engraft it on the orthodox faith of the Church. First the sect overran the whole of Macedonia and of the Epirus, and penetrated into the Byzantine provinces of Italy and Sicily. They journeyed unsuspected as pilgrims returning from the Holy Land up the course of the Danube; and entered Italy with the Levant trade through Venice. Hence the leaven spread from family to family, and from district to district; while men slept the enemy sowed his tares. Little more is heard of the

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Paulicians in Church history, but their work was effectually done. A.D. 1118, the Emperor Alexis I. Comnenus set his heart on reclaiming the Paulicians to the orthodox faith, and loaded with favours those who listened to the voice of persuasion, building for them the town of Alexiopolis; while those who held out were exterminated with fire and the sword. The lesson taught by the Moors at Cordova was repeated in Armenia. The Paulicians are said by a modern Greek writer to have still a local habitation and a name in the neighbouring city of Philippopolis. [Constantine, Ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Φιλιππουπολέως. Vienna, 1819, p. 27.] When the Crusaders took Constantinople, A.D. 1204, the Paulicians were in sufficient numbers to attract attention; and their European congeners were termed from them Poplicanes or Publicans, from the hard provincial pronunciation of the diphthongal sound.[1] The Vaudois and Albigeois sects came from this stock; and thus was heralded the extensive defection from the Catholic Church in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Anglican Church, which from the time of Augustin had been remarkably free from heresy, took action against these "Publicans," who were condemned in a council held at Oxford A.D. 1160, according to Spelman, though Hody places it six years later. The account given of them by William of Newbridge [ii. 13], shews the same features as of old in their rejection of Sacraments and of all Church authority and principle. To threats of extermination they only answered "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake." They were branded on the forehead, and their leader Gerard also on the chin; they were proscribed from all social communion, and being thus cut off from the means of subsistence, hunted down within the country, and denied all means of escaping from it, they came to a miserable end. The sect then abounded in France, Spain, Germany and Italy, and at about the same time seven who professed these opinions were burned at Vezelai in Burgundy. A.D. 1176, St. Galdin was struck with death in the pulpit while preaching against that which was now termed Albigeois and Catharist error.

[Petrus Siculus, Ἱστορία, κ.τ.λ. Joh. Ozniensis. Photius, lib. i. F. Schmid, *Historia Paulicianorum.* Gieseler. Neander. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. liv. Fleury, *H. Eccl.*]

PAX. [Kiss of Peace.]

PEDILAVIUM. [Lavipedium.]

PELAGIANISM. In contending for the faith against the errors of the five first centuries, the attention of the Church was fixed upon three principal subjects; the Christology of revealed religion; Church authority and discipline; and Anthropology, or human nature, as viewed in its relation with Divine Grace. The first of these subjects was determined by the universal Church with unanimity; the same may be said of the second, if we except the questions of heretical baptism and the Paschal difference; but the third

[1] Thus also Παῦλος has become the Italian Paolo.

received a peculiar treatment in the West that we do not trace in writers of the Eastern communion. The even balance of dogmatic statement has scarcely been maintained as regards this group of doctrines. Various causes have produced divergence. Difference of mental constitution in the people of the West and of the East has influenced the Latin and Greek Theology. In the West more practical views have always prevailed. The Roman Empire was built up on principles developed by present emergencies, and in no way philosophically reasoned out. The Roman laws were an elaboration of hard common sense; and the "juris consulti" in Rome formed a large element of the population. Africa, the nursing mother of Latin Christianity, was also "Nutricula caussidicorum" [Juv. *Sat.* vii. 148]. Many of the Latin Fathers received legal training, and by a natural effect such men were led to trace back everything to first principles, and to seek in the past their clue to unravel present mysteries. Tertullian was accurately versed in Roman law, τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἠκριβωκώς [Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 2], and his writings in every page betray the legal mind. His authority of prescription was an application of legal principle and precedent; his arguments against heresy and error are logical deductions from data that were to the Christian what the maxims and decisions of the law were to the jurisconsult. The origin of evil, a question that lay at the root of Gnosticism, and of almost every other early heresy, was referred by him scripturally to the transgression of our first parents, but from them it descended, inbred in the very blood and bone of our nature; as the attaint of slavery attaches to the offspring of endless generations, and can only be removed by manumission. In the Latin Church, before the time of Augustine, the punishment of Adam's sin was stated to consist in bodily infirmity and death; ill-regulated passion, and a greater power of Satan over the soul to injure; the pains of childbirth, and a curse upon the earth. Guilt was scarcely held to be a result of original sin, and certainly no limitation of human freedom of will was involved in the idea. These were the evils that descend to us from Adam's sin, and the only remedy for them was the grace of Christ. From these data, individual guilt having been added to original sin, was developed the entire Augustinian system, every part of which was a logical deduction from previously established premiss. There was nothing in it of philosophical speculation; it was a consistent chain of consecutive reasoning.

The Eastern type of mind, on the other hand, was theoretical rather than practical. The schools of Alexandria and Antioch initiated each successive generation of theologians in Platonic speculations, and the dialectics of Aristotle. The hopes of the future rather than the losses of the past occupied them. "Forgetting those things which are behind," they reached forward rather "to those things which are before." Agreeing with the Western Church in the main, as regards the effects of Adam's Fall, they attained a point of

divergence when the freedom of man's will was seen to antagonize the doctrine of God's ordinary and preventing grace. Eastern divines, one and all, claimed for man full liberty of action, whether it impelled him to rise to a closer life with God, or to sink into greater depths of sin. As Augustine would have said, they confused spontaneity with freedom. Man's movements are spontaneous and unchecked by any external power, but they proceed from the action of the will; and he is morally free, or held under thraldom, in proportion as that will is made free by the good gift of God's grace, or still held under the dominion of evil. Free, however, the Greek Fathers held man to be, irrespective of all moral considerations, and that freedom was the gauge of innocence or sin; for the free alone are responsible, and man's hope for the future lay in a proper use of his freedom. The Syrian Church agreed rather with the Latin view, and was thoroughly penetrated by a sense of man's sinfulness, inbred in his very nature by reason of Adam's sin, and of the necessity for guidance by Divine Grace, as may be seen in the volumes of Ephrem Syrus. Considerations of importance helped to draw aside the attention of the Greek Church to other matters. Heresies affecting the Christology of the Catholic Faith gave its writers neither rest nor time to think of anything but this phase of truth. The positive side of their doctrinal statements was made up of refutations of those errors. If its literature had been more full, we should, perhaps, have had less opportunity for noting points of difference between the East and the West. But as it is, we see in it little that is responsive to the teaching of Augustinian doctrine; and further still, while the Greek Fathers have incidentally guarded their statements against the Manichæan, by claiming for man under the system of grace the fullest liberty of action, they have at times let fall expressions of which Pelagius first, and in after ages certain of the Schoolmen, have availed themselves, in opposing the notion of man's utter insufficiency in himself to lead a life well-pleasing to God and profitable to man. They held that the image of God in which man was created, though greatly defaced by the Fall, is not wholly lost; his moral nature has remained the same afterwards as before. He can resist evil if he will, and sin is the result of free-will wrongly directed. [Original Sin.] Such for instance were the opinions of Origen. In Alexandria his office of catechetical instructor secured for him attention; his plain and grammatical method of scriptural exegesis, and his services in Biblical criticism gave to his opinions high authority in the school of Antioch. These were the two great centres of Eastern Christianity, representing the Greek and Syrian nationalities; and if he strained the doctrine of free-will beyond its due bearings, and pushed other doctrinal statements in advance of the position of the Church, many would follow them as accredited expositions of the truth. From Palestine, where Origenian notions had obtained a wide currency, the error since known as Pelagianism was first imported into Rome. But, in the meantime, in the West a severer theology had been gradually growing up. The generalizing spirit of the Latin mind had been brought to bear upon theology. Augustine pushing to their utmost logical limits the statements of St. Paul, had already laid the first lines of a system of doctrine with respect to the grace of Christ that the Western Communion has always accepted as the true voice of the Church, while the Eastern Church has as universally treated it with a guarded silence. Though the system is termed Augustinian, it does not follow that the Bishop of Hippo was the founder of it; but he gave consistency to religious opinion that had floated loosely and in a disengaged form in the Latin Church from the days of Tertullian; and his teaching was accepted at once as familiar to Latin ears, and as harmonizing altogether with the traditional teaching of that communion.

It was in the beginning of the fifth century that Ruffinus, a monk from Palestine, taught in Rome a novel set of opinions, that if not identical with those of Origen, were at least wholly congenial with them. Man, he said, had full power in his own unassisted nature to perform the will of God; and that the only ill inherited from Adam was freedom to follow in his steps. A brother monk from Britain was indoctrinated by him in these errors, whose name, Morgan, became Marigena in Latin, and Pelagius in Greek. His knowledge of Greek was owing perhaps to the close connection that subsisted between the British and the Oriental Churches [Neander, *K. Gesch.*]. He was born as it was said on the self-same day as Augustine. It was now heard for the first time that no sin or guilt attaches to the soul upon its entrance into the world. Sin, or opposition to the holy and pure will of God, is entirely a result of man's free-will; man has still the same nature in which Adam was created, the Fall having wrought no change in it. Concupiscence, from whence, if it be unchecked by right reason, sin is begotten, is no consequence of Adam's sin, but in its origin it is natural to man; mortality from the beginning was his inevitable lot. Further, the only relation that subsists between the sin of Adam and his posterity, is in the way of example and imitation; and the only permanent power that sin has over mankind is the power of consuetude. Sin is no infirmity of human nature but of the will, and for that reason could not be inherited. The Redeemer's office is to raise and dignify human nature in his followers; as Julian said, "Christus, qui est sui operis Redemptor, auget circa imaginem suam continua largitate beneficia, et quos fecerat condendo bonos, facit innovando adoptandoque meliores" [Aug. *C. Julian*, iii. 8].

Among the earliest teachers of this doctrine, beside the two already mentioned, were Cœlestius, a Roman advocate, afterwards monk, and Julian, Bishop of Eclanum in Campania. They protested against the Augustinian theory as opposed to the interests of morality, and maintained that all earnestness in the way of godly living was discouraged by teaching the necessity for divine

grace. They rejected the doctrine of original sin as a pernicious error, and insisted on the sufficiency of man's unassisted power, and on his absolute freedom to choose for himself either good or bad. Conscience they affirmed was the standing witness of man's innate goodness, by its unerring testimony against sin. There is this difference, however, to be observed between the opinions of Pelagius and Cœlestius; the latter affirmed that the sin of Adam hurt himself only and not his posterity; and that from the first he was created mortal. Whereas Pelagius at the Council of Diospolis allowed that death was brought in by Adam's sin; but whether he meant bodily or spiritual death does not clearly appear, and before that council of friendly bishops he was made up of evasion and subterfuge. Otherwise the whole Pelagian party mantained that Adam was by nature subject to death; that every child was born into the world in the same state of innocence as Adam was when first he received the breath of life; and that it depended entirely upon a man's own strength of character to live a life of virtue. Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, gave great encouragement to the error and helped to set it on its feet; but afterwards when it had met with universal condemnation, he himself also summoned a Council of Cilician bishops, by whom it was anathematized [A.D. 421].

The Latin Church from the time of Tertullian taught that sin is derived to us from Adam, but was silent with respect to the guilt of this sinfulness. Hilary calls it "originis vitium," from which not even the holy Apostles were free; that "to continue in faith is the gift of God, its origination is in ourselves" [Psa. cxviii.] and that "Dives by the exercise of his own free will might have been in Abraham's bosom" [Psa. li.]. The Latin version of Rom. v. 12, "in quo omnes peccaverunt," led him to interpret Matt. xviii. 12 of the whole human race in Adam; "The one sheep is to be understood as man, and one man is to be considered as a universal term; for the whole race of man sinned in the transgression of Adam alone" [*Comm. in Matt.*], and "Men sin instinctively, "ad hæc nos vitia naturæ nostræ propellit instinctus" [Psa. i. sec. 4]. As regards these questions he exhibits distinctive features of the theology both of the East and of the West [Neander, *K. Gesch.* ii. 1054]. Ambrose says: "Before our birth we are tainted with contagion, and before the enjoyment of light we receive injury in our very origin, and are conceived in sin . . . the mother generates each human being in iniquity . . . the babe of a single day is not without sin" [*Apol. Pr. David* 11]. But it is only sin as an abstract idea, not individual guilt, "reatus peccati" in Augustinian language; for he says, [*ibid.*] "We have all sinned in the first man, and by natural succession there is a succession also of faultiness (culpæ) transmitted from one to all;" and elsewhere he makes original sin to consist rather in proneness to sin, "lubricum delinquendi," than in guilt attaching to the individual, "reatus nostri delicti" [Psa. xlviii. sec. 9]. With respect to the universality of this taint he says, "Wherefore it is manifest that in Adam we all sinned, so to speak, in a mass, for he having been contaminated with sin, all whom he engendered have been born under sin. From him therefore we are all sinners, because we are all from him" [Rom. v.]—"Fuit Adam, et in illo fuimus omnes. Periit Adam, et in illo perierunt omnes" [*in Luc.* i. 7, sec. 234]. But all, infants included, are reclaimed from evil and restored to original purity by baptism [*in Luc.* i. 17]. Elsewhere, in speaking of divine grace, he declares with Augustinian force of expression, "Deus quos dignatur vocat, et quem vult religiosum facit" [Luc. l. vii. 27], and "a Deo præparatur voluntas hominum" [*ibid.* l. i. 10]; yet he places a limit to the action of grace in man's will, and knows nothing of constraining grace, nor of absolute decrees of individual predestination and election. In the same way he explains Psa. li. 5 of original sin. But this ascription of sinfulness in no way interferes with freedom of action in man. Man has an inherent power of doing good [Neander, *K. Gesch.* ii. 1060, 2d ed. Hamb.]. It is worthy of remark that synodal action on the Pelagian question was first taken at Carthage [A.D. 412] at the instance of Paulinus, a deacon of Milan, the biographer of Ambrose. Before the time of Augustine, therefore, it was the doctrine of the Church both in the East and in the West, that the will of man was altogether free, that it depended upon himself to resist the allurements of sin or to give way to them. The fatalism of the Manichæan and the Gnostic compelled writers to claim for man the fullest liberty of action as the only basis of his responsibility before God. Even Augustine in those earlier writings that were directed against Manichæan error had adopted the general view of original sin, as consisting in weakened power, in ignorance, and proneness to sin; but claiming at the same time for man complete freedom of will. He had even gone so far as to assert that man by his own energy might master those hindrances of goodness and live virtuously if he would: "Homo enim ipse, in quantum homo est, aliquod bonum est, recte vivere homo cum vult potest" [*De lib. art.* ii. 1]; and again "quoniam sine illa [libera *sc.* voluntate] homo recte non potest vivere" [*ibid.*]. Pelagius was not slow to urge the "argumentum ad hominem" supplied by such statements, and when Augustine in his *Retractations* [I. xi. 37] shewed that they implied a will set free by divine grace, "ope adjuvante divina," and in any case that they were made before Pelagian error was known, the explanation may serve to harmonize many similar statements of preceding writers. It may be observed, however, that Augustine, having adopted Hilary's statement with respect to the origination of faith, afterwards condemned it in unqualified terms [*De Præd. Sanct.* 3].

But the doctrine of Augustine had been gradually assuming a more severe tone before the appearance of Pelagius upon the scene. That very severity in fact called forth antagonizing error; although Pelagian error in its turn may have stimulated in some degree the after-develop-

ment of Augustinian doctrine. The display of indignation made by Pelagius when he turned his back upon a bishop who used the words of Augustine, "Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis," marks the priority of the Bishop of Hippo's view of sovereign grace. Pelagius, indeed, directly charged Augustine with the invention of his theory of original sin [Aug. *de Nupt. et Concup.* ii. 12], to which the Father made answer that it was the teaching of the Church Catholic, and had descended from primitive times. We may accept his statements, then, in part as the traditional faith of the Church, and in part as logical deductions from that faith which were of a necessary supplemental character, so soon as Pelagian error made its appearance. Ritschl says, indeed, that Augustine reproduced the evangelical doctrine of St. Paul; "auf diesem Wege war Augustin so gar im Stande, die Paulinische Lehre von der Gnade in ursprünglicher Weise im Schoose der Katholischen Kirche zu reproduciren" [*Entsteh. d. a. Kath. K.* p. 354]; but only negative evidence of its loss is supplied by the reticence of writers engaged upon other subjects. The epistle to Diognetus [*Op. Just. M.*] at least shews that it had a living power in the Primitive Church. According to Augustine, man was created in the image of God; in an earlier treatise [*De Genesi ad lit.* vi. 27, 28] he had stated that on the Fall this image was wholly lost; he now modified this statement and said, in accordance with the Greek Fathers, that the likeness of God was not lost, but defaced. By virtue of this likeness Adam was created perfectly free, so that he might either maintain his innocence, or commit sin. By the Fall human nature became physically and morally debased; on the positive side it resulted in death; concupiscence, or desire of whatever kind that is contrary to the holy and pure will of God, the reaction of the flesh against the spirit, the "law of the members" as the Apostle calls it [Rom. vii. 23], and the "carnal mind" [Rom. viii. 6, 7]. The throes of labour were another direct result of the Fall; the sweat of toil; and the thorns and thistles that spring with a spontaneous growth from the earth. On the negative side the Fall entailed a loss of that instinctive choice of good from the love of God, which alone is true freedom of will [*Civ. D.* xiv. 11]; and from that time man became the slave of sensual appetites; spontaneity replaced his freedom, but he could only exercise it in the direction of evil; his will was hemmed in on every side by thoughts of evil, and the brightest heathen virtues are only splendid sins. This condition of ingrained sinfulness was inherited from Adam by his offspring, so that even the new-born babe is tainted with it, and is charged with guilt, the correlative of sin. Thus the entire human race having forfeited the gift of God, became the bondmen of Satan, a "mass of perdition." The foundation of this whole edifice of doctrine was the text [Rom. v. 12], "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, in that all have sinned;" ἐφ' ᾧ having been rendered by the Latin version "in quo," *i.e.* "in whom all have sinned;" whereas "eo quod" is the force given to the words by the best versions from the Peschito down to our own. The whole human race was rudimentally contained in Adam; it sinned in him, and has shared his guilt [*Serm.* 294; *Op. Imperf. c. Jul.* i. 48, iv. 104]. Augustine, never afraid of following to its remotest results a principle that seemed to him sound, affirmed that ancestral sins also, as well as the first forefather's, may be imputed to after generations; and so far as temporal consequences are concerned, the Nemesis of Greek tragedy may not have been altogether a fable. In contending with the Pelagians, Augustine urged the strong argument from infant baptism, and the exorcism of evil, which from the very days of the Apostles had been an integral portion of the office of baptism, and which implied congenital sin in infants. It proved more forcibly than the dictum of any doctor of the Church, however orthodox and however holy, that the Church from the beginning had continuously ascribed to the Fall worse consequences than a mere proneness to follow in the steps of Adam; and that there was some innate principle of evil to be purged away if man was to be regenerated to God by the grace of Christ. In answer to these points Pelagius declared that the words of the Apostle [Rom. v. 12] apply to sin, by way of imitation of Adam's sin; and he evaded the argument from baptism by saying that there were two conditions of blessedness in the world to come; there was eternal life, to which even the unbaptized were raised, and there was the Beatific Vision, or kingdom of heaven, into which none but the baptized could be admitted; and therefore that it was necessary that infants should be baptized to qualify them for that higher good. He further argued that, if baptism removes original sin, then the child of baptized parents must needs be free from taint. To this Augustine replied by shewing that there are two elements in original sin, concupiscence, (which is its substance,) and guilt; the latter is wholly remitted on receiving the grace of Christ in baptism, the former remains as an abiding element of trial and discipline, and is entailed by the parents on their children; and he instanced the wild olive tree made serviceable by grafting, whose seed springs up again as wild as before. With respect to the future world the only two states known to the Church were heaven and hell, and without baptism there was no admission to the former, no salvation from the latter [*Serm.* 294]. Other objections of Pelagius may be arranged under the three heads of [1] the metaphysical impossibility of original sin; [2] its impugnment of divine holiness; and [3] the discredit that it casts upon marriage.

[1] Sin, he declared, is not of the body but of the soul; and to talk of sin being propagated with the body, is as absurd as to say that the soul is generated with the body; but if the soul be not propagated with the body, it is no true descendant of Adam, and another's sin is imputed to it. He termed his opponents, therefore, "Traduciani," as though they must of necessity hold a

Pelagianism

"tradux animæ" as well as a "tradux peccati;" *i.e.* that the soul as well as sin is propagated by generation from sire to son. [TRADUCIANISM. CREATIONISM.] Again, sin, he said, is the result of depraved volition; but they who maintain the existence of original sin, make it a "vitium naturæ;" and sin that is communicated in natural course, "peccatum naturale" as he termed original sin, is a confusion of terms and a metaphysical impossibility. Further [2] he declared that the Augustinian scheme impugned the divine holiness, with which the idea of punishing the sin of one individual by sin in another was altogether incongruous; this would be to make God the author of sin. And as regarded the penal consequences of Adam's sin, Julian, Bishop of Eclanum, strenuously denied that the bodily ills, to which this penal character was usually assigned, were to be regarded as such. Neither the death of the body, nor the mother's throes, nor the sweat of toil, were to be thus regarded. Moreover, it is wholly derogatory to divine justice to affirm that God, who forgives men their individual trespasses, should lay upon them the trespasses of another. Lastly, [3] Pelagius objected to the Traducians, as he called his opponents, that a slur was cast by them on the holy estate of matrimony; for they declared that concupiscence, if not actually sin, stood in close connection with it, and that the offspring of marriage were the children of Satan. Also that it was a palpable contradiction to say that the estate of matrimony was holy and innocent, and yet to maintain that there was something very like sin in concupiscence. With respect to this first point [*a*], Augustine appears never to have been able to account for the soul's origination; whether it were a result of procreation, or of direct creation and subsequent union with the body. Hence he guarded his statements so as to suit either hypothesis. In the former case the soul, if propagated, might well share the debasement of the body; in the latter case it would contract defilement from the body as from a tainted vessel. Then he wholly repudiated the term "naturale peccatum;" for human nature, he said, is in itself good, though marred by sin; also, allowing that sin arises from volition, he added that original sin had its rise in the will of the first man, and thereby in the aggregate will of humanity. [*b*] To the second class of objections he made answer in his *Opus Imperf. c. Julianum;* shewing that the sin of Adam was no remote or alien sin, but our own, inasmuch as we had our embryonic existence in him; and his transgression is inseparable from us by reason of our bodily descent from him. He retorts upon Julian the charge of impugning the Divine Justice; for young infants are often subject to extreme misery: and to affirm their sinlessness is to arraign the Divine Justice for permitting so much innocent suffering. [*c*] These objections gave rise to a treatise [*de Nupt. et Conc.*], in which Augustine replies that marriage is a holy estate; that it is of Divine institution, to which the evil of concupiscence only attaches by the Fall; hence the better attributes of marriage ("bona nuptialia") issue. A loyal faith and sacramental virtue are to be carefully distinguished from concupiscence. The evil character of the latter quality can never alter; though it be venial when it results in issue to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord. It is still evil, for a sense of shame attaches to it. It is no essential co-ordinate of matrimony; for the human race might have developed itself in Paradise according to present natural laws, but without concupiscence and without shame; with nothing also of the present warfare between the flesh and the spirit.

The above will have shewn the relation in which the doctrine of Augustine and Pelagianism stood towards the teaching of the Primitive Church with respect to original sin and its results. The Pelagians denied all evil effects of the Fall. Man without it was mortal; and obedience was in no sense rendered more difficult to the race of Adam by his transgression. But the doctrine of the Church from the beginning had been that death entered into the world by sin [Rom. v. 12]; that man's bad passions had acquired a fatal increase of strength from that first sin; and that Satan had, in proportion, gained power over him. The points that we do not find in earlier documents are these: that guilt attaches to the whole race of man by reason of Adam's sin; that the whole race is by nature "perditionis massa;" and that man has no freedom of action in the direction of good. This system of doctrines also had a bearing upon the Manichæan tenets. Augustine, from early association, knew the weakest points of Manichæan error, and he expresses his conviction more than once that it was only by the doctrine of grace that it could be met [*Op. Imperf. c. Jul.* v. 54, vi. 6]. Certain it is that whereas in his earlier years he opposed this system by asserting the entire freedom of man's will, in later life he used as the more serviceable weapon the doctrine of God's free unmerited grace. Attempts have been made to associate the doctrine of Augustine with Manichæism, but there is no affinity between the two. Evil with him had no substantial existence, it was the negation of good. With the Manichæan it was inherent in matter, the work of a second evil principle. Yet there was this analogy between the two, that both systems exaggerated more or less the presence of evil in human nature, and assumed the paramount dominion of sin over man. Both arrived at the same conclusion by different data; the Manichæan by affirming the substantive existence of evil; Augustine by following out to its remote consequences the Church doctrine that sin is an hereditary taint engendered by the free act of our first parent.

The external history of Pelagianism may be briefly told. Cœlestius was condemned at the Council of Carthage [A.D. 412], the first of a series of twenty-four councils affecting the Pelagian question between this year and the Council of Ephesus [A.D. 431]. It was at this time that Augustine put forth his treatise *De Peccator. mer. et rem.* Cœlestius betook himself to Ephe-

sus, and the controversy also was transferred to the East; for Pelagius having passed into Palestine, was received with a friendly welcome by John, Bishop of Jerusalem; and in a very different manner by Jerome, who wrote against him his *Dialogi adv. Pelag.*, full of his customary invective. A council of fourteen bishops was held at Diospolis, the Scriptural Lydda [A.D. 415], under the friendly presidency of John, which synod was called by Jerome "Synodus miserabilis." Here Pelagius gave such answers to the several points of indictment from his writings—for those of Cœlestius he would not be responsible—as to persuade his judges that he held all Catholic doctrine; though he furnished at the same time historical proof of his own self-condemnation, as Augustine has noted in his treatise *De Gestis Pelagii*. In the customary provincial council held at Carthage [A.D. 416], and at another council in the same year at Milevium, the Pelagian notions were condemned, and a full account was sent to Pope Innocent I. of the proceedings; Pelagius having been well-known and generally respected in Rome. Zosimus succeeded to the pontificate in the next year, and Cœlestius having been ordained presbyter at Ephesus, and journeying to Rome, offered to submit himself and his teaching to the decision of the Roman See. He presented a confession, in which, always open and undisguised [*Cœlestius apertior, Pelagius occultior;* Aug. *De Pecc. Or.* 13], he still avowed his opinions unchanged: "In remissionem autem peccatorum baptizandos infantes non idcirco diximus, ut peccatum ex traduce firmare videamur, quod longe a Catholicorum sensu alienum est, quia peccatum non cum homine nascitur quod postmodum exercetur ab homine; quia non naturæ delictum, sed voluntatis esse monstratur. Et illud ergo confiteri congruum, ne diversa baptismatis genera facere videamur." Pelagius sent in a similar confession, and adhered to his former notion with respect to unbaptized infants; "I know," said he, "where baptized infants go who die, but where unbaptized infants go I know not." Zosimus pronounced both of them to be of a pure faith, and wrote to the African bishops to express as much; at the same time cautioning them how they gave credence to the detractors of good men. In Nov. A.D. 417, another council of two hundred and fourteen bishops was held at Carthage, in which the former condemnation of Pelagian notions was confirmed, and again on the 1st of May in the next year a plenary council was held at Carthage, in which the eight famous canons were framed against these errors; the two first canons being on original sin, the three next on the aid of grace, and the three last on sinlessness. A ninth canon is mentioned by Photius, to which Augustine evidently alluded in the next year, but which is omitted in the most ancient copies of these canons. It occupied the third place, and condemned those who held that there was a middle state between heaven and hell for unbaptized infants. These canons have been generally ascribed to the pen of Augustine. In the meantime, Zosimus, partly from finding that he had been deceived, partly from seeing how strong a tide of opinion set in at Rome against the Pelagian notions, partly also because the Emperor Honorius had issued a rescript against them, formally condemned them, and wrote a letter to that effect to the African Church. Nothing more is known of Pelagius after he was driven from Jerusalem, upon his condemnation by a synod held at Antioch under Theodotus [A.D. 421]. But his party survived, and continually demanded a general synod until the time of the Council of Ephesus, in which Cœlestius was at length condemned by the voice of the universal Church. For the subsequent modification of this error see SEMI-PELAGIANISM. [Fleury, *H. Eccl.* xxiii. xxiv. Neander, *Chr. K. Geschichte, zweite Period.* Gieseler, *Dogm. Gesch.* Walch, *Ketzerei.* St. Augustine, *Opp.* Ed. Bened. *Præf.* in tom. xiii. Herzog, *Realwörterbuch.* Wetzer und Welte, *K. Lexicon.* Hefele, *Concilien*, ii. Card. Noris, *Hist. Pelag.* Voss, *Hist. Pelag.* Wall's *Infant Baptism.*]

PENANCE. The penitential system of Church Discipline arose in the third century within the Churches of the Greek Communion, as may be seen by the Greek classification of penitents. It was at once adopted by the North African Church; its terms being either literally translated as "audientes" [Tert. *de Pœn.* 6; Cypr. *Ep.* xxix.], "ad veniam stare" [Cyp. *Ep.* lv. med.], "in vestibulo" [Tert. *de Pœn.* 7, see 9], "fletus" [*de An.* xxxiv.]; or penitential phraseology was adopted without translation, as in the more severe and public ordeal of the "exomologesis." This had nothing to do with auricular or private confession, at least in the sub-Apostolic Church. Tertullian describes its several elements. "Exomologesis," he says, "is the discipline of prostrate humiliation, enjoining such a course as may move Divine pity; the substitution of sackcloth and ashes for a man's usual habit and regimen; the defilement of the body with dust and dirt; the abasement of the spirit with grief; the alteration of every particular sin by afflictive treatment. And besides this, the use of the simplest food and drink, eating, not to pamper the appetite, but to maintain life. Especially to feed up prayer with fasting, to sigh, to weep, to groan whole days and nights before the Lord God; to prostrate one's self before the presbyters, and kneel before the altars of God; to bid all brethren to take upon them the mediation of intercession. Hæc omnia exomologesis . . . . in quantum non peperceris tibi, in tantum tibi Deus crede parcet" [*de Pœn.* 9]. The African Church evidently did not derive its disciplinal regimen from the Church of Rome, its demands having been much more severe. Tertullian gave to it its peculiar tone. The main classification of penitents was determined by the Greek Church, but the more minute development of the penitential system was of Latin origin. Μετάνοια and μεταμέλεια never acquired the double meaning of the Latin "pœnitentia," *i.e.* "repentance" generally, and "penance" specifically; for which we have these two terms in English, while in all other European languages

there is but one. In the Churches of the West, confession was long made to the bishop [Paulin, *Vit. S. Ambros.*]; great sins alone, which were happily rare, being the subject-matter [Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 16]. In Lent a place was set apart for penitents, where they prostrated themselves with tears and every outward sign of sorrow; the congregation also joining in the lament, and using the seven penitential psalms. The bishop at length raised them from the ground, prayed over them, and dismissed them from the Church, as Adam was driven forth from Paradise, to fulfil their respective prescription of penance, the responsory for the occasion being "In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo;" after a course of fasting, abstaining from the bath, and practising whatever bodily austerities might have been enjoined, absolution was conferred, and the penitent was received once more into communion [*Conc. Agathens.* A.D. 506]. It was with reference to this godly discipline of the Primitive Church that the address in our Commination Service was framed. If the difficulty of restoring it was great at the time of the Reformation, it is now impossible, and few, indeed, would think it desirable.

There were three kinds of penance, "solennis," at the beginning of Lent; "publica," before the Church, and at any time of the year; and "privata," as prescribed by the bishop after confession. Of the three necessary elements in a true repentance, CONTRITION, CONFESSION and SATISFACTION, the latter belongs more strictly to penance [see the decree of Eugenius IV. "ad Armenos," in the Council of Florence, and the Tridentine Council, sess. xiv. can. 4]. In the Primitive Church "satisfaction" included the whole work of penitence; "ut si peccata nostra confessi Deo satisfecerimus veniam consequamur" [Lactant.]. "Deo Patri et misericordi precibus suis satisfacere possunt." "Peccatum suum satisfactione humili et simplici confitentes" [Cypr. *de Lapsis*]. There was "a godly sorrowing," "satisfactionibus et lamentationibus peccata redimuntur" [Cypr. *de Lapsis*], the sorrowing satisfaction of penitence, "mæstam pœnitentiæ satisfactionem," as Maximus calls it. There was the earnest heartfelt prayer of a true contrition, "Jejuniis preces olere," as Tertullian says; prayer being always a main element of the "satisfaction" due to God. Thus Cyprian says of the prayer of the "three children" in the fiery furnace, "Domino satisfacere nec inter ipsa gloriosa virtutum suarum martyria destiterunt" [*de Lapsis*]. Fasting also is enjoined by Tertullian, according to our Lord's assurance that some forms of evil would only yield to "fasting and prayer." In all these essentials the discipline of penance must for ever be unaltered. There must be "satisfaction" also to man. "If I have wronged any man by false accusation," said Zacchæus, "I restore him fourfold;" it is a "judging ourselves that we be not judged of the Lord;" every uncharitable word must be recalled, every offence atoned, every injury must be repaired to the best of our ability, even as every step in a wrong direction must be retrod; every unlawful gain must be put away, and if no other channel be open—"the poor are always with you"—let the amount be given in alms. The Talmud makes a more near approach than usual to Christian ethics, when it says that the sacrifice of the Day of Atonement is applicable only to sins against God, but "with respect to sins against our neighbour satisfaction must first be made," and "in a money matter repentance profiteth not until such time as satisfaction hath been made to the injured party" [*Berachoth*, 19, A.]. In later times corporal austerities were largely introduced, and menial offices to break down the proud spirit of rebellion; solitude and silence, the endurance of heat and cold, hair shirts, and bodily chastisement. These, however, were commutable for a money payment, although this rule could not apply to the poor; "quando puniendi sunt inopes est hoc regulare, qui non luit in bursa luet in corpore" [Lyndw. *Oxon.* 321]. But money commutations were open to abuse. Penance was made so painful as to drive penitents to this easier method of satisfaction. Accordingly a Constitution of Stratford [A.D. 1342] checks excessive severity; "delinquentibus pœnitentias corporales graves et publicas non imponant adeo excessivas, ut causative et per obliquum cogantur redimere suas pœnitentias pecuniaria gravi summa. Sed . . . in posterum sic fiant modeste quod rapax non judicetur accipiens." Archdeacons also, the eyes of the bishop, put themselves forward as his hands; and several metropolitan constitutions restrain them from taking money commutations for penance under pain of being mulcted in double the amount received [Otho, A.D. 1237, *de Archid.*; Othobon, A.D. 1268, *Summarium*]. The "Reformatio Legum" [*temp.* Hen. VIII. and Edw. VI.], which, though of no authority, gives a clear insight into many ecclesiastical practices at the time of the Reformation, orders that these money payments in lieu of penance should not be permitted, "nisi aliqua gravis intercesserit et necessaria causa;" thus explained by the Lower House of Convocation, "either for some great value or dignity of the person, or for fear of some desperate event that will follow in the party that should be put to open shame;" and by an archiepiscopal gloss [21 James I.] *in re* Dr. Barker, official of Oxford, accused of peculation, that "such a thing," *i.e.* disgrace, "might not lie on their wives and children to their perpetual shame and blemish;" which sets the matter on a higher level. Such money payments after the Reformation are directed to be applied to the use of the poor; and so late as the reign of Queen Anne, Convocation made various regulations respecting them. [*Visit. Par. and Gen.* p. 143. INTERDICT, and cross-references under PENITENCE. Gibson's *Codex*, tit. xlvi. cap. 2.]

PENITENCE [*μετάνοια*]. Penitence from the Latin "pœnitentia," is the older word for repentance used by the Vulgate, but replaced by "resipiscentia," *μεταμέλεια*, when the penitential scheme of the Latin Church was developed; for "pœnitentia" then became restricted to the penances of the confessional. [PENANCE.] Penitence

is an enduring and penal condition; for there is an evident etymological connection between "pœna" and "punio," both having their common origin in ποινή, a "fine," or "weregeld" for blood. The old form, in fact, of "punio" was "pœnio," and is so written by Cicero, "cum multi inimicos etiam mortuos pœniantur" [*Tusc.* i. 44, and *MSS. in Mil.* 31; also Aul. Gell. VII. iii. 54]. Thus "mœrus," whence "pomœrium," for "murus," from μοῖρα (*quasi* "allotment boundary"); "mœnio," for "munio;" pœniceus and puniceus, pœnicus and punicus. "Pœnitere" is explained as "pœnam tenere" by the ancient author of the treatise *De vera et falsa Pœnitentia*, in the works of Augustine, with direct reference to "punio:" "Pœnitere enim est pœnam tenere, ut semper puniat in se ulciscendo quod commisit peccando. Pœna enim proprie dicitur læsio quæ punit et vindicat quod quisque commisit" [c. xix.]. Isidore of Seville gives the same definition, "A punitione pœnitentia nomen accepit, quasi punitentia, cum ipse homo punit pœnitendo quod male admisit;" which is followed by the Schools: "Pœnitentia quasi punitentia" [Hugo a S. Vict. *De Myst. Eccl.* iii.]; Scotus slightly varies the definition, "quasi pœnæ tenentia." Hence the idea of penitence involves a lasting remorse for sin—"yea what revenge," as St. Paul expresses it; and in this it is distinguished from the initiative Repentance that leads to conversion and baptism. Thus "penitence" may be said to be the correlative term of "repentance," as "renovation" is of "regeneration." [Repentance. Confession. Discipline, Ecclesiastical. Contrition. Penance. Absolution. Marshall's *Penitential Discipline.*]

PENTECOST. So named from its celebration by Mosaic ordinance on the fiftieth day inclusive from the second day of the Paschal week, when the wave-sheaf of the first barley was offered in the Temple [Easter. Wave-Offering. Passover]. It was more generally known to the Jews as the Feast of Weeks [Exod. xxxiv. 22; Deut. xvi. 10-16]. It was also called the Feast of Harvest [Exod. xxiii. 16], *i.e.* of the completion of wheat harvest, as the Paschal Feast became a thanksgiving for the first-fruits of the barley harvest, and as the Feast of Tabernacles commemorated the complete ingathering of the yearly crops, whether of corn, wine, or oil.

At each of these solemn feasts every male was bound to present himself before the Lord at the high altar of his race. The name "Pentecost," adopted by St. Luke [Acts ii. 1, xx. 16] and by St. Paul [1 Cor. xvi. 8], was taken from the Rabbinical term of the period, חַג חֲמִשִּׁים יוֹם. As the first Christian Pentecost, signalized by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, fell on the first day of the week, so it has continued ever since; the Feast of the Resurrection on Easter Morn, the Paschal First-fruits, having always been celebrated by the Christian Church on the first day of the week. The German term "Pfingst" is a manifest corruption of "Fünfzigste," or of the old German, "Finfchustin." Upon this day, as the most essential element of the solemnity, two loaves of the new wheat were offered [Lev. xxiii. 17], whence the feast was also known as the "Day of First-fruits" [Numb. xxviii. 26]. They were of leavened dough, as a thank-offering for the bread of daily use. These loaves were made of "two tenth deals" of fine meal, as at the Feast of the Passover [Lev. xxiii. 13, 17]. There were offered also as a burnt-sacrifice, after the daily sacrifice, two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with one kid of the goats to make atonement [Numb. xxviii. 27]; or according to the account in Leviticus [xxiii. 18], seven lambs, one bullock, and two rams as a burnt-offering, with one kid of the goats as a sin-offering, and two lambs as a peace-offering. The varying statement existed before the LXX. Version was made, which agrees with the present Hebrew text in both places. It was treated as a cumulative prescription by the Jews [Maimonid. *Tamidim*, viii. 1], and the offering consisted of fourteen lambs, three bullocks, three rams as a burnt-offering, two goats as an atonement or sin-offering, and two more lambs as a peace-offering. There is no need, therefore, to imagine with Vaihinger in Herzog that a marginal gloss has crept into the text, or that the sacred account is in any way corrupt in its readings.

This feast is connected by the Jews[1] with the "giving of the Law" on Mount Sinai [Maim. *More Nevoch.* iii. 43], by which name it was also known; and the idea agrees with the Mosaic account, which states that the Law was given in the third month from the exodus [Exod. xix. 1], *i.e.* within little more than eight weeks according to the Jewish method of computing the part of a period of time for the entirety. Thus the first Passover having been celebrated at the commencement of the third week of the first month, a week of weeks, or fifty days from that feast, indicates the ninth week, or the beginning of the third month for the Feast of Pentecost. The year being determined by the Paschal week, the Feast of Weeks fell invariably on the sixth day of Sivan. Flowers and herbs were used to deck the houses and synagogues, and a night-long religious service ushered in the great day itself.

In the Christian Church the entire period between Easter and Pentecost was named from the latter [Tert. *de Idol.* 14, *Bapt.* 19; *Can. Ap.* 37; *Can. Ant.* 30; Cyr. Hieros. *ad Const.*]. It was the solemn season for administering baptism; and since the Catechumens received that Sacrament in white array, the custom which caused the Octave of Easter to be termed the "Dominica in Albis" in the Latin Church, gave the name of "Whit-Sunday," perhaps, to Pentecost in the English Church. The feast was observed as the Festival of the Holy Spirit [Greg. Naz. *de Pent. Hom.* 44] at a very early date, allusion being made to it by Tertullian, as shewn above,

[1] Also by Augustine [*c. Faust.* xxxii. 12], who elsewhere makes the Christian festival of the outpouring of the first-fruits of the Spirit co-ordinate with the Jewish thanksgiving for the first-fruits of the earth [*ad Jan.* ii. or *Ep.* 55].

and by Origen [*c. Cels.* viii., ed. Cantab. 1677, p. 392]. All public games were interdicted by Theodosius the Younger during the Pentecostal as during the Paschal solemnity [*Cod. Theod.* xv. 5, *de Spectac.*]. During these weeks the Acts of the Apostles were read, as being most suitable for the period during which the risen Lord appeared to His disciples in the body "by many infallible proofs." Fasting was intermitted [*Const. Ap.* v. 33], and the prayers of the Church were offered, not in a kneeling position, but erect [*Conc. Nic.* can. 20], as symbolizing the jubilant attitude of the Church during her Lord's passage from the grave to glory. The entire octave was celebrated in early days, and followed by a week of fasting [*Const. Ap.* v. 33]. The feast was restricted to three days by papal decree, A.D. 745.

PERFECTI. [ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ.]

PERPETUAL VIRGINITY of the Blessed Virgin Mary. That which was conceived in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary being Divine, and her virginity having been maintained for the purpose of that miraculous conception, it would be unreasonable and irreverent to imagine that children conceived in sin were afterwards tenants of that most holy tabernacle. The Fathers, and the best of later theologians, have therefore fixed it as a firm belief of the Church that the Mother of our Lord and God was not only a virgin at the time when He was born, but ever afterwards.

This belief was not called in question in the first ages. A denial of the virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the time of her conception had indeed been consistently made by the Cerinthians and Ebionites, who, in the first and second centuries, asserted that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary by natural generation; but no doubt of her perpetual virginity was expressed by any who believed that our Lord was born of a virgin [Isa. vii. 14; Luke i. 27] until the fourth century. It was then, when Apollinaris had denied the Blessed Virgin to be the real mother of the Word Incarnate, that some were led on to the denial of her perpetual virginity. These were called Antidicomarians, and their heresy gave rise to another, that of the Collyridians, who made the Blessed Virgin the object of an idolatrous worship, which consisted in the offering of little cakes (*collyrides*), which were afterwards eaten as sacrificial food. Epiphanius, in his treatise against Heresies, severely condemned these two extremes. He denounced those who denied Christ's mother to be ever virgin as adversaries of Mary who deprived her of "honour due;" whilst he insisted that, according to the essential principles of Christianity, worship was due to the Trinity alone. St. Jerome wrote a tract against Helvidius, who maintained the view of the Antidicomarians; and this tract contains most of the arguments which have been brought by Bishop Pearson and other divines in support of the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin. Helvidius denied it on the ground of St. Matthew's words that Joseph "knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born son" [Matt. i. 25]; as if it were implied that he knew her afterwards, and that a first-born son inferred a second-born. St. Jerome answered the first objection by citing other instances in which no such inference can be drawn from similar language. [Gen. xxviii. 15; Deut. xxxiv. 6; 1 Sam. xv. 35; 2 Sam. vi. 23; Matt. xxviii. 20.] It is said, for instance, that Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death, from which the Antidicomarians must have inferred that he came to see him afterwards. Similarly, although it is stated that Joseph knew not the Blessed Virgin Mary until she had brought forth her son, no inference can be drawn from that expression that he knew her afterwards. Bengel, who treats the matter as an open question, says, "ἕως οὗ, non sequitur ergo post." The word "first-born," on which the Antidicomarians laid so much stress, does not occur in the Vatican MS., but, if its genuineness be admitted, no difficulty need thence arise; for our Lord is called the first-born, not with reference to any that succeeded, but for the reasons—

[1.] Because there were special rites attending the birth of a first-born son. These were not delayed until a second was born, but performed at once. The law was, "Sanctify unto Me all the first-born: whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and beast, it is Mine" [Exod. xiii. 2]. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin Mary, in obedience to this law, brought our Saviour to Jerusalem to present Him to the Lord, as it is written in the law of the Lord, "Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord" [Luke ii. 22, 23]. "First-born" is therefore equivalent to "one that openeth the womb." Bishop Pearson says "the Scripture notion of priority excludeth an antecedent, but inferreth not a consequent; it suffereth none to have gone before, but concludeth not any to follow after." [Pearson, *On Creed*, vol. i. p. 214. See also Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. ch. xlv. sec. 2. Hieron. *contra Helvid.* ii. 7. August. *Hær.* lxxxiv. viii. 24. Whitby and Bishop Wordsworth *in loco.*]

[2.] The First-born was one of the titles of our Lord. In its classical sense, πρωτοτόκος never means the first-born, but has an active signification in relation to the mother who for the first time bears a child [*Iliad*, xvii. 5]; but in Holy Scripture it is used by the LXX. to signify [*a*] sometimes the first-born, [*b*] sometimes the privileges which belong to the elder son, and also [*c*] as a title of the Messiah.

[*a*] In the first sense it is used in Gen. xxvii. 19, xlviii. 18; Exod. xii. 29; Numb. xviii. 15, &c.

[*b*] There are other passages in which it is used metaphorically to express peculiar honour and dignity. "Israel is my son, even my first-born" [Exod. iv. 22]. "Ephraim is my first-born" [Jer. xxxi. 9]. This is also a Hebrew use which has been rendered by the translators of the Authorized Version "first-born" in Isa. xiv. 30, where the *first-born of the poor* means *very poor*, and Job xviii. 13, where the *first-born of death* means *the most terrible form of death.*

[c] It is used as a title of our Saviour without reference to priority of birth in Ps. lxxxix. 27. In the New Testament our Lord is called πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, "the first-born among many brethren" [Rom. viii. 29], πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, "the first-born of every creature," signifying the dominion which He has received, who is made Head over all things. Πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν [Col. i. 18; Rev. i. 5] means not the first who was raised, for that Christ was not, but He Who hath power over death, and Whose resurrection is an earnest of that of all His people.

Therefore the word πρωτότοκος, inserted in St. Matthew's Gospel, may be nothing more than a synonym of Christ. He was the "first-born," because He was the Second Adam, the Perfect Man, the Restorer and Redeemer of His brethren, the Lord of the Church, and the Heir of all things. The metaphor was borrowed from the dominion which the first-born exercised over his brethren; but, when the word is compared with other passages in which it occurs, it avails nothing for Helvidius' argument against the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Another argument of the Antidicomarians was drawn from the mention made of the brethren of our Lord [John ii. 12; Matt. xii. 46], from which they inferred that these brethren were the children of our Lord's Mother by her marriage with Joseph; but

[1.] These brethren may have been the children of Joseph by a former wife. There is an old tradition preserved by Epiphanius, and followed by St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylact, Œcumenius, and Nicephorus, that Joseph had four sons and two daughters by a former wife named Escha. [See Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 1; Pearson *On the Creed*, vol. ii. 140.] St Jerome was the first to confute this opinion, alleging that it rested only on a statement contained in an apocryphal writing.

[2.] It was held by St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and generally by the later commentators, that the brethren are not strictly the brethren, but the cousins of our Lord, in which sense the term is frequently used in Holy Scripture. [Gen. xiii. 8, xxix. 12; Lev. x. 4.]

Helvidius argued that there was proof from Scripture of James and John being not only the brethren of our Lord, but the sons of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Amongst the women at the Cross was Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Joses. That Mary, he thought, would be none other than the mother of our Lord, because she was found early at the sepulchre with Mary Magdalene and Salome, and it was improbable that any one should have greater care for the body of her Son than His mother.

The answer to this is clearly shewn by Bishop Pearson: "We read in St. John xix. 25 that 'there stood by the Cross of Jesus His mother and His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas and Mary Magdalene.' In the rest of the Evangelists we find at the same place 'Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Joses,' and again at the sepulchre, 'Mary Magdalene and the other Mary;' wherefore that other Mary by the conjunction of these testimonies appeareth to be Mary the wife of Cleophas and the mother of James and Joses; and consequently James and Joses, the brethren of our Lord, were not the sons of Mary His mother, but of the other Mary, and therefore called His brethren, according to the language of the Jews, because that the other Mary was the sister of His mother." [Pearson *On the Creed*, vol. i. 217.]

The name of our Lord's mother was, in fact, a name commonly borne by Jewish women; and no fewer than four Maries may be distinguished as having been contemporary with her, and associated with our Lord.

[1.] Mary the mother of our Lord.

[2.] Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alphæus, who was the mother of James the Bishop and Apostle, and of Simon and Thaddæus, and a certain Joseph.

[3.] Mary Salome, the wife of Zebedee, the mother of John the Evangelist and James. [Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1.]

[4.] Mary Magdalene.

These four are found in the Gospels. James and Judas and Joseph were the sons of the maternal aunt of our Lord. Mary the mother of James the Less and Joseph, wife of Alphæus, was sister of Mary the Lord's mother, whom John calls "of Cleophas" (ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, xix. 25), either from her father or her family, or from some other cause. Mary is called Salome either from her husband or her residence. She, too, some call "of Cleophas" because she had had two husbands.

In the Greek Church the Blessed Virgin has always been called ἀεί παρθένος. This term was used by St. Athanasius. She was so called at the Council of Chalcedon [A.D. 451], and in the Confession of Faith published by Justin II. in the sixth century.

If the gate of the sanctuary in the Prophet Ezekiel be understood of the Blessed Virgin—"This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter by it: because the Lord God of Israel hath entered by it, therefore it shall be shut" [Ezek. xliv. 2]—the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin will appear necessary to that honour which belongs to her Divine Son, as well as to that which, for His sake, the Church has always accorded to her. [MARY.]

PERSECUTION. True religion is essentially aggressive and intolerant of error. It would fain "compel" all to come into God's house. It "earnestly contends for the faith." It abhors indifferentism and syncretism, believing that their true source is not faith and charity, but the very contrary of these, Laodicean lukewarmness and tacit infidelity. Toleration of error on the part of the Church would render useless God's revelation of truth, would make God the abettor of error, would either destroy the Church as a society of believers, or contradict the divine order which establishes it as the way of salvation.

What, then, are the means of aggression upon the world of unbelief? What the arms of compulsion? What the mode of contending for the faith

The Church, as such, uses only spiritual weapons—the earnestness of entreaty, the force of prayer, the terrors of conscience, the powers of the Gospel. Its punishments, too, are entirely spiritual censures, and the different degrees of excommunication.

This is shewn from the nature of religion in general, and the spirit of Christianity in particular: from the constitution of the Church as a spiritual body: from the tenor of Scripture, which explains the compulsion of Luke xiv. 23 as being spiritual compulsion only: from St. Paul's language to Timothy, as 2 Tim. ii. 24, &c. [see Samuel Clarke's *Sermon against Persecution for Religion*, Serm. i. p. 659], and from the Fathers [see Bp. Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*, sect. xiv.].

All *temporal* penalties, then, inflicted by the Church as a spiritual body, must be classed as persecution. It will be observed that such penalties can proceed only from a power either usurped or wrongfully given. The Church, a spiritual society, has no power over the body. Its capital punishment is deliverance to Satan. It may impose penance, it may enjoin restitution, it may arbitrate, but these sentences it can enforce only by spiritual inducements. Coercive jurisdiction it has none. And if any such jurisdiction be assigned it, it becomes, so far, a minister of the civil authority which makes the assignation: and so far, it leaves its own sphere and becomes a temporal power.

Temporal pains and penalties belong only to the temporal power, which moves in the external sphere of overt acts, and does not deal with the will and conscience. The cause of this is that, inasmuch as Almighty God has put man's life into man's keeping, and intrusted him with goods, the society which is to have power over life and goods is not formed without man's concurrence. The Church, on the other hand, is not formed by man's consultation, nor can it be modified at man's pleasure. Man joins it by voluntary submission, without any power of altering its constitution. The Church, therefore, has no power over life and goods, for the power over these, which God has once given, He will not take away.

The concurrence of men in the formation of civil society is properly considered by holding up the ideal of a social contract, a contract perpetually forming and modifying, as the mind of a nation expresses itself in law: and such ordinances of men are ratified by God's Providence, Which has worked also in their formation. Whence it is said, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake."

Such compact, then, according to the religious state of those who make it, may be [1] a complete identity of the members of the Church and State. This is the highest theory. [2] Or an established and preferred Church, with toleration in different degrees for other religious bodies. Jeremy Taylor, *e.g.*, advocated toleration for all those who accept the Apostles' Creed. A tendency towards this limited toleration is observable in the law punishing a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, 9 & 10 Will. III. cap. 32, sec. 1, repealed as regards the Holy Trinity by 53 Geo. III. cap. 160, sec. 2. [3] Or complete equality of all religious bodies. Any one of these positions the Church of Christ may hold. In any case it ought to retain distinctly its proper position as a society of divine institution, in the world but not of the world. Especially, it ought not to usurp in the name of religion the powers and aims of State law. There cannot be a greater mistake in statesmanship than to confound the temporal and spiritual estates and jurisdictions.

Toleration, then—forced obedience to a church—complete equality of religious bodies, are matters which belong entirely to a nation in its civil organization. The Church, as a spiritual body, has nothing to do with them. It continues its own course, neither intruding into the sphere of the State, nor refusing to aid the State, nor rejecting an alliance with the State.

To support that position of Church affairs, which the supposed civil compact has established, a civil power may use its own means. It may inflict temporal penalties on those who break the compact, and thus endeavour to suppress all dissent, to maintain peculiar privileges, or to assure equal rights. Such penalties are not persecution, they are lawful punishments; they are not immediately for the propagation or support of religion, they are for the maintenance of an established order of society which requires more or less a national observance of religion. Like temporal penalties in other cases they may be carried to excess, and are then called persecution (nor need we hesitate about the use of the word), but they are then an excess in degree, not a departure from principle.

The great consequence from the principles we have tried to establish, is that the temporal penalties spoken of can be inflicted only for overt acts. The compact of society does not profess to touch the mind. It leaves the will and conscience to the divine institution of the Church. Consequently for matters of opinion, for belief privately held, there can be no temporal penalty at all. The temporal penalty is outside the power of the Church, the private belief is outside the supervision of the State.

We may therefore define persecution thus—the infliction of temporal penalties by the spirituality *as* the spirituality, or by the civil power for other than overt acts.

It will be well to give some examples. From the reign of Elizabeth to that of James II., attempts were made to realize the high theory that all members of the State are members of the Church. Bacon writes, during that age, "There are two extremities in State concerning the causes of faith and religion; that is to say, the permission of the exercises of more religions than one, which is a dangerous indulgence and toleration; the other is the entering and sifting into men's consciences when no overt scandal is given, which is rigorous and strainable inquisition" [*Observations on a*

Libel, Works, ed. 1824, iii. p. 58]. And regarding the proceedings against the pretended Catholics [p. 72], he finds "Her Majesty's proceedings to have been grounded on two principles; the one, that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, by the aid of time, and the use of all good means of instruction and persuasion: the other, that causes of conscience when they exceed their bonds, and prove to be matter of faction, lose their nature; and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish the practice or contempt, though coloured with the pretences of conscience and religion."

Of the divisions in our Church, he writes [p. 59], "Certain men moved with an inconsiderate detestation of all ceremonies or orders which were in use in the time of the Roman religion . . . have sought by books and preaching, indiscreetly and sometimes undutifully, to bring in an alteration in the external rites and policy of the Church; but neither have the grounds of the controversies extended unto any point of faith; neither hath the pressing and prosecution exceeded, in the generality, the nature of some inferior contempts." In the judicial charge upon the Commission for the Verge [iv. 384-7], the laws against Romanists are declared to be "not the punishment of the error of conscience, but the repressing of the peril of the estate:" and the punishable offences against God and His Church are stated to be overt acts of profanation, contempt and breach of unity.

The second shall be Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*, in which a toleration is claimed for all Christians who receive the Apostles' Creed. He shews the inefficacy of force in matters of opinion, how a resort to such measures derogates from the honour of the Christian religion, and that God alone has power over the soul of man so as to command a persuasion or to judge a disagreeing: he defines the nature of spiritual censures, but passing to the secular power, and premising that opinions as such are not subject to secular jurisdiction, he argues that heresy is a work of the flesh, and all heretics criminal persons, whose acts and doctrine have influence upon communities of men, whether ecclesiastical or civil; and that therefore the governors of the republic or Church respectively are to do their duties in restraining those mischiefs which may happen to their several charges: that all vices and every part of ill life are to be discountenanced and restrained, and therefore in relation to that opinions are to be dealt with: and [sect. xix.] that there may be no toleration of doctrine inconsistent with piety or the public good.

The third example shall be from Lord Stanhope's *Speech upon Lord Sidmouth's Bill*, 1811. "He hated the word toleration, it was a beggarly, narrow, worthless word: it did not go far enough. He hated toleration, because he loved liberty. . . . . Was not America religious? Yet there, there was no established religion—there, there were no tithes. In one particular state, that of Connecticut, he was informed there was a law, that if any man voluntarily gave a bond to a clergyman, no suit upon it could be entertained in a court of justice. And for a good reason, because it being the duty of the clergyman to instruct his flock, and to make them good and honest men, if he succeeded in doing so, no such suit would have been necessary: on the other hand, having failed to perform his duty, he could have no right to be rewarded. . . . To toleration, as it now existed in this country, he was a decided enemy, but to religious liberty a most decided friend, convinced that no restraint should be put on religion, unless in so far as it might seem to endanger the State" [from Chandler's *History of Persecution*, p. 470].

In Lord Bacon's statement the principle is intelligible, that the State, of its own motion and by its own officers, shall enforce the laws of the Church: in Taylor's the principle is absurdly impracticable, that the State shall judge of heresies, and restrain such as will have an ill effect: in Lord Stanhope's the principle is again intelligible, that there shall be no restraint whatever in religious matters, unless there be a direct attempt endangering the State. Taylor's celebrated treatise shews, in argument, what was observed from history, that toleration is only a short-lived step from a true union of Church and State to that indifferentism in which all religions are equal, and crime is estimated only politically. And what is meant in the school of indifferentism by religious equality, when a minister of religion is one of the parties, Lord Stanhope shews with perfect honesty.

Lastly, the doctrine of the Romish Church must be noticed. We have an authoritative declaration of Romish doctrine in the Bull of Pius VI., A.D. 1794, which condemns the reforming Synod of Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia. The synod had affirmed, "Abusum fore auctoritatis ecclesiæ transferendo illam ultra limites doctrinæ ac morum, et eam extendendo ad res exteriores, et per vim exigendo id quod pendet a persuasione et corde, tum etiam multo minus ad eam pertinere, exigere per vim exteriorem subjectionem suis decretis;" and this proposition is declared heretical as far as by the indeterminate words "extendendo ad res exteriores" is denoted an abuse of Church power; and, "Qua parte insinuat, ecclesiam non habere auctoritatem subjectionis suis decretis exigendæ aliter quæm per media quæ pendent a persuasione,—quatenus intendat ecclesiam 'non habere collatam sibi a Deo potestatem, non solum dirigendi per consilia et suasiones, sed etiam jubendi per leges, ac devios contumacesque exteriore judicio ac salubribus pœnis coercendi atque cogendi" [ex Bened. XIV. in brevi *Ad Assiduas*, anni 1755; primati, archiepiscopis, et episcopis regni Polon.]: *Inducens in Systema alias damnatum ut Hæreticum.*" [*Damnatio Synodi Pistoriensis*, art. iv. v.; in Appendix to *Canones Conc. Trident.*, Tauchnitz ed. p. 298.]

By this determination of two popes must be interpreted the oath taken by a bishop upon consecration: "Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar et impugnabo" [*Pontificale Rom.*].

The claim for the Church of the power of temporal punishment is distinct. The union of civil sovereignty over the papal states with the ecclesiastical primacy makes such a claim more natural to the head of the Romish Church; but as the history of the papal states does not recommend such a union of the temporal and civil powers, so neither does the history of the Romish obedience recommend a transfer of coercive jurisdiction from the civil to the ecclesiastical tribunals. And that there is no such power divinely given to the Church we have endeavoured to shew.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH. [PAGANISM.]

PERSONALITY. The word person is derived from "persona," originally a term of the theatre, and signifying the mask worn of old by actors. Hence it signified a dramatic character; and in Cicero a personage; in Suetonius an individual, as also in law Latin. Tertullian seems to use the word in its original sense where he says "Persona Dei, Christus Dominus," for he immediately interprets the words by the Apostle's expression, "Qui est imago Dei;" *i.e.*, Christ is the eternal manifestation of the Deity [*Adv. Marc.* v. 11]; he uses it also in its conventional meaning, "personam nominis," the personage to whom the name attaches [*ib.* iv. 14]; but elsewhere he applies the word in its true ecclesiastical sense of an intelligent individual Being, "videmus duplicem statum non confusum sed conjunctum in una persona Deum et Hominem Jesum" [*Adv. Prax.* xxviii.]. Similarly the adverb "personaliter" means with him relative individuality in contrast with absolute Being, "Hunc substantialiter quidem αἰῶνα τέλειον appellant; personaliter vero πρὸ αρχὴν et τὴν ἀρχήν," *i.e.* the first absolutely, the second in antecedent relation with every after emanation. It is important to ascertain the meaning of ecclesiastical Latin terms in Tertullian, for when he wrote the language of the Church at Rome was Greek; and the Latinity of the Western Church, as well as the barbarisms of its version of Scripture, were imported shortly afterwards from Africa. "Persona" in Latin bore the same relation to "substantia," as ὑπόστασις to οὐσία in Greek theology; but ὑπόστασις in the sense of person was an exact etymological equivalent for the very different theological idea of "substantia" in Latin; hence arose the confusion that has been noticed under the article HYPOSTASIS. Hilary first coined the term "essentia," to convey the meaning of οὐσία; "novo quidem nomine," as says Augustine, "quo usi non sunt veteres Latini auctores, sed jam nostris temporibus usitato, ne deesset etiam linguæ nostræ quod Græci appellant οὐσίαν" [*Civ. D.* XII. ii.], and "persona" was retained as the equivalent for ὑπόστασις.

The meaning of "person" in theology is as Locke has defined it in metaphysics: "A person is a thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing in different times and places." There must be a continuous intelligence, and a continuous identity, as well as individuality. The memorable axiom of Descartes, "Cogito, ergo sum," may be applied not only to the reality of thinking substance but also to the true personality of that intelligent being. "I am a conscious being, therefore in that consciousness I have a personal existence." But "personality," as applied to the Divine substance, involves a contradiction that defines in this direction, as Dr. Mansell has observed, the limits of human thought [*Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 59]. We are compelled to apply to the Absolute our own insufficient human terms of finite relation. The idea of personality must always involve limitation, one person is invested with accidents that another has not. Yet God, as the designer and creator of the universe, must have a personal existence; as Paley has well stated it, "The marks of design are too strong to be gotten over, and design must have had a designer; that designer must have been a person. That person is God." But how is substance thus affected with personality? Analogy in such a matter cannot lead us through the difficulty, for God is one, and such a test is an impossibility for want of any true mean of comparison. Yet thus much may be said; so far as it reaches, analogy shews that the personality of the Deity is very possible; for if beings of another world could watch the growing results of human civilization, without having the power of tracing out the individual efforts that produce it, they would find themselves in a somewhat similar difficulty. Humanity, they might reason, is certainly intelligent substance; but substance is something vague and undetermined; yet the intelligence that is developing all terrestrial works must be the result of personal design and personal skill: therefore this world-wide humanity must have a definite personal subsistence. Adam, in the first instance, was that personal subsistence. Christ in the end shall recapitulate [Irenæus] all humanity in Himself, we know not how. Therefore in some way that is a present mystery, but of certain future solution, God may be Substance that is All-wise and Absolute, and yet personality may attach to His Being, limiting the Unlimited, and defining the Indefinite [Mansell, *Limits of Relig. Thought*, 56-59. SUBSTANCE]. In the meantime the idea of personality is mixed up intimately with all man's highest and noblest notions of the Deity [Mansell, 57, 240], neither is it possible to form the faintest possible conception of a non-personal God. The religious idea revolts against the negation, which, in fact, would be its annihilation. The sense of personal individual responsibility to a personal God and Father of all would pass away, and a "caput mortuum" of Pantheism would be all that would remain—an illusive Máyá for the present, a hopeless Nirwáná for the future.[1]

Next, with respect to a plurality of persons in the Deity, Hooker excellently defines the proper-

[1] Madame de Staël observes, "L'école de Schelling suppose que l'individu perit en nous, mais que les qualités intimes que nous possédons rentrent dans le grand tout de la création eternelle. Cette immortalité la ressemble terriblement à la mort." [*De l'Allem.* iii. 7.]

ties that determine this phase of the Divine Nature [see p. 320, HYPOSTASIS]; and his generalization may serve to impress upon the mind the impossibility of expressing the mutual relations of three Hypostases in one substance by any adequate term that human language can supply. That which transcends thought can never find expression by the tongue. The Personality of the Father and Holy Spirit is affected by nothing without the Divine Nature; the Personality of the Son has been modified since the Incarnation by taking the Manhood into God; and a second definition by Locke exactly covers this modification; "Person," he says, "belongs only to intelligent agents, capable of a law and happiness and misery," all of which accidents of personality pertain to Christ, though not to the Person of the Son of God as pre-existing eternally in the mere glory of the Word. [SUBSTANCE. UNION, HYPOSTATIC. COMMUNICATIO IDIOMATUM. HYPOSTASIS. 'ΟΥΣΙΑ.]

PESCHITO. [VERSIONS.]

PIETISM. A School of German Protestantism founded by Philip Jacob Spener [A.D. 1635-1705], a Lutheran preacher of Frankfort, in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The leading idea of Pietism is that of a Christian life independent of Christian theology.

Spener, the founder of this form of Lutheran Protestantism, began his career as a popular preacher at Strasburg, from whence he removed to Frankfort in A.D. 1666; afterwards becoming Court preacher at Dresden, and in A.D. 1691 being made Provost or Dean of St. Nicolas Church, Berlin, where he died. While at Frankfort he instituted societies which he named "Colleges of Piety," of a character not unlike the "Societies for the Reformation of Manners," which were being established at the same time in England. It was from these "Collegia Pietatis," the first of which met at Spener's house in A.D. 1670, that the name of the school was derived. By means of them he largely influenced the younger men of his day, and many of them were trained by him for the Lutheran ministry. In A.D. 1675, Spener published his principal work, *Pia Desideria*, in which he explained and developed his principles to the world at large. These were very much of the same character as those ultimately developed as the basis of METHODISM in England after the death of Wesley; giving the foremost place to subjective faith as the root of godly living, and attributing great value to lay-preaching. The principles of Spener spread very rapidly through the newly founded University of Halle, which was their stronghold, and although displaced by Rationalism there and in many of their original centres, are still very prevalent in Hesse and Wurtemburg, in Berlin and other parts of Prussia.

Pietism was a moral recoil from the gross profligacy into which Germany had fallen after the termination of the Thirty Years' War [A.D. 1618-1648]. That a revival of practical religion should be characterized by much enthusiasm, and a depreciation of doctrine, was only to be expected, such being the case with all revivals of the kind. But, in Lutheran Germany there was a special reason why a recoil from immorality should also be characterized by an aversion to theological dogmas. For Lutheranism had dried up into a mere religion of orthodoxy, its special orthodoxy (like that of Scottish Presbyterianism) consisting in an attitude of pugnacity towards other orthodoxies, and an unbalanced reliance upon certain comparatively unimportant and unpractical doctrines. "In the times succeeding the Reformation, the greater portion of the common people trusted that they should certainly be saved if they believed correct doctrines; if one is neither a Roman Catholic nor a Calvinist, and confesses his opposition, he cannot possibly miss heaven; holiness is not so necessary after all" [Auberlen, *Die Göttliche Offenbarung*, i. 278]. The modern relation of Pietism to Lutheranism is analogous to that of Evangelicalism to the "high and dry" party of the English Church in the first quarter of the present century. Like Evangelicalism it has lost ground through want of intellectuality, and has thus left the way open to Rationalism.

POLYGAMY. The custom of marrying more wives than one, common in many nations and in all ages of the world, and which we read of in Genesis [iv. 19] as existing from a very early period.

As regards the Jewish dispensation it is fully admitted that polygamy was not only allowed or tolerated, but even legally sanctioned. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were polygamists, and yet they are not censured in Scripture, nor is their conduct spoken of as immoral or contrary to the Divine Law; it had implicitly, at least, Divine permission. But polygamy was also in strict accordance with the Levitical Law. Thus we read in Deuteronomy [xxi. 15, 16], "If a man have two wives, one beloved, and another hated, and they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated; and if the first-born son be her's that was hated: then it shall be, that when he maketh his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the son of the beloved first-born, before the son of the hated, which is indeed the first-born." Here we find that the marriage of both women is equally allowed: they are both *wives*. Again, Nathan says to David, "I (God) gave thee thy master's *wives* into thy bosom" [2 Sam. xii. 8], which cannot mean less than that God fully permitted or sanctioned David's polygamy. After Uriah's death, David, who had already many wives, married Bathsheba (without remonstrance from the prophet Gad); her son was Solomon, David's successor, who, unless polygamy was sanctioned and in the strictest sense legal, could have only been David's *illegitimate* son. We read moreover, that "Joash did that which was right in the sight of the Lord all the days of Jehoiada the priest. And Jehoiada took for him two wives: and he begat sons and daughters" [2 Chron. xxiv. 2, 3]. It must be admitted with these instances before us that polygamy was in full accordance with, and sanctioned by, the law which God gave to His chosen people.

But the important question arises whether polygamy is *in itself* immoral or sinful. It is

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Polygamy

impossible to answer affirmatively, since we could not then suppose that it would have been permitted at all. Polygamy is not *per se* immoral; it was not forbidden under the old dispensation; and as the Apostle says, "where there is no law there is no transgression" [Rom. iv. 15]. Thus patriarchs and holy men of old followed their own opinions or inclinations, or conformed to the ordinary usage or custom. Had a prohibitory law against polygamy been given, it must have been universally enforced, and the Jewish nation was not prepared for such an enactment. Admitting this, still it is difficult to understand why Abraham and other holy men should have availed themselves of this permitted usage: we might have supposed that, although polygamy was allowed, yet it was on account of generally prevailing moral corruption, and was assuredly incompatible with the original institution of marriage, and, at the best, morally considered, was a very imperfect and inferior state. It is a remarkable fact that when Almighty God selects three men from the mass of humanity as righteous before Him, two should have one wife only, and the third was probably unmarried. When God sends His four sore judgments upon a land, says Ezekiel [c. xiv.], "though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness." Noah had only one wife, Job only, it would appear, one of unhappy notoriety, and Daniel was probably unmarried.[1]

It is to be considered, also, that in the book of Proverbs written by Solomon, whose polygamy was so notorious, there is no recognition of, or even allusion to, polygamy; on the contrary, we read, "rejoice with the *wife* of thy youth: let her be as the loving hind and the pleasant roe: let her breasts satisfy thee at all times, and be thou ravished always with her love" [v. 18, 19; see also xxxi. 10-31]. And Solomon says in Ecclesiastes, "Live joyfully with the *wife* whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity" [ix. 9]. Solomon, whatever might be his own practice, was led by the Spirit of God to teach the Jews that there was a higher and better state than that of polygamy, and thus really, though only implicitly, to discountenance it. For though polygamy was not forbidden in early ages, the evils inseparable from the usage ought to have been sufficient to warn men against it. Though, as we have seen, it is fully allowed by the law, yet the custom is now almost unknown amongst the Jews, and had been so even before the time of our Lord. This is a fact which can only be accounted for by its inherent and inseparable evils as proved by long experience;[2] and a stronger argument against polygamy could hardly be desired.

Our Lord does not directly forbid polygamy, or even allude to the subject, since it had been almost universally given up. No case of polygamy amongst the Jews is presented in the Gospel narrative; and when a wife is mentioned, it is stated or implied in the account that she is the only wife. The special evil of Jewish society was the facility of divorce—men putting away their wives for any, often a trifling, cause. Our Lord, when the Pharisees asked Him [Matt. xix. 3-9], whether it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause, replied that God at the beginning made them a male and a female (ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ), thus indirectly condemning polygamy as contrary to the original institution of marriage: with a male and a female only polygamy was impossible. He then declares that the bond of marriage is indissoluble; the husband and wife are no more twain, but one flesh, and what God hath thus joined together, let not man put asunder; and afterwards replies to their question on divorce.

The teaching of St. Paul is worthy of most serious attention, as the subject of polygamy must have come immediately before him. The Christian converts in the Apostolic age may be divided into three classes—Jews, Romans, and Greeks. Polygamy, though not unknown amongst the Jews, had fallen, as we have said, into general disuse. It was positively forbidden by the Roman law, though divorce was even more frequent amongst the Romans than the Jews, but it undoubtedly was the common usage of the Greeks.[3] The Epistles of St. Paul generally were addressed to Grecian converts; let us see then how he dealt with the question, which must have come directly before him. Two ways were open to the Apostle, either a partial or temporary toleration, or an immediate and direct prohibition of the custom. The multitude of Greek converts were undoubtedly polygamists; it might seem a hard measure, and would produce much domestic discontent and misery to compel converts to abandon their wives legally married according to the Grecian law. Did then the Apostle permit the usage temporarily, either till that generation had passed away, or polygamists themselves had been willing to conform to the higher Christian standard? We most emphatically reply that the Apostle never for even the briefest period tolerated polygamy amongst baptized or Christian disciples, and that it never existed in the Christian Church at all! Had it been tolerated even temporarily, some notice or allusion to it would be found in the Apostolic Epistles. The sincerity of converts must have been put to a severe test: to give up their wives no doubt often involved a painful sacrifice to Christian duty, yet so emphatic and peremptory must have been the Apostle's prohibition, that not a murmur of opposition was heard from Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, and other Christian communities. The Apostle often censures Grecian converts for their violation of Christian duty, some of them having fallen from their regenerate state, and abandoned themselves to their old sins; but we find no

[1] We also read in the New Testament of a Jew and his *wife* (Zacharias and Elisabeth) whom the Holy Ghost speaks of as both righteous before God and walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless [Luke i. 6].

[2] See Allen's *Modern Judaism*, xxiii. [A.D. 1816].

[3] Thus Theodoret says: Πάλαι γὰρ εἰώθεισαν καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ δύω καὶ τρισὶ καὶ πλείοσι γυναιξὶ νόμῳ γάμου κατὰ ταυτὸν συνοικεῖν. [*Com. in 1st Tim.* iii. 2.]

allusion to polygamy in his Epistles, nothing which implies that it was continued or even known amongst them. There is no mention, however remote or indirect, of a believer's *wives*. This silence can only intimate the utter abandonment of the usage amongst Christians as clearly as the most emphatic statement. It could not have been tacitly allowed as indifferent, or permitted even for a brief period; since it must be remembered that the Apostle had *expressly* forbidden polygamy, and if it existed at all in the Christian communities he planted, it could only have been in defiance of his direct prohibition. No language can be plainer than that of the seventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, "Let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband; let not the wife depart from her husband, let not a husband put away his wife." Again, the non-existence of polygamy in the Apostolic Churches is implied in the same Apostle's comparison of marriage to the union of Christ and His Church. The Apostle says, "the husband is the head of the wife even as Christ is the Head of the Church" [Ephes. v. 23]; but as Christ's Church, as St. Paul says, is one Body [Ephes. iv. 4], there would be no meaning in the comparison, no similarity in the things compared, if the husband might have a plurality of wives: the marriage union would not then have a typical representation of the union of Christ with the one Body, which is His Church.

Taking, again, the testimony of the Catholic Church, the evidence against polygamy will appear most positive and decisive. The mind of the Divine Legislator was so clearly and ineffaceably stamped on His followers, that the usage in early and later ages of the Church was utterly unknown: there is no instance on record of a baptized polygamist for fifteen hundred years after Christ. Catholic, schismatic, and heretic, amidst all their differences, agreed at least on this point. No professing Christian, however erroneous his belief or scandalous his life, ever ventured to revive the interdicted usage. The practice of the whole world was strictly uniform until, in the sixteenth century, Luther unhappily gave permission to one of his followers to marry a second wife during the lifetime of the first: the Landgrave of Hesse was the first polygamist in the Christian Church.

The testimony of the Church, clearly brought before us by the consentient practice of Christians in all ages, is too explicit to leave room for further controversy, or any real doubt of the teaching of the New Testament on the subject; but unhappily in modern times the question of polygamy has re-opened and has assumed great importance. Bishop Colenso in Africa, and missionaries of several denominations in India, allow heathen polygamists to retain their wives after baptism; though, on becoming Christians, they are forbidden to add to the number of them. Polygamist converts are not allowed, as being it is supposed in an inferior state, to bear office in the Church.[1] Now this view of the subject and corresponding practice can only be founded on an opinion or theory, which, if true, would render polygamy universally allowable amongst Christians. Let us ask ourselves the question, Is polygamy, according to the new dispensation, allowable, or indifferent, or sinful? If allowable or indifferent, why should it only be partially conceded and not permitted at all times? If it be wrong or sinful, how can we be justified in allowing it even during the shortest period. Its temporary permission amongst heathen converts rests on no authority, scriptural or patristic, or any valid plea whatever: no primitive precedent can be quoted, though it is obvious that the same reasons for it might have been alleged in the apostolic age, and also, it may be added, by missionaries in any subsequent period, as in modern times. In truth, its permission under any circumstances can only by logical sequence lead to its full sanction, as in the foul and degraded system of Mormonism.

But the defenders of modern polygamy will perhaps say that their strongest argument in its defence has not yet been examined; they lay especial stress on the examples of the Old Testament saints, which is probably the real reason why they venture to allow it, maintaining that God would not have permitted it for many ages had it been necessarily immoral or sinful. But are they prepared to say, which is the real question at issue, that in the New Testament there is no precept on the subject of marriage. If there be, the argument derived from the permitted usage of the old dispensation is of no value whatever, and may thus be stated: there was no positive law on the subject in the old dispensation, and hence many of the Jews were polygamists; there is a direct law or precept in the New Testament, and as such binding on believers, by which the Christian is limited to one wife. But should it be asserted that there is no positive precept on marriage in the New Testament, we shall thus have to fall back upon the old dispensation for instruction and guidance; in which case, why should we permit polygamy only for a time or in the case of heathen converts, instead of allowing Christians universally to follow, if they please, the example of the patriarchs and saints of the

[1] "In 1834 the conference of missionaries of various denominations in Calcutta, including those of the Baptist, the London and the Church Missionary Societies, of the Church of Scotland, and the American Presbyterian Board, after having had the whole subject frequently under discussion, and after much and serious deliberation, *unanimously* agreed on the following propositions, though there had previously been much diversity of opinion among them on various points. . . . If a convert before becoming a Christian has married more wives than one in accordance with the practice of the Jewish and early Christian Churches, he shall be permitted to keep them all; but such a person is not eligible to any office in the Church. In no other case is polygamy to be tolerated amongst Christians." [Dr. W. Brown's *History of Missions*, vol. iii. pp. 365-6, A.D. 1864]. If proof had been given that polygamy was allowed in the early Church, all controversy on the subject would have been at an end; its permission in modern times to converts from heathenism might have been allowed, or even in many cases be desirable; but the statement itself has no support whatever either from Scripture or the writings of the Fathers, or ecclesiastical history.

Jewish Church. If polygamy be permitted to converts from heathenism, on the ground that there is no positive precept on the subject in the New Testament, and that we may have recourse to the permission of the Jewish law, no reason most assuredly can be given why Christians generally may not be permitted to avail themselves of the sanction given to polygamy in the old dispensation, and by the example of its patriarchs and saints.

POLYTHEISM. The belief in, and the worship of, a plurality of gods.

I. *Its origin and relation to Monotheism.* Whether we approach the subject of Polytheism from the side of revelation and consider it in the light afforded us by the Mosaic record of early human history, or whether we follow the guidance of modern historical inquiry, the result arrived at is substantially the same. In both cases we are led alike to the conclusion that Polytheism is under no circumstances a primary form of human belief. There is strong reason for thinking that the earliest religious system constructed by any given race of men must have been a Monotheistic one, and that the later Polytheistic forms which the religions of some races have assumed have been in every case the result of a debasement or degeneration of their original belief.

The *sense of personal dependence*, into which most philosophers have agreed in resolving the earliest elements of natural religious feeling, could not, in the first instance, lead mankind to the notion of a plurality of gods. The undefined power which man feels to be around and above him—the "something" which is independent of him, and stronger than he—did not primarily present itself to his mind except under a form of unity. His earliest religion, therefore, is Monotheistic in its character (inasmuch as the sense of dependence does not necessarily postulate more than one unseen Power on which it feels itself to depend); but it is, at the same time, a Monotheism of a highly unstable nature, and one eminently liable, amongst races of rude faculties and with little power of abstraction, to assume a Polytheistic form. It was far from attaining the level of a dogmatic Monotheism—a religion, *i. e.*, which not only possesses the conception of God *as one*, but a conception including the *negation of the existence of more gods than one*—a negation which is only possible *after* the conception, real or imaginary, of more than one God.

The degeneration of the original Monotheistic idea may be explained in two ways, according as we conjecture it to have arisen from infirmity of thought or deficiency of language. According to the former theory, the change to Polytheism would be the result of the dominion exercised at all times (but most of all in a rude age) by the senses over the reflective faculty. The idea of one Supreme Spirit which would exist in the best minds of an undeveloped age (and perhaps in all minds at their best and most reflective moments), would be always liable to be obscured by the multiplicity of the visible operations of that Spirit on earth. The tiller of the soil, in simple times, waiting anxiously for the sun or rain, would, in his joy at their arrival or in his despair at their absence, be too prone to attribute his good or ill-fortune to some individual power, for whose benefits he must be grateful, whose wrath he must propitiate—and a worship containing both the elements of prayer and thanksgiving would soon spring up between man and those supposed powers who governed the earthly phenomena upon which man is so dependent. The other theory is the one adopted by that school of inquirers who rely so much upon philological research for the elucidation of early historical problems. According to this view, the corruption of the ordinary Monotheistic idea was the result of a deficiency of language. The inability of mankind either to ascend to the conception of abstract being, or (in a rude age) to adapt language to such a conception, prevented man from giving the Unseen Being a name connoting merely that existence which they were conscious of *as one;* and they were therefore compelled to designate him by names connoting those acts and attributes which they were conscious of *as many.* Those who could not give the Supreme Power the name of God, as signifying mere "being," could conceive of him more readily as the Power who awakens the thunder or outspreads the heavens, and could name him accordingly "The Thunderer" or "The Bright One;" and so long as they kept distinctly before their minds the essential unity of the Being who performs these various acts, and looked upon their words as merely different names of one Existence, all was well. But in the course of time this distinction would vanish from the minds of worshippers; it would be thought that different names must needs imply different beings; the powers and attributes in right of which the names were given originally to one God become appropriated to the imaginary beings whom these names are supposed to represent, and a complete system of Polytheism is evolved.

It is probable that botn these causes may have operated; one amongst some races, the other amongst others. The early Jewish lapses into Polytheism are a remarkable proof that the former cause is, at least occasionally, an efficient one. Nothing can better illustrate the inability of the human mind, in certain stages of its development, to rest upon the notion of an invisible God than the conduct of the Jews in the desert. The race which, of all others, should have been able, by the Divine assistance they were favoured with, to grasp the notion of one Supreme God, were no sooner deprived of the visible officer of the Deity—Moses, with his miraculous powers—than they relapsed into the idolatry of the nation they had left. They, to whom God had shewn His very guiding hand in the pillars of cloud and fire, called upon Aaron to make them a golden calf to lead them out of the wilderness. And their whole history shews a constant tendency to lapse into image-worship; not, as it for the most part appears, *to the exclusion* of the worship of God, but in addition to it. If such were the

state of a race whose Monotheism was, it may be thought, secured by peculiar safeguards, it may be imagined what would be the case with less favoured peoples. It is, indeed, not until a comparatively high state of intellectual and moral development is reached, that a Monotheistic religion, if unsupported by a revelation, ceases to be in any danger of degenerating into Polytheism.

II. *Its relation to the moral and religious life.* The most striking characteristic of Polytheism, and that which most surely marks it as the offspring of the degradation of Monotheism, is to be found in its effect on the relation which should exist between religion and morality. Although it is undoubtedly true that a morality of by no means a low order can, and occasionally does, co-exist with a Polytheistic system of religion, yet they exist independently of each other. The more comprehensive and elaborate the Polytheism of a nation, the more complete is the separation established between the religious and the moral sphere of duties. History has, it is true, permitted us, in only one or two instances, to study the condition of a race which has combined a Polytheistic system with a morality of any pretensions; but these instances are of so crucial a nature as to afford ground for an induction: and it may safely be affirmed that whatever Polytheistic nation has taken anything like an advanced position in point of morals, has done so in spite, and not by virtue of, its religion. The level of morality, for example, to which the Athenians reached, they were enabled to attain from a variety of causes with which religion had nothing to do, and in which the chief share must be attributed to a political system well calculated to develope the civic and, with certain limitations, the family virtues, and to an intellectual culture and refinement producing their usual beneficial result on the moral state. But to their religion they owed nothing of all this. There may be traces in their language of a moral influence exercised by religion, but it is in their language only. Examined more nearly, their religion is found to have been a bare *cultus*, and nothing more—a matter of superstitious reverence, of pious observances, of prayers and offerings, perhaps, for national blessings, but in no respect of moral duties. Their gods were the givers or withholders of good, the bringers or averters of evil—and that was all. In the most spiritualized conception of their deities to which they could attain, those deities were merely the arbiters of human destinies, and arbiters themselves subjected to an inexorable preceding necessity superior to Zeus himself. If, as the arbiters of such destinies, they struck down guilty houses, it was in obedience to an eternal law, and not as a mark of moral reprobation; for an equally inevitable vengeance pursued the merely prosperous. Even the loftier moralities which their philosophers constructed owed nothing to their religion, or nothing at least to their national religion. Either, as Epicurus, they separated the gods finally and completely from any concern in human affairs, and therefore in human morals; or else, like Plato, when attempting to ally morals with religion, and give his precepts the sanction of a Divine approval, they use, more often than not, the language of Monotheism. But the consequences of this divorce of morality from religion are very disastrous to the general condition of a nation. It follows from it that the moral teachers of a race are compelled to make their appeals under the greatest disadvantage, for they have lost the most efficacious means of bringing about that alliance between the emotions and the reason, without which a code of morals appears to the mind as nothing more than a barren set of axioms. They have lost that powerful appeal to man's hopes and fears of an unknown future which is afforded by the doctrine of a moral government of the world; they cannot call man's gratitude for temporal blessings to the aid of his morality by shewing him that the God of the Commandments is also the Author and Giver of all good things; and, above all, they cannot invest moral actions with the force of a habit by connecting moral duties with habitual religious observances. The result is inevitable: that the morality of a Polytheistic nation cannot outlive the decay of the social and political institutions on which alone it depends for its morality. Thus, the most slavish period of the Roman Empire was also the period of its deepest moral degradation; and Christianity appearing on the scene, with its lofty morality and its pure Theism, found the old religion ready to be dethroned. [PAGANISM.]

POPERY. [ROMANISM. ULTRAMONTANISM.]

POPES, CATALOGUE OF. The succession of the bishops of Rome holds so important a place in historical theology, that it is here given (a few notes of important circumstances being associated with some of the names), from the Apostolic age to the present time.

In the middle of the second century, between A.D. 162 and A.D. 168, Irenæus wrote his work against Heresies, in one part of which he founds an argument against the heretics of his day on the fact that a perpetual succession of bishops had been kept up in the various churches. To reckon up these successions in all the churches, he says, would be very tedious, therefore he will support his argument "by indicating that tradition derived from the Apostles, of the very great, very ancient, and universally known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul" [Iren. *adv. Hæres.* iii. 3; *cf.* Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 5]. He then goes on to say that "the blessed Apostles having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate," and afterwards he enumerates in order all the successors of Linus down to "Eleutherius, who, now, in the twelfth place from the Apostles, holds the inheritance of the episcopate." This information is the earliest, and probably the most authentic, that we have respecting the early bishops of Rome, and is adopted in the following catalogue,

Popes, Catalogue of

1. Linus [A.D. 68—80]. It is of him, says Irenæus, that St. Paul makes mention when writing to Timothy from Rome [2 Tim. iv. 21]. Eusebius says that he was bishop for twelve years, down to the second year of the Emperor Titus, and was the first in order "after Paul and Peter." The martyrologies state that he was crowned with martyrdom on Sept. 23rd, his day in the Roman Calendar [Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 13, 21].
2. Anacletus, Anencletus, or Cletus, [A.D. 80—93] is said to have been martyred on April 26th, in the year 93, and is commemorated on that day. He is named as second in order by Eusebius [Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* iii. 13, 21].
3. Clement [A.D. 93—100] is said by Irenæus to have been "in the third place from the Apostles," and is identified by Eusebius with the Clement named as his "fellow-labourer" by St. Paul [Phil. iv. 3] when writing from Rome.

   In the preface of Rufinus [A.D. 390] to his translation of the Clementine Recognitions, he speaks of the Epistle in which Clement announces to St. James the death of St. Peter, announcing also that the Apostle had left Clement to be his successor. Some will ask, he says, "Since Linus and Cletus were bishops in the city of Rome before this Clement, how could Clement himself, writing to James, say that the chair of teaching was handed over to him by Peter? Now, of this," he adds, "we have heard this explanation, that Linus and Cletus were indeed bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, but during the lifetime of Peter, that is, that they undertook the care of the episcopate, and that he fulfilled the office of the apostleship: as is found also to have been the case of Cæsarea, where, when he himself was present, he yet had Zaccheus, ordained by himself, as bishop. And in this way both statements will appear to be true, both that these bishops are reckoned before Clement, and yet that Clement received the teacher's seat on the death of Peter." Eusebius dates the death of Clement in the second year of Trajan, after an episcopate of nine years. He is the earliest Christian writer extant after St. John. [Fathers, Apostolic.] St. Clement is named as "the third that held the Episcopate at Rome after Paul and Peter" [Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 4, 115].

   [A second Anencletus is here inserted in Roman catalogues, but he is unnoticed by Irenæus and Eusebius.]
4. Evarestus [A.D. 100—109. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 34, iv. 1].
5. Alexander I. [A.D. 109—119. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 1, 4.]
6. Sixtus or Xystus I. [A.D. 119—128 or 129. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 4, 5].
7. Telesphorus [A.D. 128 or 129—139]. Irenæus says that he "was gloriously martyred." He is remembered as having first introduced the *Gloria in Excelsis* into the Liturgy [Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 5, 10].
8. Hyginus [A.D. 139—142. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3, 4; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 10, 11].
9. Pius I. [A.D. 142—157. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 11].
10. Anicetus [A.D. 157—168]. He was contemporary with Polycarp, who came to confer with him respecting the Paschal Controversy. [Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3, 4; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 11, 14, 19.]
11. Soter [A.D. 168—176. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 19, 23, v. *præf.*]
12. Eleutherus [A.D. 176—190], said to have been a Greek by birth, and associated with England by the tradition of King Lucius. [Iren. *adv. Hær.* iii. 3; Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* v. *præf.* 4, 5, 22].
13. Victor [A.D. 190—*c.* 201]. In his time the controversy respecting Easter was continued with much bitterness, and Victor excommunicated the Eastern Churches. Irenæus wrote a synodal letter to the Bishop of Rome, rebuking him for his violence, and urging him not to interfere with the practice of the Eastern Churches [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* v. 22, 24, 28].
14. Zephyrinus [A.D. *c.* 201—218. Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* v. 28; vi. 14, 21; Hippol. *adv. Hær.* ix. 6].
15. Callistus or Calixtus I. [A.D. 218—223. Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vi. 21]. Hippolytus [*adv. Hær.* ix. 6, 7, 8] gives much information about Callistus and Zephyrinus, and accuses them both of have countenanced Noëtus in his heresy. [Patripassianism.]
16. Urban [A.D. 223—230. Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vi. 21, 23].
17. Pontianus [A.D. 230—235. Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vi. 23, 29].
18. Anterus [A.D. 235, Nov. 21st—236, Jan. 3rd]. He occupied the see for one month only. [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vi. 29.]
19. Fabian [A.D. 236—250, Jan. 21st]. He suffered martyrdom in the Decian persecution. [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vi. 39.]
20. Cornelius [A.D. 251—252, Sept. 14th]. In his short episcopate arose the schism of Novatus [Antipopes], which led to much correspondence between him and St. Cyprian. In an epistle of the latter to his successor he speaks of Cornelius as a "blessed martyr." [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 2; Cypr. *Ep.* lvii. *al.* lxi.; Socrat. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 28.]

    Novatian, Antipope [A.D. 251—268]. Martyred under Valerian. [Socrat. *Ecc. Hist.* iv. 28].
21. Lucius [A.D. 252—253, March]. Martyred after an episcopate of but a few months. [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 2.]
22. Stephen I. [A.D. 253—257, Aug.]. During his episcopate a controversy arose between the Bishop of Rome and the Bishops of Asia and Africa on the subject of the Lapsed; and two of St. Cyprian's epistles were written to Stephen, who broke off communion with him and the other African bishops, treating them with some of that arrogance which became so characteristic of later popes. He is said by Socrates

to have been martyred [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 2, 5; Cypr. *Epp.*; Socrat. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 28].

23. Sixtus or Xystus II. [A.D. 257—258, Aug. 6th.] said to have been an Athenian, martyred under Valerian, Eusebius erroneously says that he held the episcopate for eleven *years* instead of eleven *months*. [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 5, 14, 27.]
24. Dionysius [A.D. 259, July 22nd—269, Dec. 26th. Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 27, 30].
25. Felix I. [A.D. 270—274. Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 30, 32; Socrat. *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 37; Theodor. *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 17].
26. Eutychian [A.D. 274—283, Dec. 7th]. He appears to have occupied the see nearly nine years; Eusebius erroneously describes him as having been bishop for less than ten months. [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 32.]
27. Caius [A.D. 283—296, April 22nd. Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 32].
28. Marcellinus [A.D. 296—304, Oct. Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* vii. 32].
29. Marcellus [A.D. 308—310, Jan. 16th]. The see appears to have been vacant for four years; but some writers represent Marcellus as having succeeded immediately on the death of Marcellinus.
30. Eusebius [A.D. 310—310, Sept. 26th]. Bishop only for a few months.
31. Melchiades or Miltiades [A.D. 311, July 2nd—314, Jan. 11th]. This bishop held a council at Rome, by command of the Emperor Constantine, to settle the differences between the African bishops and Cœcilian, Bishop of Carthage, respecting the re-admission of the Lapsed to communion. It was the first council with which the civil authority had anything to do. [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* x. 5; Theodor. *Hist. Ecc.* i. 3.]
32. Sylvester [A.D. 314, Jan. 31st—335, Dec. 31st]. He was bishop during the Council of Nicæa, where he appeared by deputy. [Sozom. *Hist. Ecc.* i. 2; Theodor. *Hist. Ecc.* i. 3; Clinton, *Fasti Romani, Tables*, 539.]
33. Mark. [A.D. 336, Jan. 18th—Oct. 7th]
34. Julius [A.D. 337, Feb. 6th—352, April 12th]. During his pontificate the Council of Sardica was held [A.D. 347], at which the first step was taken towards the establishment of the papal supremacy, by allowing an appellate jurisdiction to the popes from all parts of the world. [Socrat. *Hist. Ecc.* i. 17, ii. 34; Sozom. *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 10.]
35. Liberius [A.D. 352, May 22nd. Expelled by the Arians in 355, returned upon submitting to the Arian Emperor Constantius, and was restored Aug. 2nd, 358; deceased, Sept. 24th, 366.]
36. Felix II. [A.D. 355. Expelled in 358; died Nov. 22nd 365.] Anti-pope consecrated by the Arian party.
37. Damasus [A.D. 366, Oct. 1st—384, Dec. 10th].
    Ursinus, anti-pope; [elected in Sept. 366; banished in Nov. 367.]
38. Siricius [A.D. 384, Dec.—398, Feb. 22nd *al.* Nov. 26th. Clinton, *Fasti Romani, Tables*, 539; Jaffé, *Reg. Pontiff.* p. 21].
39. Anastasius I. [A.D. 398—402].
40. Innocent I. [A.D. 402—417, March 12th?]
41. Zosimus [A.D. 417—418]. Zosimus was the first pope who claimed to "inherit from St. Peter a Divine authority equal to that of St. Peter" [Mansi, *Conc.* iv. 366].
    Eulalius, anti-pope [A.D. 418, Dec.] Expelled by the Emperor Honorius in March, A.D. 419.
42. Boniface I. [A.D. 418, Dec. 29th—422, Sept. 4th].
43. Cœlestine I. [A.D. 422—432]. The Council of Ephesus was held in the time of Cœlestine [A.D. 431], St. Cyril of Alexandria acting as his representative.
44. Sixtus III. [A.D. 432, July—440, Aug.] Accused in 434 by one Bassus, but acquitted by a council of fifty-six bishops. See vacant for more than forty days [Prosp. *Chron.*].
45. Leo I. a deacon [440, Sept.—461, Nov. 10th].
46. Hilarus [A.D. 461, Nov. 12th—468, Feb. 21st; Clinton, *Fasti Rom., Tables*, 671].
47. Simplicius [A.D. 468, Feb. 23rd or 24th—483, buried March 2nd. The day of death and that of burial were often the same. *Ibid.*]
48. Felix III. [A.D. 483, March 7th or 8th—492, Feb. 24th or 25th].
49. Gelasius [A.D. 492, Mar. 2nd—496, Nov. 19th].
50. Anastasius II. [A.D. 496, Nov. 24th or 25th—498, Nov. 16th or 17th: Clinton, *Fasti Rom., Tables*, 713; Jaffé, *Reg. Pontiff.* 61.]
51. Symmachus [A.D. 498, Nov. 22nd—514, buried July 19th].
    Laurence, anti-pope [A.D. 498, Nov. 22nd—exiled about 505].
52. Hormisdas [A.D. 514, July 20th—523; buried Aug. 6th or 7th].
53. John I. [A.D. 523, Aug. 13th—526]; died in May, at Ravenna, and in prison, whither he had been sent by the Arian king Theoderic.
54. Felix IV. [A.D. 526, July 12th—530, Sept.]
55. Boniface II. [A.D. 530, Sept. 22nd—532; buried Oct. 17th].
    Dioscorus, anti-pope [A.D. 530, Sept. 22nd; died Oct. 14th].
56. John II. [A.D. 532, Dec. 31st, or 533, Jan. 1st (Clinton, *Fasti Rom.* 755)—535, buried May 27th.]
57. Agapetus [A.D. 535, June 3rd—536, April 22nd]; died at Constantinople while on an embassy to the Emperor Justinian from King Theodatus, or Theodahadus.
58. Silverius [appointed, without election, by Theodatus, June 536—deposed by Belisarius in March 537, (Jaffé, *Regesta Pontiff.* 75,) died in exile 538, June 20th, *ibid.* 76; May 21st, Clinton, *Fasti Rom.* p. 769].
59. Vigilius [A.D. 537, March 29th (Jaffé, 76. Clinton, 803, fixes the commencement of his episcopate at Nov. 22nd)—555, Jan. 7th, or June 7th]. Died while on his return from banishment.
60. Pelagius I. [A.D. 555, April or June—560, March 1st.]
61. John III. [A.D. 560, July 18th—573, buried July 13th. Clinton, *Fasti Rom., Tables*, 831.]
62. Benedict I. [A.D. 574, June 3rd—578, buried July 31st.]
63. Pelagius II. [A.D. 578, Nov. 27th or 30th—590, Feb. 6th or 8th.]

64. Gregory I. the Great [A.D. 590, Sept. 3rd—604, March 12th]. During his reign the mission of St. Augustine to Britain took place, and the foundation of the great See of Canterbury.
65. Sabinianus [A.D. 604, Sept. 13th—606, Feb. 22nd]. His name is associated with the earliest use of church bells.
66. Boniface III. [A.D. 607, Feb. 19th—607, Nov. 10th or 12th]. The supremacy of the pope was formally usurped to its full extent by Boniface II. in the case of an appeal from the Archbishop of Larissa against the Patriarch of Constantinople [Mansi, *Concil.* 739].
67. Boniface IV. [A.D. 608, Aug. 25th or Sept. 15th—615, May 7th or 25th.]
68. Deusdedit [A.D. 615, Oct. 19th—618, Nov. 8th].
69. Boniface V. [A.D. 619, Dec. 23rd—625, Oct. 22d or 25th].
70. Honorius I. [A.D. 625, Oct. 27th or Nov. 3rd—638; buried Oct. 12th]. Honorius was condemned as a Monothelite heretic by the sixth Œcumenical Council, that of Constantinople, on March 28th, 681 [Monothelitism. Renouf's *Condemnation of Pope Honorius*, 1868].
71. Severinus [elected A.D. 638-9, consecrated 640, May 28th—640, buried Aug. 2nd].
72. John IV. [A.D. 640, Dec. 24th—642, Oct. 11th.]
73. Theodore I. [A.D. 642, Nov. 24th—649, buried May 14th].
74. Martin I. [A.D. 649, July 5th—carried into exile from Rome, 653, June 19th, died 655, Sept. 16th.]
75. Eugenius I. [A.D. 654, Aug. 10th or 11th—657, June 1st].
76. Vitalian [657, July 30th—672, buried Jan. 27th].
77. Adeodatus [A.D. 672, April 11th—676, buried June 16th, Jaffé. *Reg. Pontiff.* p. 166].
78. Donus [A.D. 676, Nov. 2nd—678, buried April 11th].
79. Agatho [A.D. 678, June 27th—681 or 682, buried Jan. 10th]. This Pope sent John, precentor of St. Peter's, into England, to supplant the Ephesine by the Roman use in the northern monasteries [Bede, *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 18].
80. Leo II. [A.D. 682, Aug. 17th—683, buried July 3rd].
81. Benedict II. [A.D. 684, June 26th—685, buried May 8th].
82. John V. [A.D. 685, July 23rd—686, buried Aug. 2nd].
83. Conon [A.D. 686, Oct. 21st—687, buried Sept. 22nd].
84. Sergius I. [A.D. 687, Dec. 15th—701, buried Sept. 8th.] Elected in order to terminate a contest between two rivals for the see, Theodore the Arch-priest, and Paschal the Archdeacon.
85. John VI. [A.D. 701, Oct. 28th or 30th—705, buried Jan. 10th].
86. John VII. [A.D. 705, March 1st—707, buried Oct. 18th].
87. Sisinnius [A.D. 708, Jan. 18th—708, buried Feb. 7th].

88. Constantine I. [A.D. 708, March 25th—715, buried April 9th]. In his time the Iconoclast controversy began. [Iconoclasm.]
89. Gregory II. [A.D. 715, May 19th—731, Feb 11th].
90. Gregory III. [A.D. 731, March 18th—741, buried Nov. 29th].
91. Zachary [A.D. 741, Dec. 3rd—752, buried March 15th].
    Stephen, sometimes called Stephen II., was elected as Zachary's successor, but died four days afterwards, before consecration.
92. Stephen II. (III.) [A.D. 752, March 26th—757, buried about April 26th].
93. Paul I. (brother of the preceding) [A.D. 757, May 29th—767, June 28th].
94. Constantine II. [A.D. 767, July 5th—768, deposed Aug. 6th.]
    Philip, elected July 31st, 768, but returned the same day to his monastery, being deposed by the partizans of Stephen III.
95. Stephen III. (IV.) [A.D. 768, Aug. 7th—772, Feb. 1st].
96. Hadrian I. [A.D. 772, Feb. 9th—795, buried Dec. 26th].
97. Leo III. [A.D. 795, Dec. 27th—816, buried June 12th].
98. Stephen IV. (V.) [A.D. 816, June 22nd—817, Jan. 24th].
99. Pascal I. [A.D. 817, Jan. 25th—824, between Feb. and May.]
    Pagi observes in his notice of this Pope that from this time until about the middle of the eleventh century, nothing can be said with certainty as to the days and months of the commencement and ending of the pontificates, and that the most which can be hoped for is the avoiding error with respect to the years [*Crit. in Ann. Baronii*, 1705, iii. 514]. The days generally given in this Table for the commencement are those of consecration and coronation, which ceremonies (as stated in the *Roman Pontifical*) were usually celebrated on the same day; where this date is not known, or where a lengthened interval elapsed between election and consecration, the day of election is mentioned in the place of or in addition to the other.
100. Eugenius II. [A.D. 824, May (?)—827, Aug.]
101. Valentine [A.D. 827—827, deceased forty days after his consecration].
102. Gregory IV. [A.D. 827—844, Jan. 25th (?)]
103. Sergius II. [A.D. 844, Feb. 10th (?)—847, Jan. 27th]. John the Deacon attempted to seize the papal chair on the death of Gregory, but was expelled.
104. Leo IV. [A.D. 847, April 10th—855, July 17th.]
105. Benedict III. [A.D. 855, Sept. 29th—858, April 7th]. It is to this Bishop that the story of Pope Joan refers.
    Anastasius, a rival candidate, expelled by the Imperial Legates.
106. Nicolas I. [A.D. 858, April 24th—867, Nov. 13th.]
107. Adrian II. [A.D. 867, Dec. 14th—872, Nov.-Dec.]

108. JOHN VIII. [A.D. 872, Dec. 14th—882, Dec. 15th or 16th].
109. MARINUS I. [A.D. 882, Dec.—884, May].
110. HADRIAN III. [A.D. 884, May—885, Sept].
111. STEPHEN V. (VI.) [A.D. 885, Sept.—891, Sept.?]
112. FORMOSUS [A.D. 891, Sept.?—896, May?]. "*Ann. Fuldenses*, 896, p. 412. *At Romæ Formosus papa defunctus est die sancto Paschæ* (die iv. m. Apr.); pro quo scribendum fuisse puto, *die S. Pentecostes* (die xxiii. m. Maii), quum ex iis quæ præcedunt Formosum satis constet in vivis etiam die i. m. Maii fuisse." [Jaffé, *Reg. Pontiff.* 301.]
113. BONIFACE VI. [A.D. 896, May?—896]. Died from gout fifteen days after consecration.
114. STEPHEN VI. (VII.) [A.D. 896, June?—897, Aug.?] Expelled from the see, and strangled in prison.
115. ROMANUS [A.D. 897, before Aug. 20th?—897, Nov.?]
116. THEODORE II. [A.D. 897, Nov., Dec.?—897, Dec.?] Appears to have deceased about twenty days after consecration.
117. JOHN IX. [A.D. 898, June or July—900, July].
118. BENEDICT IV. [A.D. 900, July—903, Aug.?]
119. LEO V. [A.D. 903, Aug.?—903, Sept.?] Deposed, and died in prison.
120. CHRISTOPHER [A.D. 903, Oct.?—904, Jan. Jaffé, *Reg. Pontiff.* 307]. Deposed, and died in prison.
121. SERGIUS III. [A.D. 904, Jan. 29th?—911, beg. of Sept.]. Had been previously elected in A.D. 898 upon the death of Theodore II., but was driven out before consecration by the friends of John IX.
122. ANASTASIUS III. [A.D. 911—914, Oct., Nov.]
123. LANDO [A.D. 913—914, beg. of May?].
124. JOHN X. [A.D. 914, May 15th?—928]. Deposed in July, and died in prison, probably by murder.
125. LEO VI. [A.D. 928—929, Feb.].
126. STEPHEN VII. (VIII.) [A.D. 929, Feb.—931, March].
127. JOHN XI. [A.D. 931, March—936, Jan.].
128. LEO VII. [A.D. 936, before Jan. 9th—939, July].
129. STEPHEN VIII. (IX.) [A.D. 939, before July 19th—942, Nov.].
130. MARINUS II. [A.D. 942, before Nov. 11th—946, April?].
131. AGAPETUS II. [A.D. 946, before June 15th—955, Nov.?].
132. JOHN XII. [A.D. 955, Nov.?—963, deposed in Dec.; died May 14th, 964.] By this pope the custom was first introduced of changing the name on succeeding to the papal see; his name being originally Octavian. [Pagi, iii. 590.] Respecting the doubtful date of the commencement of his pontificate (fixed by Pagi after Aug. A.D. 956), see Jaffé, *Reg. Pontiff.* 321.
133. LEO VIII. [A.D. 963, Dec. 6th—965, March]. Sometimes called an anti-pope.
134. BENEDICT V. [A.D. 964, May 15th—964, deposed by the Emperor in favour of Leo VIII., June 23rd; died at Hamburg, July 4th, 965].
135. JOHN XIII. [A.D. 965, Oct. 1st—972, Sept. 6th].
136. BENEDICT VI. [A.D. 972, elected about Nov.; 973, consecrated Jan. 19th—974, July ?]. Murdered in prison.
    BONIFACE VII. [A.D. 974, July], expelled after one month, and fled to Constantinople.
    DONUS II. [A.D. 974]. This name is inserted among those of the popes by Pagi, who thinks he held the see for a few months, and consequently places the accession and death of Boniface VII. in 975 and 984; others (*e.g.* Sismondi) suppose that Donus or Domnus is merely a contraction of the title of the next bishop, *Dominus Benedictus*. [See Milman's *Latin Christianity, sub anno*, and Jaffé, *Reg. Pontiff.* 331, who says that the non-existence of a pope Donus has been fully demonstrated by W. Giesebrecht].
137. BENEDICT VII. [A.D. 974, Oct.—983, Oct.[1]].
138. JOHN XIV. [A.D. 983—984]. Deposed by Boniface (who returned to Rome about April), and murdered in prison Aug. 20th.
139. BONIFACE VII. [A.D. 984—985, July].
    JOHN (XV.), son of Robert. Said by some to have been elected and to have held the see for four months without consecration; on which account he is not reckoned as the fifteenth pope of his name.
140. JOHN XV. [A.D. 985, before Oct. 19th—996, April].
141. GREGORY V. [A.D. 996, May 3rd—999, Feb. 18th]. Expelled from Rome in 997, but restored in 998.
    JOHN XVI., anti-pope [A.D. 997, about May—998, March]. Deposed, and cruelly mutilated.
142. SILVESTER II. [A.D. 999, April—1003, May 12th]. A French pope, and very learned, especially in mathematical science; whence he was accounted a magician by ignorant writers of the period.
143. JOHN XVII. [A.D. 1003, June 13th—1003, Dec. 7th].
144. JOHN XVIII. [A.D. 1003, Dec. 25th—1009, June?].
145. SERGIUS IV. [A.D. 1009, after June 20th and before Aug. 24th—1012, between June 17th and 22d].
146. BENEDICT VIII. [A.D. 1012, June 22d—1024, April 7th].
    GREGORY, anti-pope, elected in June 1012, but expelled.
147. JOHN XIX., brother of Benedict VIII., a layman [A.D. 1024, between June 24th and July 15th—1033, Jan?].
148. BENEDICT IX., nephew of the preceding, a boy little more than ten years old [A.D. 1033—1045; resigned in May, selling the papacy to John the archpriest (Gregory IX.); deposed Dec. 20th, 1046].

[1] Not July 10th, as in his epitaph. affé, *Reg. Pontiff.*, 335.

SILVESTER (III.), anti-pope, elected by the people of Rome [A.D. 1044, Feb. 22nd —1044, April. Driven out by Benedict IX.; deposed Dec. 20th, 1046].

149. GREGORY VI. bought the papacy of Benedict IX. [A.D. 1045, May—1046, Dec. 20th. Compelled to resign for his simony.]

150. CLEMENT II. [A.D. 1046, Dec. 25th—1047, Oct. 9th].

Benedict IX. again obtained the pontificate, and held it from Nov. 8, 1047 to July 7, 1048, when he was finally expelled by Emperor.

151. DAMASUS II. [A.D. 1047, appointed by the Emperor Dec. 25th; 1048, consecrated July 17th—1048, Aug. 9th].

152. LEO IX. [A.D. 1049, Feb. 12th (Jaffé, *Reg. Pontiff.* 367)—1054, April 19th.]

153. VICTOR II. [A.D. 1054, elected; 1055, consecrated April 13th—1057, July 28th].

154. STEPHEN IX. (X.) [A.D. 1057, Aug. 3rd—1058, March 29th].

BENEDICT X., anti-pope, seized the chair, and held it without canonical consecration from April 5th, 1058 to Jan. 1059, when he was driven from Rome; deposed in council in April 1059.

155. NICOLAS II. [A.D. 1059, Jan. 24th—1061, July 27th].

156. ALEXANDER II. [A.D. 1061, Oct. 1st—1073, April 21st].

Cadalus, or HONORIUS II., anti-pope, appointed by the Emperor at Basle [Oct. 28th, 1061; deposed in a council at Mantua, May 31st, 1064].

157. GREGORY VII. (Hildebrand) [A.D. 1073, elected April 22nd; consecrated June 30th—1085, May 25th].

CLEMENT III., or Wibert, anti-pope, elected June 25th, 1080, upon the excommunication of the Emperor Henry by Gregory; enthroned at Rome March 22nd, 1084, and consecrated March 24th; died in Sept. 1100.

158. VICTOR III. [elected A.D. 1086, May 24th; consecrated 1087, May 9th—1087, Sept. 16th].

159. URBAN II. [A.D. 1088, March 12th—1099, July 29th].

160. PASCAL II. [A.D. 1099, Aug. 14th—1118, Jan. 21st].

On the death of the anti-pope Clement III., Theodoric, or Theodore, was chosen in his room, who was captured and confined after the lapse of 105 days, about Dec. 1100. After him was chosen one Albert, who was also seized and "dispoped" the same day by Paschal's supporters. Next was chosen, on Nov. 18th, 1105, the Archipresbyter Maginolf, who assumed the name of SILVESTER IV.; he is said to have been soon expelled by the Romans, and was deposed by the Emperor in April 1111.

161. GELASIUS II. [A.D. 1118, March 10th, at Gaeta—1119, Jan. 29th].

Burdinus, Archbishop of Braga, anti-pope, styled GREGORY VIII. [A.D. 1118, March 8th, at Rome—1121, deposed and imprisoned in April].

162. CALIXTUS II. [A.D. 1119, Feb. 9th—1124, Dec. 13th or 14th].

163. HONORIUS II. [A.D. 1124, Dec. 21st—1130, Feb. 14th].

164. INNOCENT II. [A.D. 1130, Feb. 23rd—1143, Sept. 24th], elected first by a minority of the cardinals on Feb. 14th.

ANACLETUS II., anti-pope, elected afterwards by a majority [A.D. 1130, Feb. 23rd—1138, Jan. 25th].

VICTOR IV. elected on the death of Anacletus in March 1138, but resigned his pretensions on May 29th, and the schism ceased.

165. CŒLESTINE II. [A.D. 1143, Sept. 26th—1144, March 8th].

166. LUCIUS II. [A.D. 1144, March 12th—1145, Feb. 15th].

167. EUGENIUS III. [A.D. 1145, Feb. 18th (March 4th, Pagi)—1153, July 7th or 8th].

168. ANASTASIUS IV. [A.D. 1153, July 12th?—1154, Dec. 2rd or 3rd].

169. HADRIAN IV. [A.D. 1154, Dec. 5th—1159, Sept. 1st]. Nicholas Breakspeare, of St. Alban's, the solitary English Pope.

170. ALEXANDER III. [A.D. 1159, Sept. 20th—1181, Aug. 30th].

VICTOR IV., anti-pope, elected by only two cardinals [A.D. 1159, Oct. 4th—1164, April 20th].

PASCAL III. [A.D. 1164, April 26th—1168, Sept. 20th].

CALIXTUS III. [A.D. 1168, Sept.—1178, Aug. 29th], submitted to Pope Alexander III. and resigned his pontificate.

INNOCENT III. [A.D. 1178, Sept. 29th—1180, Jan.], taken prisoner and banished.

171. LUCIUS III. [A.D. 1181, Sept. 6th—1185, Nov. 24th or 25th].

172. URBAN III. [A.D. 1185, Dec. 1st—1187, Oct. 20th].

173. GREGORY VIII. [A.D. 1187, Oct. 25th—1187, Dec. 17th].

174. CLEMENT III. [A.D. 1187, Dec. 20th—1191, about March 28th].

175. CŒLESTINE III. [A.D. 1191, April 14th—1198, Jan. 8th].

176. INNOCENT III. [A.D. 1198, Feb. 22nd—1216, July 16th or 17th]. He excommunicated and deposed King John, (making the French king a present of the kingdom and people of England,) for maintaining the independence of the English Church in electing to the archbishopric of Canterbury without the interference of popes. He also held the fourth Council of Lateran [A.D. 1215] in which the distinctive doctrines of Romanism were officially engrafted upon the ancient Catholic Theology of the Church.

177. HONORIUS III. [A.D. 1216, July 24th—1227, March 18th].

178. GREGORY IX. [A.D. 1227, March 21st—1241, Aug. 21st].

179. CŒLESTINE IV. [A.D. 1241, elected Sept. 22nd or 23rd—1241, Oct. 8th, before conse-

cration; or, according to some, elected in Oct. and died in Nov.].

180. INNOCENT IV. [A.D. 1243, June 28th—1254, Dec. 7th].

181. ALEXANDER IV. [A.D. 1254, elected Dec. 12th—1261, May 25th].

182. URBAN IV. [A.D. 1261, Sept. 4th—1264, Oct. 2nd].

183. CLEMENT IV. [A.D. 1265, Feb. 22nd—1268, Nov. 29th].

184. GREGORY X. [elected A.D. 1271, Sept. 1st, consecrated 1272, March 22nd—1276, Jan. 10th].

185. INNOCENT V. [A.D. 1276, Feb. 22nd—1276, June 22nd].

186. HADRIAN V. [A.D. 1276, elected July 12th—1276, Aug. 18th, before consecration, and before ordination as priest]. Legate in England, as Card. Ottoboni, during the Barons' Wars, in 1254-66.

187. JOHN XX. [A.D. 1276, Sept. 20th—1277, May 16th].

188. NICOLAS III. [A.D. 1277, Dec. 26th—1280, Aug. 22nd].

189. MARTIN IV. [A.D. 1281, March 23rd—1285, March 29th].

190. HONORIUS IV. [A.D. 1285, April 15th—1287, April 3rd].

191. NICOLAS IV. [A.D. 1288, Feb. 24th—1292, April 4th].

192. CŒLESTINE V., a hermit [A.D. 1294, elected July 5th, consecrated Aug. 29th—1294, abdicated Dec. 13th; imprisoned by his successor, and died May 19th, 1296].

193. BONIFACE VIII. [elected A.D. 1294, Dec. 24th, consecrated 1295, Jan. 16th—1303, Oct. 11th].

194. BENEDICT XI. [A.D. 1303, Oct. 27th—1304, July 7th].

195. CLEMENT V. [A.D. 1305, elected June 5th, consecrated Nov. 14th—1314, April 20th]. He removed the Papal See from Rome to Avignon.

196. JOHN XXII. [A.D. 1316, Sept. 5th—1334, Dec. 4th]. Charged with holding heretical opinions respecting the Beatific Vision.

NICOLAS V., anti-pope, appointed by the Emperor [A.D. 1328—1330, abdicated].

197. BENEDICT XII. [A.D. 1335, Jan. 8th—1342, April 25th].

198. CLEMENT VI. [A.D. 1342, May 19th—1352, Dec. 6th].

199. INNOCENT VI. [A.D. 1352, Dec. 30th—1362, Sept. 12th].

200. URBAN V. [A.D. 1362, Nov. 6th—1370, Dec. 19th].

201. GREGORY [A.D. 1371, Jan. 4th—1378, March 27th]. Restored the Papal Chair to Rome in 1376.

202. URBAN VI. [A.D. 1378, April 18th—1389, Oct. 15th]. Seated at Rome; acknowledged by the Italians, the greater part of the Empire, England, &c.

CLEMENT VII. [A.D. 1378, Oct. 31st—1394, Sept. 16th]. Seated at Avignon; acknowledged by France, Spain, Scotland, &c.

203. BONIFACE IX. [A.D. 1389, Nov. 9th—1404, Oct. 1st].

BENEDICT XIII. [A.D. 1394, Oct. 11th, deposed in the Council of Pisa, June 5th, 1409, and again in the Council of Constance, July 26th, 1417; died May 23rd, 1423].

204. INNOCENT VII. [A.D. 1404, Nov. 11th—1406, Nov. 6th].

CLEMENT VIII. [elected by two cardinals who remained attached to Benedict; resigned July 29th, 1429].

205. GREGORY XII. [A.D. 1406, Dec. 2nd; deposed in the Council of Pisa, June 5th, 1409; resigned his pretensions to the See, July 4th, 1415; died in 1417].

206. ALEXANDER V. [A.D. 1409, July 7th—1410, May 3rd]. Elected at the Council of Pisa by the unanimous consent of the cardinals of both parties.

207. JOHN XXIII. [A.D. 1410, May 25th—1415, May 29th, deposed at the Council of Constance; having previously, on March 2nd, proffered his abdication, conditionally on the like cession of the anti-popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XII. He died Nov. 22nd, 1419].

208. MARTIN V. [A.D. 1417, Nov. 21st—1431, Feb. 20th or 21st].

209. EUGENIUS IV. [A.D. 1431, March 11th—1439, June 25th, deposed in the Council of Basle, but retained possession of the See; died Feb. 23rd, 1447].

FELIX V. (Amadeus, Duke of Savoy) [A.D. 1417, Nov. 17th, elected by the Council of Basle; consecrated July 24th, 1440—1449, April 7th, resigned; died Jan. 13th, 1451].

210. NICOLAS V. [A.D. 1447, March 18th—1455, March 24th]. The builder of the Vatican.

211. CALIXTUS III. [A.D. 1455, April 20th—1458, Aug. 6th].

212. PIUS II. (Æneas Sylvius) [A.D. 1458, Sept. 3rd—1464, Aug. 15th or 16th].

213. PAUL II. [A.D. 1464, Sept. 16th—1471, July 28th].

214. SIXTUS IV. [A.D. 1471, Aug. 25th—1484, Aug. 12th].

215. INNOCENT VIII. [A.D. 1484, Sept. 12th—1492, July 25th].

216. ALEXANDER VI. [A.D. 1492, Aug. 26th—1503, Aug. 18th].

217. JULIUS II. [A.D. 1503, Nov. 19th—1513. Feb. 21st].

218. LEO X. [A.D. 1513, April 11th—1521, Dec. 1st].

219. HADRIAN VI. [A.D. 1522, Aug. 31st—1523, Sept. 24th].

220. CLEMENT VII. [A.D. 1523, Nov. 25th—1534, Sept. 25th]. In whose time [A.D. 1534] the Papal Supremacy was repudiated by the English Church and State.

221. PAUL III. [A.D. 1534, Nov. 3d—1549, Nov. 10th].

222. JULIUS III. [A.D. 1550, Feb. 22nd—1555, March 23rd].

223. MARCELLUS II. [A.D. 1555, April 10th—1555, April 30th—May 1st].

224. PAUL IV. [A.D. 1555, May 26th—1559, Aug. 18th].

225. Pius IV. [A.D. 1560, Jan. 6th—1565, Dec. 8th—9th].
226. Pius V. [A.D. 1566, Jan. 17th—1572, May 1st]. Excommunicated Queen Elizabeth.
227. Gregory XIII. [A.D. 1572, May 25th—1585, April 10th].
228. Sixtus V. [A.D. 1585, May 1st—1590, Aug. 27th].
229. Urban VII. [A.D. 1590, elected Sept. 15th—1590, Sept. 27th].
230. Gregory XIV. [A.D. 1590, Dec. 8th—1591, Oct. 15th].
231. Innocent IX. [A.D. 1591, Nov. 3rd—1591, Dec. 30th].
232. Clement VIII. [A.D. 1592, Feb. 2nd—1605, March 5th].
233. Leo XI. [A.D. 1605, elected April 1st—1605, April 27th].
234. Paul V. [A.D. 1605, May 29th—1621, Jan. 28th].
235. Gregory XV. [A.D. 1621, elected Feb. 9th—1623, July 8th].
236. Urban VIII. [A.D. 1623, Sept. 29th—1644, July 29th].
237. Innocent X. [A.D. 1644, Oct. 4th—1655, Jan. 7th].
238. Alexander VII. [A.D. 1655, April 18th—1667, May 22nd].
239. Clement IX. [A.D. 1667, June 26th—1669, Dec. 9th].
240. Clement X. [A.D. 1670, elected April 29th—1676, July 22nd].
241. Innocent XI. [A.D. 1676, elected Sept. 21st—1689, Aug. 12th].
242. Alexander VIII. [A.D. 1689, elected Oct. 6th—1691, Feb. 1st].
243. Innocent XII. [A.D. 1691, July 15th—1700, Sept. 27th].
244. Clement XI. [A.D. 1700, Nov. 30th—1721, March 19th].
245. Innocent XIII. [A.D. 1721, May 18th—1724, March 7th].
246. Benedict XIII. [A.D. 1724, June 4th—1730, Feb. 21st].
247. Clement XII. [A.D. 1730, July 16th—1740, Feb. 6th].
248. Benedict XIV. [A.D. 1740, Aug. 21st—1758, May 3rd].
249. Clement XIII. [A.D. 1758, July 16th—1769, Feb. 2nd].
250. Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) [A.D. 1769, June 4th—1774, Sept. 22nd].
251. Pius VI. [A.D. 1775, Feb. 22nd—1799, Aug. 29th. Died in captivity in France, having been removed from Rome by the French in Feb. 1798].
252. Pius VII. [A.D. 1800, March 21st—1823, Aug. 20th. Kept in captivity by the Emperor Napoleon from June 1809 until Jan. 1814].
253. Leo XII. [A.D. 1823, elected Sept. 27th or 28th—1829, Feb. 10th].
254. Pius VIII. [A.D. 1829, elected March 31st—1830, Nov. 30th].
255. Gregory XVI. [A.D. 1831, elected Feb. 2nd—1846, June 1st].
256 Pius IX. [A.D. 1846, June 21st].

POSITIVISM. A school of thought founded on the principle that nothing is to be accepted as truth which can merely be proved to be the highest probability, but only that which can be positively demonstrated beyond room for doubt. It deals with the whole range of knowledge, and its practical object is that of developing the true system of social life.

This school of thought was doubtless an outcome of the French philosophy which was made fashionable by Voltaire and the Encyclopædists, and of the revolutionary socialism which found its extreme theoretical development in Saint Simonianism. But the founder of the school, as it now exists, was a young pupil of St. Simon named Augustus Comte [A.D. 1797-1857], who was employed to write an exposition of the "Politique Positive" of the Saint Simonian Society, when he was not much over twenty years of age. He had already made himself conspicuous by the boldness of his speculations, and when he separated from the Saint Simonians on the death of St. Simon in the year 1825, he at once began to think out those speculations into a system. The marvellous rapidity with which he did this brought on madness, just as he had announced a course of lectures in which his new philosophy was to be expounded. From 1826 until 1831 he was more or less insane, but was gradually nursed and soothed into sanity again by a lady who had been living with him as his wife, and whose friends took advantage of his condition to have the marriage ceremony performed between her and Comte, even while he was uttering blasphemous criticisms on its folly. In the year 1832 Comte had sufficiently recovered to be appointed Professor of Mathematics at the Polytechnic School, a post which he retained for twenty years, and which he was obliged to resign (living his remaining five years on the charity of friends), on account of his quarrels with other professors. He separated from his wife, and associated with a married woman, who died before himself; his own death taking place in Paris in September 1857.

Positivism is defined by its exponents as a philosophy and a polity, the two being necessarily inseparable, because they constitute the basis and aim of a system wherein intellect and sociability are intimately connected. A social doctrine is its aim, a scientific doctrine the means by which that aim is to be attained. Its principal function, in its earlier stage of progress, is to collect facts and laws, not investigating the causes of things, but building up knowledge by a continuous system of progressive inductions, and professing to hold *deduction* in abeyance until *induction* has been carried to the point of exhaustive completeness.

The view which the disciples of Comte take of his religious system is that it is the culmination of all previous phases of religion, and that as such it is the only system which is reconcilable with high intellectual development. There have been three stages of intellectual evolution, the Theological or Supernatural, the Metaphysical, and the Positive. [1.] In the first or *Supernatural* stage, the mind seeks for causes, and

aspires to know the essences of things. It regards all effects as the results of supernatural agencies, and seeks to know the How and the Why of their operation. The only explanation it can give of the ultimate cause of all things is that there is some Deity above all, and unusual phenomena are interpreted as signs of His pleasure or displeasure. This theological or supernatural stage of intellectual evolution becomes weaker as it becomes more systematic. In its less developed phase it is Fetichism, after that it becomes Polytheism, later still Monotheism, and last of all Christianity. [2.] In the second, or *Metaphysical* stage of intellectual evolution, a modification of the theological phase ensues. Supernatural agencies are set aside as unworthy of being believed in: and in their place are substituted abstract forces, or entities, which are supposed to inhere in various substances, and to be capable of engendering phenomena. [3.] In the third, or *Positive* stage of intellectual evolution, the mind, convinced of the futility of all inquiries into causes and essences, restricts itself to the observation and classification of phenomena, and to the discovery of the invariable relations of succession and similitude which things bear to each other: that is, to the discovery of the laws of phenomena. This historical theory of religious development is supplemented by the statement that religion was at first spontaneous, then "inspired," after that "revealed," and is now in its complete and perfect form, in course of becoming "demonstrated." Theology and metaphysics have had their day, have become worn out, and now they are to be superseded by the "Religion of Humanity."

But when we have reached this sublime climax, and begin to inquire what this "Religion of Humanity" is, the rapid descent from sublimity is very striking. Every religion, it is said, must consist of an intellectual or objective, and a moral, or subjective part. The first constitutes the creed, the second the practice of the creed, which may be dismissed with the statement that the moral or subjective part of the religion of humanity is "Sociology," whereby the moral laws of all other religions are to be superseded! To return to the creed, or objective part, of Positivism,—it results from the demonstrated truths of Positive Science, which have furnished precise and coherent views of physical phenomena, and thus furnished a basis for religion. The first logical erection on this basis is the Deity of Positivism, which is Humanity. This is "the great Collective Life of which human beings are the individuals: it must be conceived as having an existence apart from human beings, just as we conceive each human being to have an existence apart from, though dependent on, the individual cells of which his organism is composed. This Collective Life is, in Comte's system, the Etre Suprême: the only one we can know, therefore the only one we can worship" [Lewes' *Princip. of Posit. Philos.* p. 342, ed. 1853]. Concrete humanity having been thus idealized into Deity, a Trinity is contrived out of Humanity, Earth, and Space. For prayer Positivism substitutes "effusion" or "reverie." For Resurrection it substitutes "living in the remembrance" of survivors.

The "Religion of Humanity" is, therefore, so far as it is not a mere bundle of negations, an overpowering Egoism. It is expounded as simply the relations in which we stand towards one another and to Humanity, but it practically restricts its view of those relations to their bearing on each individual person in each individual person's own conception of them. For the "Humanity" of which it makes a Deity is something which can be known to demonstration as far as each person is concerned only in himself, and so, on "positive" principles, the worship of Humanity is the worship of "Ego," each one being to himself the "Etre Suprême" of his religion. The sphere of the Infinite is altogether left out of the system as belonging to the unknown, because not demonstrable within the range of experience. But the experience of one person is not demonstrative proof to another person, and hence the range of knowledge and belief must be still further contracted, until by just and honest logic only each one's own experience can be, for him, the truth.

It is not to be wondered at that such a creed as that of Positivism soon comes down from its transcendental heights to old fashioned Fatalism and Materialism. It is its principle to "take things as they are, because they are" without considering cause or consequence; and however much its disciples may disclaim the charge, this is undoubtedly Fatalism. So also, "As a matter of fact the leading Positivists," says Lecky, "have been avowed Materialists, the negation of the existence of Metaphysics as a science distinct from physiology, which is one of their cardinal doctrines, implies, or all but implies, materialism; and the tendency of their school has, I think, of late years been steadily to substitute direct negations for scepticism" [Lecky's *Hist. of Ration.* ii. 408, n.]. As an attempt to form a philosophy of the physical sciences, Positivism may be doing a useful work, especially by checking the wild speculativeness and credulity by which students of natural science are often led away: but in dealing with religion it has gone far beyond its legitimate range, and its extreme form is that of a very irrational Atheism. [Comte's *Cours de Philosophie positive.* Lewes' *Exposition of the principles of Positive Philosophy.* Lewes' *History of Philosophy.* Stirling's *Annot. to Schwegler's Hist. of Philosophy*, 1868. Rationalism.]

POSTIL. This was originally a name given to the "gloss" or exposition which followed the words of the text that it expounded in commentaries on the Holy Bible, and which was hence called the gloss "*post illa* verba." Afterwards it came to be applied to short expositions which were preached, as well as to those which were written in the form of a commentary. But its most common use was as the name for sermons on the Gospels of the day; and as most of those Gospels were prefaced with "In *illo* tempore," or "In diebus *illis*," as some of our English Gospels are prefaced with "Jesus said to His disciples" [fourth Sunday after Easter, Whitsun-day], it is

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not unlikely that there was an association between the constantly recurring "illo" or "illis," and the name of the expository sermons on the passages of Scripture so ushered in.

There were many collections of such "postils" in mediæval times, some still found in MS. in our great libraries. One such also was made by Taverner, clerk of the signet to Henry VIII. (who printed a peculiar translation of the Bible about the same time), in A.D. 1540. It was compiled under the patronage of Cromwell the vicar-general, and the Postils for Good Friday and Easter Day were afterwards transferred to the *Book of Homilies* printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign. A collection of Postils was also printed by Reginald Wolfe in A.D. 1550.

POVERTY. [COUNSELS OF PERFECTION.]

PRAGMATIC SANCTION. An edict in which a prince, with the consent of his council, replies to the request, remonstrance, or suggestion of the authorities of the law or of the Church.

Of the former kind is the Pragmatic Sanction of the Emperor Charles VI., with which, as political, we are not concerned. Of the latter kind are the edicts of French monarchs, designed to secure the liberties of the French Church against the encroachments of the papacy.

The Church has the right of advice and spiritual direction: Christian princes bear the sword (so at least it used to be thought) to oblige their subjects to a due observance of the laws divine, natural and canonical. Regarding the French State, De Marca lays down the rule that the deliberations of the Gallican Church are to be looked upon as counsel given to the king, and that they cannot be put in execution without his consent and confirmation, that the king may preside in councils as head: that with the advice of his council he may by his edicts decree that the canons be observed, and may add such modes or circumstances as are necessary for the better execution of them, and for accommodating them to the interest of the State [*De Concordia*, l. vi. c. 34, 2, and c. 36, 1].

There were two principal Pragmatic Sanctions, by Louis IX.[1] in 1268-9, and by Charles VII. in 1438. The occasion of Louis' edict was the interference of the popes in the election of prelates, and their taxing benefices [Gloss quoted in Pinsson's *S. Ludovici . . . Pragmatica Sanctio*, p. 86]. It was published against these encroachments during the vacancy of the papal chair after the death of Clement IV. In it Louis proceeds on the idea of building up a national church in strict alliance with the civil power. It has six Articles: I. declares the full liberty of ordinary collations to benefices; II. the liberty of canonical elections; III. is for the extirpation of Simony; IV. recurs to the subject of I. and II. and ordains that dispensations of prelacies and collations to benefices shall be according to the common law; V. is against all exactions of the Court of Rome, allowing taxation only on an urgent cause, with the consent of the crown and the Church; VI. preserves all privileges and immunities formerly granted [Pinsson, p. 79, Sismondi, viii. 104, gives a translation of the Sanction]. The sixth article, it is to be observed, shews that there had been former edicts of a similar kind; that the liberties and franchises now guaranteed had before been granted to the Church, and to religious places and persons, but through want of discipline among themselves, and through the usurpations of the Court of Rome, had been in great measure lost. And Pinsson states that articles I. II. III. V. were parts of a constitution of A.D. 1228, the second year of St. Louis. The sixth article refers to grants made by our predecessors, "et successive per nos." This must be borne in mind when the remark of Sismondi [viii. 106-7] is quoted, that this Sanction can be considered as a check upon the usurpations of Rome solely on account of the vagueness of its expressions, which permitted interpretations almost "ad libitum:" for the interpretation would be fixed by reference to former grants, and the sense in which they had been accepted.

Richerius [*Historia Conciliorum*, iii. 190] states that after the publication of this edict the Pope offered to invest the king with the power of instituting pastors in every diocese, which it is plain from the very articles of the Sanction the king disclaimed as not belonging to him. The Pope hoped by this to provide for the easier resumption of the right at some future time, but the king refused the power offered him.

Between this edict and that of Charles VII. the anti-papal feeling had grown strong. There were three causes of this, a sense of crushed and outraged nationality, the extortions of the Popes (which were not lessened by their residence at Avignon), and the desire of the bishops to recover their authority, which had long been over-ridden by the papacy. These feelings, as well as the desire of reformation, found expression in the Councils of Constance and Basle, and this latter council gave occasion to the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII.

The Council of Constance [A.D. 1414-18] convened for reformation, and for healing the papal schism, had set aside the three rival popes, and had chosen Otto Colonna, Martin V. Martin dissolved the council without redressing the scandalous grievances on which Roman despotism was fed. But the council had decreed that another council should be held in five years, a second in seven years, and then one every ten years. The first was called, but effected nothing. The second was convoked to Basle, but Eugene IV., who had succeeded Martin, attempted to transfer it to Italy, where the papal strength lay. After several years' contest, in the course of which the first breach between the Pope and the council was made up by the interposition of the Emperor Sigismund, Eugene removed the council to Ferrara, and thence to Florence. But the anti-papal party still sat at Basle; and being excom-

[1] The genuineness of this edict has been questioned; but as the authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* [i. 585] consider the genuineness to be established, and as Sismondi [*Histoire*, viii. 104] relates the edict without hesitation, its genuineness is here assumed.

municated by Eugene, proceeded so far as to depose him, and elect Amadeus, first Duke of Savoy, in his stead. They then went on with the work of reformation. Few states concurred in the council's assumption of power in deposing Eugene, and the council sought the protection of Charles VII. He summoned the estates of his kingdom to Bourges. This assembly would not determine anything proposed by the deputies of the council before the legates of Eugene were heard; after which they passed the Pragmatic Sanction. The articles of this sanction are for the most part taken from the acts of Constance and Basle.

Art. I. (Session 1 of Basle) asserts the authority of general councils, which are to be held every ten years; the Pope by the advice of the outgoing council naming the place.

II. (2 of Basle) asserts the authority of the Council of Basle, that it is superior to the Pope, who is punishable if he resists it.

III. (12 and 23 of Basle, the latter modified) that a bishop elect shall be confirmed by his own metropolitan, that upon a faulty election the Pope, by advice of his cardinals, may order a fresh election. It is declared "Ecclesia jure communi prælatum sibi eligit." Fees upon elections are condemned.

IV. (23 of Basle) abolishes reservations (the appropriations of benefices to the use of the Pope or his nominees.)

V. (31 of Basle) condemns "Gratiæ expectativæ," the survivances of bishoprics and other benefices. If a bishop had ten benefices in his gift, the Pope might name to one; if fifty, to two; but to no more.

VI. (31 of Basle) condemns appeals except to the immediate superior. When the appeal through all intermediate steps comes to the Pope, it is to be judged by delegates appointed to sit in the place where the cause lay. Only the causes marked in the law as "greater causes" are reserved to the Pope.

VII. is against frivolous appeals.

X. (21 of Basle) condemns Annates, a late device of Boniface IX., (then of fifty years' standing,) who pretended to carry on a war against the Turks by the aid of these taxes.

XI. orders that the ritual of France be observed. [*Commentaire de M. Dupuy, Sur le Traité des Libertes de M. Pithou. De la Pr. Sanc. et des Concordats*, p. 50.]

The disciplinary articles need not be here named.

This edict was the great bulwark of the liberties of the French Church; and remained in force, although Louis XI. for diplomatic reasons attempted to repeal it, until A.D. 1516. The Parliament of Paris refused to register Louis' Act of repeal, and the Sanction kept its ground until supplanted by the Concordat of Francis I. Louis XII. [A.D. 1498] determined that the Sanction should be observed; and to defeat it, Julius II. convened [A.D. 1512] the fifth Lateran Council. In its fourth Session Louis XI.'s letters of abrogation of the Sanction were read, and a demand was made for its abrogation by the Council; when Julius issued a monition that its defenders should appear. Leo X. continued these measures; and Francis I., succeeding to the throne in 1514, proposed a concordat. "The truth was [writes Burnet, *Hist. of Reform.* vol. iii. book i. p. 8] that Francis was young; and was so set on pursuing his designs in Italy, in which he saw the advantage of having the pope on his side, that he sacrificed all other considerations to that, and made the best bargain he could." Notwithstanding a vigorous protest from the University of Paris, a Bull revoking the Pragmatic Sanction was issued, and the Concordat established, in 1516. By this Concordat the crown was a gainer at the expense of the chapters.

I. When a bishopric became vacant, the king was, within six months, to name to it a doctor or licentiate of theology of the age of twenty-seven: if the Pope did not approve of the nomination, the king was to nominate another within three months, failing which the Pope was to provide for the see. To the Pope were reserved all that became vacant in the Court of Rome. Abbeys and priories followed the same rule. Elections to the prejudice of the treaty to be null.

II. Gratiæ Expectativæ were abolished.

III. In case of an infraction by the ordinary of the established order of appointment to prebends, the appointment devolves to the See of Rome.

IV. One benefice reserved from a collator of ten, and two from one of fifty benefices. In all bulls that were obtained the true value of the benefice to be stated, otherwise the grace to be null and void.

V. Appeal causes to be judged *in partibus, i.e.* in the parts where the matters lay, excepting important, or RESERVED CASES. In other particulars the articles of the Sanction were continued, except that not a word was said about Annates. The opposition to this impost was thus withdrawn, and by a bull which followed the Concordat the payment was claimed [*Dupuy*, p. 68].

The Concordat was strongly opposed in the Parliament, as it was also by the king's council; but in 1518 the Parliament published it with a protest. Towards the end of the century the clergy, who had struggled for the freedom of elections, appear to have acquiesced in the usurped rights of the sovereign rather than submit to the evil of yielding to the claims of the papacy. Thus the Concordat restored Annates and some other privileges to Leo, and secured to Francis the nomination to bishoprics and the higher benefices. With some slight modifications this Concordat remained in force until the Revolution.

The Pragmatic Sanction, (or rather the Councils of Constance and Basle,) was the foundation of the "Gallican Liberties" declared by the assembly of clergy in 1682. The assembly was called by Louis XIV., when Innocent XI. interposed in a contest between the king and those of his bishops who opposed his claim to administer the revenues and present to the benefices of vacant sees. [REGALE.] Thirty-five bishops, and

as many proctors of the clergy, allowed the king's claim: and extended it to dioceses in which it had not been received, publishing four propositions, which are commonly called "The Gallican Liberties," because they are declaratory of the ancient liberties of the Church. Those liberties, stated in a great number of particulars by the Canonists, are referred by Pithou to two fundamental maxims.

I. That the Pope can ordain or command nothing, whether general or particular, touching that which concerns the temporal matters of countries and lands under the obedience and sovereignty of the most Christian king: and that if he make any such command the king's subjects, although they be clerks, are not bound to obey him in this respect.

II. That although the Pope is recognised as paramount in spiritual matters, yet in France his absolute and unlimited power has no place, but his power is restrained and bounded by the canons and rules of the ancient councils of the Church received in this kingdom. "Et in hoc maxime consistit libertas Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ," as the University of Paris caused to be said in the full Court of Parliament, when it opposed the verification of the Bulls of the Cardinal of Amboise's legation [*Dupuy*, pp. 13 and 20]. In accordance with these fundamental maxims the assembly proposed its four Articles, to the following effect:—

I. That neither St. Peter nor his successors received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of states: that kings cannot be deposed by them, nor their subjects freed from allegiance.

II. That in the popes the full power over spiritual things is in such sort vested as that the decrees of Constance concerning the authority of general councils are at the same time in full force and remain unshaken.

III. That the exercise of the Apostolic power is to be regulated by the canons of general councils: and that the usages of the Gallican Church are to remain unshaken.

IV. That although in questions of faith the chief place belongs to the Pope, and his decrees extend to all particular churches, yet his judgment is not unalterable,[1] unless it have the concurrence of the Church universal.

The Parliament and the universities registered these articles in all their extent, and a royal edict forbade that they should be called in question.

The controversy respecting the Gallican liberties was several times revived during the reign of Louis XIV. Bossuet's defence was published in 1730. Its late publication was owing to the prospect of a reconciliation between the Courts of France and Rome after the death of Innocent, which reconciliation actually took place, and engaged Louis to prohibit the publication of the book [*Note to Maclaine's Mosheim*, v. 156]. After the storm of the Revolution a Concordat between Pius VII. and Bonaparte re-established the French Church. The terms of this Concordat were a general resignation of bishops, both of those who had acknowledged the Revolution and those who had emigrated; presentation to the sees by the first Consul, and confirmation by the Pope; parish ministers appointed by the bishops and prefects conjointly; the recognition of the Catholic religion, as that of the majority of the French; ministers to have salaries, and the sale of ecclesiastical property to be sanctioned; the clergy to promise fidelity to the French Republic [*Annual Register*, 1801, p. 281]. This Concordat was carried into effect in April 1802.

Concurrently with this Concordat, the Government of the Consulate established Regulations or Organic Articles of the Gallican Church, the first of which is that no bull or missive shall be received and put in force without the authority of the Government. In 1810 a decree was issued by Bonaparte confirming the declaration of 1682. On the restoration of the Bourbons this Concordat was annulled, and the Concordat between Leo and Francis was again re-established. [*Report of Committee of House of Commons on the Regulations of Roman Catholic subjects in Foreign Countries*, 1816. *The Power of the Popes, or an Historical Essay on their Temporal Dominion, &c., Translated from the French. Two vols. London & Dublin*, 1838.]

PRAISE. [Ritual.]

PRAYER. The act and habit of petitioning God for spiritual or physical benefits which we cannot obtain without divine co-operation. The term, as extended (in popular language) to other acts of devotion, is treated of elsewhere. [Adoration. Worship.]

I. The Origin of Prayer. This is to be traced partly to a law of our nature, partly to the growth of human experience, and partly to direct injunctions given by God.

[1.] As asking for what we want is an instinctive impulse of our nature in respect to things obtainable from our fellow-men, so it may be safely alleged that an instinct moving us to ask God for what we want from Him is co-extensive with the idea of Providence, that is with the idea that things are obtainable from God which are not otherwise obtainable. But this latter idea is universal in mankind, lying at the root of even the most degraded Fetichism (which is an appeal to qualities untruly predicated of God), animating all deprecations of God's anger by propitiatory rites, and forming a large element in all conceptions of, or appeals to, His Love. From the lowest to the highest stages of human cultivation we find evidence of the use of prayer in some form; and whether that form be the perverted one of idolatry, the primeval one of a sacrificial system, or the etherealized one of mental aspiration, every form of it bears witness to a universal sense of dependence on God. If there were no other way of accounting for the use of prayer, this would do so.

[2.] But the human nature which thus instinctively petitions God for good, or for the removal of evil, has also gathered up a vast experience as

[1] "Nec tamen irreformabile esse judicium."

to the value of prayer which has confirmed successive generations in the use of it. Men have prayed, and have believed that their prayers have been heard and answered. Multitudes of men have lived and died in this conviction, and have handed on the conviction to others. And while there are, doubtless, large numbers, in every generation, of those who use prayer without perceiving any subsequent events that they can definitely associate with their petitions, yet the number has never been large of those who would entirely deny that such associations exist. It is easy to say that such impressions are mistaken, but the great bulk of mankind has always believed otherwise; and the belief has been as strong among the highly cultivated as among the ignorant. Hence one generation after another has used prayer, not only from an impulse to seek some Helper in their necessities, but because they inherited the tradition of previous experience, or of a belief equivalent to experience in its practical force, and have gone to that Helper in the conviction that they would not go in vain.

[3.] Divine injunctions on the subject of prayer, especially addressed to Christians, are to be found in the New Testament; but there are also many in the Old Testament which Christians take as directly or indirectly enforcing the duty upon them and illustrating its position in the sphere of Divine Providence.

From the beginning it would seem that the idea of prayer had been impressed upon the mind of man by his Creator as much as the idea of sacrifice. Such an inference may legitimately be drawn from the words spoken by God to Cain, "shalt thou not be accepted" [Gen. iv. 7; *cf.* Job xlii. 8], especially when associated with a subsequent statement respecting the days of Seth, that "then men began to call upon the Name of the Lord" [*ibid.* 26]. A more certain illustration of the subject is found in the importunate intercession of Abraham for Sodom and Gomorrah [*ibid.* xviii.], and in Jacob's petition for deliverance from Esau on his return to Canaan [*ibid.* xxxii. 9-12].

In the early patriarchal age, too, we find a direct statement made by God when He said to Abimelech, respecting Abraham's wife, "Now therefore restore the man his wife; for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live," which is followed by the further statement, "So Abraham prayed unto God: and God healed Abimelech" [Gen. xx. 7, 17]. So, in an age probably not very distant from that of Abraham, God said to the three friends of Job, "Go to My servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering, and My servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept" [Job xlii. 8]. In later times prayer is so constantly referred to as to shew that it formed part of the public and private religious system of the Jews in every age. We have, for example, the ritual prayer of Deut. xxvi. 5-15; the intercessions of Moses, of whom it is often said that he "prayed for" the people, or for deliverance from calamity [Numb. xi. 2; Deut. ix. 26]; the prayer of Hannah [1 Sam. i. 10]: the touching words of Samuel, Moreover, as for me God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you" [*ibid.* xii. 23]; the frequent reference to prayer by David in his psalms; the public prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple [1 Kings viii. 23-53]; the intercessions of Elijah [*ibid.* xvii. 21, xviii. 36], and Elisha [2 Kings vi. 17-20]; the prayers of Jonah out of the deep [Jonah ii. 1-9, iv. 2, 3]; that of Daniel in Babylon [Dan. vi. 10, 11]; and that of Nehemiah after the return from captivity [Neh. ix. 5-38].

In the New Testament the primary law of Christian prayer is to be found in our Lord's answer to the request of His disciples, "Lord, teach us to pray" [Lord's Prayer]; in the great example given by our Lord's own habit of frequent, long-continued, and repeated prayer [Mark i. 35; Luke v. 16, vi. 12, ix. 29, xxii. 44]; in His special commands, "Pray for them that despitefully use you" [Matt. v. 44], "pray to thy Father Who is in secret" [*ibid.* vi. 6], watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation" [*ibid.* xxvi. 41]; in His promises as to the fulfilment of prayer [Matt. vi. 6; Mark xi. 24; Luke xi. 9]; and in His parable of the Pharisee and the publican, which was spoken with the express object of teaching "that men ought always to pray, and not to faint" [Luke xviii. 1]; and, lastly, in the general command which He gave among His latest words, "Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man" [Luke xxi. 36].

How those who first followed Christ carried out His teaching in their own practice, and handed it on to succeeding generations in their writings, is shewn in many places of the New Testament. It is enough to instance the Apostles and others continuing "in prayer and supplication" during the interval between our Lord's Ascension and the day of Pentecost [Acts i. 14]; their supplications on occasion of the first outburst of persecution [*ibid.* iv. 24, 30]; the "prayer without ceasing" that "was made to God for" St. Peter during his imprisonment [*ibid.* xii. 5]; the prayer of Paul and Silas in prison [*ibid.* xvi. 25]; the kneeling down and praying on the seashore at Miletus when Paul was parting from the Church of Ephesus [*ibid.* xx. 36]; and, lastly, such direct apostolic injunctions as "continuing instant in prayer" [Rom. xii. 12]; "continue in prayer, and watch in the same" [Coloss. iv. 2]; "watch unto prayer" [1 Peter iv. 7]; "in everything, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God" [Phil. iv. 6]; "I will, therefore, that men pray everywhere" [1 Tim. ii. 8]; "Is any among you afflicted? let him pray" [James v. 13]; "pray without ceasing" [1 Thess. v. 17].

II. The Effect of Prayer. Such multiplied examples of praying persons, comprehending some among the greatest and wisest of men, and culminating in the example of our Lord Jesus, bear strong witness to the value of prayer, as well as to its general applicability to mankind; to great

and lowly, wise and simple, educated and ignorant. Such testimony is corroborated by the decided character of the injunctions given by God and His authorized servants; which could not possibly have been given unless prayer be a great reality, having an important place in the relations which exist between God and man. Such solemn words respecting it are quite irreconcileable with the idea that the habit of prayer is a mere superstition; nor is such an idea consistent with the continuous, persistent, and universal adoption of it which is found among mankind. Men have prayed, and do pray, because they think that prayer is of use to them, and that there is an eternal law of God's Providence, "Ask and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you" [Matt. vii. 7].

It is so generally allowed that a habit of prayer has a reflex moral action for good on the mind of the person using it, that nothing need be said in support of such an opinion. Perhaps, indeed, too much importance is attached to this idea, of which there is little or no trace in Holy Scripture. But it may be said, in passing, that the admission of such a reflex action is also an admission (to no small extent) that prayer is not a mere fiction but a great reality, for no moral good could be expected to result, or could result, from the constant use of what, if it is not a reality, must be mere Fetichism.

But the testimony of Holy Scripture as to the efficacy of prayer goes much further than to its efficacy by reflex action. Some of the passages already quoted point very decidedly to a relation between the reception or non-reception of benefits, and the prayer or non-prayer for them; but there are many other, and even more decided, illustrations of this relation. Abraham prayed for children, and God gave him Ishmael [Gen. xv. 3]; he prayed that Ishmael might "live before" God, even though he was not the seed of promise, and God said, "As for Ishmael, I have heard thee" [*ibid.* xvii. 18, 20]; Isaac "intreated the Lord for his wife . . . and the Lord was intreated of him" [*ibid.* xxv. 21]; a plague of fire came upon Israel, "and when Moses prayed unto the Lord the fire was quenched" [Numb. xi. 2], even as he entreated for the removal of plagues sent on Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and his prayers were heard [Exod. ix. 27, 33, x. 16, 19]; David prayed for the removal of the pestilence, and the Lord said to the angel, "It is enough: stay now thine hand" [2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 17]; Solomon prayed for God's blessing on Israel, and the Lord said unto him, "I have heard thy prayer" [2 Chron. vii. 12]; Elijah "prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not on the earth by the space of three years and six months. And he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit" [James v. 17, 18]; Hezekiah prayed for recovery from sickness, and even for the postponement of death, and was answered by restoration to health and fifteen more years of life, God saying "I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears, behold, I will heal thee" [2 Kings xx. 5]. It is, however, unnecessary to multiply such examples, for it is quite clear that Holy Scripture constantly represents God as "hearkening to the prayer" of His servants, as often giving them what they desired, and as sometimes withholding it even though "besought thrice" [2 Cor. xii. 8]; and in either case shewing that there is a definite relation between the "asking" and the "receiving," between the prayer of man and the Providence of God. Under a conviction that such is the case mankind has acted age after age in the spirit of David's words, "O Thou that hearest prayer, unto Thee shall all flesh come" [Psa. lxv. 2].

Against the testimony and experience of so many ages of mankind the objections of a small minority, who rate their own speculations at a far higher value, are not of much importance, but they must not pass unnoticed. Such objections are generally resolvable into two propositions: [1] First, that if God has foreordained all events, no prayer can alter His Will; and [2] secondly, that if God is Omniscient, it is useless to inform Him of our wants.

To the first of these difficulties it may be answered that the Will of God and the foreknowledge of God are not truly represented when they are spoken of as if they were an unalterable Destiny. It is part of the Image of God in man that the latter possesses free-will, and how can it be supposed that does not exist in the Divine Person the likeness of which is so conspicuous in the human person? It is most illogical to set up our speculations about a foreordaining Will in opposition to plain revelations about the working of that Will, such as are contained in the many scriptural records of answers to prayer. But it is still more illogical to leave out of sight the consideration that answers to prayer are themselves to be taken as a part of the foreordained course of events, and that prayers themselves are among the circumstances which God's Will has foreordained. The difficulty is, in reality, not to understand *how* answers to prayer can be reconciled with a foreordained course of circumstances and events, but *why* God has ordained that they should form part of that course. But this difficulty is simply one of those mysteries which encompass the great question of free-will; and it is no unfairness to ourselves as intellectual beings to say that there is little or no hope of ever coming to a perfect understanding of such mysteries without a further revelation from God, or a further exaltation of man's mental powers.

The second objection follows in the same groove. It is certain, by God's own revelation of Himself, that He is Omniscient; and it is also certain, by His own revelations of His Will, that He requires men to petition Him as well as to offer Him a pure service of adoration. Our blessed Lord said to His Apostles, "your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things"—food, drink, and clothing [Matt. vi. 32]; and yet He taught them also to say "Give us this day our daily bread" [*ibid.* 11], and enjoined prayer in the words, "Ask and it shall be given you, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be

opened unto you," [*ibid.* vii. 7], in the very same discourse. How shall we reconcile these two opposite, or apparently opposite, facts that a beneficent God knows our wants before we can name them, and is loving enough to satisfy them without being asked to do so, and yet requires us to put those wants before Him in prayer, and to ask Him to satisfy them? We cannot reconcile them. They are facts that depend for their explanation on mysteries of God's nature, which He permits to remain mysteries. But it is quite as certain that He has imposed the law of prayer, as it is that He has revealed Himself to be Omniscient; and while it would be very illogical to accept the revelation as true and to reject the law as false, it would also be folly to accept both as true, and yet to refuse to act on the law because we cannot reconcile it with the revelation. But although it is not within the reach of our knowledge to reconcile these seemingly opposed facts, it is within our knowledge that God is infinitely good and loving as well as Omniscient, and that He would neither have given men an instinctive impulse to pray if prayer had been a mere mockery, nor have imposed upon them a law that they should pray unless such a law had been necessary for their welfare.

Difficulties respecting prayer do not, however, occur to a devotional intellect, for such an intellect, though it may as incessantly crave after knowledge as an undevotional one, has less confidence in its powers as an ultimate court of appeal from the decision of which nothing is exempt. A devotional intellect recognises the existence of mysteries, and especially that greatest of all mysteries, the Nature of God. The resting-point for such an intellect, in respect to theories of prayer, will be found in the example and words of Christ Who prayed, "Father, if Thou be willing, remove this cup from Me," and added, "Nevertheless, not My will, but Thine be done" [Luke xxii. 42]. It will know that God's will must be the ultimate law of all events, yet will dare to follow the example of Christ, and ask that "if it be possible" such and such things may be granted. Even if that which is asked for be not granted, there will always be one answer to such a prayer, that of strength from heaven which earth cannot give.

PRAYER FOR THE DEAD. A custom which has prevailed in many nations, and may be regarded as founded on the instincts of human nature; for when the soul departs into the unseen world it is natural for survivors to pray for its welfare on the same principle that we pray for each other's wellbeing and happiness in this world.

The doctrine and practice came, however, to the Christian Church through the Jews. Christianity, it must be remembered, is not a new religion or the primary revelation of the Divine Will. God revealed Himself to mankind from an early period, and though especially to one nation only, still a revelation of His will had been made, the leading particulars of which were necessarily unchangeable, though, as regards certain unessential points, suited to the Jews only. Christianity, it might therefore be supposed *à priori*, would not essentially differ from Judaism, each proceeding from the same unchangeable Author. But the connexion of the two religions is still closer and more intimate: one was the type and the other the antitype, and thus Christianity may be said to be Judaism in its complete and perfect form and development: signs and types changed into corresponding realities, and the teaching of the Law and Prophets imposed in their full significance and meaning [Matt. v. 17-19]. We cannot therefore expect to find in Christianity what may be called a new revelation of the Divine Will or a complete system of truth, nor can we doubt that the Apostles taught the doctrines or usages of existing Judaism (which *generally* they were commanded by our Lord to receive, see Matt. xxiii. 2, 3), unless they were manifest corruptions of the Divine Law. But by the fact of their teaching them, such doctrines or usages were stamped with Divine authority or sanction.

This explains the fact, that although prayer for the dead prevailed in the Church from the earliest period, and is at least indirectly confirmed by the teaching of the New Testament, yet we do not find that it was expressly commanded by our Lord and His Apostles. Prayer for the dead was a Jewish custom for many ages before our Lord's coming, and it was incorporated by Apostles and inspired teachers into the practical system of the Christian Church. That it was the usage of the Jewish Church more than one hundred years before Christ is clear from the well-known passage in Maccabees, where Judas, offering a sin-offering, "made a reconciliation for the dead that they might be delivered from sin" [2 Macc. xii. 43-45]—a statement, from which the belief of the Jews may clearly be inferred, that certain sins committed in this world and now unrepented of, may be forgiven in the world to come. If this be denied the offering of Judas was useless or unprofitable, and the belief that the dead can be benefited by prayer, on which the practice is founded, necessarily falls to the ground.

But the efficacy of prayer for the pardon of the sins of the departed, is clearly intimated by our Lord's teaching in the Gospels: He implies that some, though not all, sins which are here committed, may be forgiven in the world to come; and thus teaches that prayer for the dead rests on a true and certain foundation, and there can be no doubt that He thus, implicitly at least, sanctions the usage. View together these truths—that sin committed in this world may be forgiven in the world to come, and the efficacy of prayer is all-prevailing, since our Lord assures us that *whatsoever* we ask the Father in His name, He will grant to us—and the inference is undeniable. The love of survivors indeed will not ask for a *positive* command to pray for departed relatives; natural affection alone will complete the argument and irresistibly enjoin the precept.

Our Lord says that "whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come" [Matt. xii. 32], whence, by only excluding

from forgiveness in the world to come the sin against the Holy Ghost, He may be understood to imply that less offences may be forgiven: such is the interpretation of ancient, and also of some eminent modern, commentators. We are also told to agree with our adversary whilst we are in the way with him (*i.e.* during the present life), since otherwise we shall be cast into prison, and not come forth till we have paid the last farthing [Matt. v. 26], where it is obviously implied, that when, but not until, the debt is discharged, we shall be delivered from prison—a "prison" never signifying according to Scriptural usage the place of eternal punishment.[1]

Again, St. Peter in his first epistle, speaking of our Lord's descent to Hades, says that He preached the Gospel [iii. 19, 20, iv. 6] to the Antediluvians who were then in prison (φυλακή). They had been disobedient in the days of Noah, and perished at the Deluge, God bringing the Flood upon the world of the *ungodly* [2 Pet. ii. 5]. Our Lord announced the glad tidings of redemption to them, and thus fulfilled the prophecy of Zechariah [ix. 11], that Messiah by the Blood of His covenant would deliver the prisoners out of the pit where there is no water,—a kind of prison often used in the East. It cannot be supposed, with the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles before us, that prayer for the dead is necessarily fruitless or unavailing; or that imperfect Christians, or those to whom the Gospel has not been preached, are altogether beyond the hope of mercy and forgiveness.

The first Christian writer who mentions prayer for the dead is Tertullian: but he speaks of the usage as well-known and long established in the Church: thus he says that prayers were annually offered on the birth-day of the martyrs or the day of their martyrdom:[2] he explains "paying the last farthing" that the soul pays something in the delay of the resurrection,[3] and speaks of a widow praying for the soul of her husband.[4] St. Augustine often alludes to the universal usage of the Church to pray for all regenerated in Christ (*i.e.* the baptized), though whether, or in what degree, prayer would be profitable and availing, depended upon the present life.[5] And St. Chrysostom says that it was not in vain enjoined as a law by the Apostles (ἐνομοθετήθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων) that a memorial of the dead should be made in the solemn mysteries, as knowing that great gain resulteth to them and great assistance.[6] Aërius, a heretic of the fourth century, first alleged that the practice was useless. It is only in the present life, he argued, that a man can do anything, as pray and give alms; and such prayers set aside the necessity for a holy life, since, if the prayer and almsgiving of others can avail for the departed, their own good works whilst on earth are not really needed. The reasonings of Aërius were answered by St. Epiphanius[7] and St. Augustine,[8] who vindicated the apostolicity of the universal usage of the Church.

Prayer for the dead was especially, though not exclusively, connected with the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the names of the living, and also of the dead who were commemorated, being read from what were called Diptychs by the deacon, when the Eucharistic sacrifice was offered.[9] We find in all extant liturgies prayers for the pardon of the sins and the rest of the departed; there being no liturgy in use for fifteen hundred years after Christ, in which the immemorial usage of the Church was not recognised. It was first laid aside in the sixteenth century by Calvin and others, (though allowing that it was the usage of the Primitive Church,) mainly for subjective reasons, as they are called, such as that if a man died in a state of grace he had no need of prayer for his soul's welfare, or if he died in sin prayer could not benefit him, but must necessarily be unprofitable and useless; and also in opposition to the doctrine of purgatory. The Church of England recognizes the doctrine of prayer for the dead,[10] which, though fallen into popular desuetude, has not at any time, since the Reformation, been wholly lost or forgotten. The reasons why the dead should be prayed for, the benefit supposed to be derived from such prayers, and the general teaching of the Church on the subject, will be found in the article Purgatory.

PRAXEANISM. [Patripassianism.]

PREACHING. The office of preacher, or proclaimer of the truth of God, dates back almost to the first ages of the world. Noah, "the eighth

[1] "Non autem omnes veniunt in sempiternas pœnas quæ post illum judicium sunt futuræ, qui post mortem sustinent temporales. Nam quibusdam, quod in isto non remittitur, remitti in futuro sæculo [Matt. xii. 32], *i.e.* ne futuri sæculi æterno supplicio puniantur, jam supra diximus" [St. Augustine, *De Civitate*, lib. xxi. c. 13]. Olshausen thus comments on Matt. v. 26: "That we are not to understand eternal punishment under 'not come out of prison till he has paid the last farthing,' but only a transition state is shewn, first by φυλακή (prison), which never denotes the place of eternal punishment, and also by ἕως ἄν (until), which points to a definite limit." And more fully in his note on Matt. xviii. 24, where he says, "The formula 'deliver into prison till he has paid all that is due,' still demands here our especial consideration in its connexion with the creditor. Already at Matt. v. 26, we remarked that it would not denote everlasting punishment; in the words ἕως οὗ (until) it is implied obviously that a limit is fixed. . . . The φυλακή (prison) here is thus (Ἅδης) Hades, the general assembling-place of the dead who did not die in the Lord, but all of whom it does by no means follow shall sink into eternal condemnation." [Clark's translation *in loc.*]

[2] *De Corona*, c. 3. [3] *De Anima*, c. 58.

[4] *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, c. 11.

[5] *De Cura pro Mort.* lib. i. c. 17.

[6] *Comment. in Philip. hom.* 3. [7] *Hæres.* 55 *sive* 75.

[8] *De Hæresibus*, 53.

[9] *Apost. Constit.* lib. viii. c. 12; St. Cyril, *Lat. Myst.* v. 8; St. Chrysos. *Com.* 41 *in* 1 *Cor.*

[10] Thus "in the office of the judge promoted by *Breeks* v. *Woolfrey*, it was held that the following inscription 'Spes mea Christus,' 'pray for the soul of J. Woolfrey,' 'it is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead' [2 Macc. xii. 46] . . . was not illegal, as by no canon or authority of the Church in these realms had the practice of praying for the dead been expressly prohibited." *Vide* Stephen's *Book of Common Prayer with Notes*, where Sir H. Jenner's judgment on the above case, of which the summary is quoted is given at full length. Inscriptions on tombs with prayer for the souls of the departed from 1547 to 1782 are given in *Hierurgia Anglicana* [pp. 320-4].

person," was "a preacher (κήρυξ) of righteousness" [2 Pet. ii. 5] to "the world of the ungodly." The prophets were not only foretellers of the future, but preachers, warning of God's judgments, denouncing the wickedness of His rebellious people, and delivering what "the Lord spake by them" [2 Sam. xxiii. 2]. St. John the Baptist was the preacher of the coming Messiah, and his message was repentance. Our Lord went with the twelve "throughout every city and village, preaching and shewing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God" [Luke viii. 1]. The Apostles "preached through Jesus the resurrection of the dead" [Acts iv. 2]. They that were scattered abroad after the martyrdom of St. Stephen, "went everywhere preaching the word" [Acts viii. 4]. St. Paul bids his son in the faith, the Bishop of Ephesus, "preach the word" [2 Tim. iv. 2].

God has been pleased to send His message through man to his fellow-man, and the prophet, foreseeing with joy the blessings of gospel times could say, "How beautiful are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace!" [Isa. lii. 7.]

Hence, in the ancient Church preaching held a deservedly important place. The sermon formed a part of the "missa catechumenorum," that all might receive instruction from it. St. Justin Martyr, in his early account of Christian worship [A.D. 140], says, "When the reader has finished, he who presides (προεστὼς, the bishop or president) admonishes and exhorts by word of mouth (διὰ λόγου) to the imitation of their noble deeds," *i.e.* what they had just heard of the apostles and prophets from Holy Writ.

In ancient times preaching was a duty which belonged of right to the bishop alone. St. Justin Martyr, as we have seen, names the προεστὼς as preacher. In Africa, St. Augustine was the first presbyter who preached in the presence of the bishop [Possid. *Vit. Aug.* 5]. This was about A.D. 391. The Council of Laodicea [A.D. 366] bears witness to the same custom, and the Council in Trullo [A.D. 691] speaks of preaching as the bishop's duty every day, and especially on the Lord's-day. [Labbe's *Concil.* iv., 1151.] But in time, as was needful, priests were more commonly allowed to preach. The Council of Vaison [A.D. 529] orders that "for the edification of all the churches, and the greater benefit of the whole people, presbyters should have power to preach, not only in the cities, but in all parishes" [*ibid.* iv., 1680]. Deacons, though not allowed to preach, might read homilies in case of necessity, as the same council provides, "Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur." [*Ibid.*]

In certain special cases these strict regulations as to preaching were not observed. We find Origen, while yet a layman, not only expounding privately in the catechetical school at Alexandria, by the appointment of the bishop, but also preaching in church. This was during his visit to the Holy Land in A.D. 215, and by desire of Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea. When Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, remonstrated, Alexander quoted various precedents for the course he had taken [Euseb. *Ecc. Hist.* vi. 19]. The fourth Council of Carthage [A.D. 398] ordains "Laicus præsentibus clericis, *nisi ipsi jubentibus*, docere non audeat," which implies that laymen might so teach *if requested*. The same council [Labbe, ii. 1207] expressly forbade women, even though learned and holy, to speak in the churches, in accordance with St. Paul's teaching [1 Cor. xiv. 34], and with the universal custom of the Church; and heretics only were accustomed to contravene this order of the Church. [St. Epiphan. *Hæres.* xlix. lxxviii. &c.] It is clear that any cases of lay preaching were exceptional. St. Leo forbids monks to undertake this duty [*Epp.* cxviii. 2, cxix. 6]; and St. Jerome says "it was an usurpation of an office which did not belong to them." [*De Scriptor.* xxxvi., *contra Vigilant.* ii. 400.]

In some places there were frequent short sermons or addresses at one service. The *Apostolic Constitutions* say, "Let the presbyters, but not all, exhort the people; and last of all, the bishop, who is like unto the governor of the ship" [ii. 57]. Instances of the same custom are recorded in St. Chrysostom [*Hom.* ii., *de verb. Isaiæ*], and St. Augustine [*Serm. in Psalm.* cxxxi. &c.]. At certain seasons there were sermons daily, *e.g.* St. Chrysostom's homilies on Genesis and those *De Statuis* were so preached in Lent. Origen too used to preach almost daily, as Pamphilus records. [*Apol. pro Origen.*, Origen, *Opp.* i. 756.]

Extempore preaching was frequent. Origen's homilies were thus delivered, and it was not until the age of sixty that he allowed them to be taken down in writing [Euseb. vi. 36]. St. Chrysostom too sometimes delivered extempore discourses [Sozomen, viii. c. 18], as did St. Gregory [*Hom.* xl. *in Evv.*].

The sermons were frequently very short,[1] the whole service lasting, according to St. Chrysostom [*Hom.* xlviii. *de Inscript. Altaris*], not more than two hours. The salutation, "Pax vobis," which usually preceded holy offices, also preceded sermons, and the people replied, "And with thy spirit" [St. Chrys. *Hom.* iii. *in Coloss.*, &c.] They concluded with the ascription to the Blessed Trinity. The usual custom at one time was for the preacher to sit (the position of an authorized teacher), and for the people to stand as reverent disciples. So St. Augustine says [*Hom.* xlix. *de Diversis*], "Ut ergo vos non diu teneam, præsertim quia ego sedens loquor, vos stando laboratis." And Eusebius records of Constantine that when he was solicited to sit down on his throne during the delivery of a discourse at the palace, he refused, saying, that "it was fit that men should stand to hear discourses of things divine." [Euseb. *De Vit. Constant.* iv. c. 33.]

But this custom was not universal, for St. Justin Martyr says, "that as soon as the bishop's

[1] See instances quoted by Bingham, bk. xiv. c. 4, sec. 21, from St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and others.

sermon was ended they all rose up in prayer together" [*Apol.* i. 67]. The *Apostolical Constitutions* also mention that the people sat during the sermon [ii. c. 58].

The sermons were often received with expressions of applause and acclamation, such as clapping of hands, stamping of feet, and such cries as "orthodox," "thirteenth apostle," &c. This St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome earnestly endeavoured to restrain, the latter, *e.g.*, saying, "When thou art teaching in church, let not the applause of the people but their groans be excited, and let the tears of thy listeners be thy commendation" [Jerom. *ad Nepot.* ii.].

In the Book of Common Prayer the sermon is appointed to come after the Nicene Creed. It thus forms a part of the Church's most solemn service, though of course usage has sanctioned preaching at other times. A "form of prayer to be used by all preachers before their sermons" is appointed in the fifty-fifth canon. The marriage service, by providing a short homily for use, "if there be no sermon," implies that it is considered suitable to have one; and up to A.D. 1661 the rubric expressly provided for the celebration of Holy Communion, with a sermon "wherein ordinarily . . . the office of a man and wife shall be declared, according to Holy Scripture." The various "exhortations" which are to be found in the Book of Common Prayer are also short homilies of a similar character, which were placed where they are at a time when preaching had fallen into very general disuse, and when homiletic instruction was considered to be especially necessary.

PREBENDARY, one who holds a benefice called a prebend in a cathedral or collegiate church.

Among the Romans "Præbenda" was fuel and salt provided by a town for a royal envoy [Hor. *Serm.* i. 5], and in canon law it designates a stated income derived from land, tithes, a church, and crops, offerings at an altar, endowment by a founder, or some fixed source. A prebend is the right of receiving certain revenues in a cathedral or collegiate church, attached to certain duties, for the performance of which a stipend is allotted; and tenable without a canonry; the latter being a spiritual and incorporeal title, independent of any stipend, and embracing reception into a brotherhood; the right of a stall in choir, and a vote in chapter: sometimes the former is called a prebend simple, and the latter a prebend canonical. A prebend may be held by a layman. A clerical prebendary is of necessity also a canon, and the Council of Lateran [A.D. 1179] allowed in consequence no presentation to a canonry, except when it was vacant. In the cathedrals of the new foundation the prebend is a share in the commune, a yearly dividend.

At Bangor, the præcentor, chancellor, and three canons held "nihil prebends," that is, their stalls were unendowed and maintained by means of corrodies, pensions, and oblations. The bishops at Lincoln, Lichfield, Chichester, Lincoln, and Salisbury, held prebends, as did dignitaries like the deans of Chichester, Wells, and Lichfield, the præcentors of Chichester, Lincoln, Lichfield, York, and St. Asaph, the chancellors of Lincoln, Salisbury, Lichfield, Llandaff, and St. David's, the treasurers of York, St. Asaph, and Lichfield, the subdean of Lincoln, and certain abbots at Chichester, York, Wells, and Salisbury. The bishop usually has the sole collation to a prebend, but at Chichester two attached to offices are in the gift of the dean and chapter, and at Lincoln one is held with the vicarage of Gainsborough. Six prebends at St. Asaph are said to be "cursal" either cura salutis with cure of souls, or, as at St. David's, as preachers within certain circuits. The late Cathedral Act, although it dispossessed prebendaries of their income, left their duties and privileges untouched; it also changed the previous title of prebendary into that of canon in the new foundations.

A prebend is a benefice which took its origin in the distribution of the commune in equal portions in the eleventh century. As it is the duty of canons to act with the bishop as his brethren in council, they were required to be in holy orders, and certain prebends out of the church-revenues were assigned to them. The inferior clergy were often called portionists or demi-prebendaries, Quartanarians or Tertians, according to the rate of their stipends. A prebend is not of the substance of a canonry, except it is "born of a canonry, tanquam filia a matre," according to the canonists, whereas honorary canons are said to have "nomen sine re," and an empty title having neither a stall in choir nor a vote in chapter, although of custom or by concession of a chapter they may have a stall and place in choir, being neither bound to residence nor restricted with regard to tenure of benefices as the true canon is. The "commune" or "massa," formerly devoted to the support of the bishop and chapter, was at length divided among the several members of the latter in proportionate portions for their maintenance. This took place definitely at Lichfield in the time of Adelwald [*c.* 847, *Angl. Sacr.* ii. 431], or of Bishop Peche in the twelfth century [Browne Willis, i. 425], and at York by Archbishop Thomas [Stubs, 1708]. The earliest prebend with a distinct title was that of Neauflé at Rouen, founded in 1095; at St. Paul's the apportionment of prebends began, if it was not completed, before the arrival of William I. Robert Bloet [A.D. 1092-1123] at Lincoln added twenty-one prebends to an equal number founded by his predecessor [A.D. 1070-92; *Ang. Sacr.* i. 515, Godwin, 232]. Bishop Hilary endowed one at Chichester; but it was not until about the time of Edward I. that distinctly named prebends can be traced in England. At the close of the tenth century, however, Reginald of Durham mentions that "the clergy of Lindisfarne, like secular canons, as they are now called," held prebends from the Church, and discharged their monastic duties in ecclesiastical offices [c. xvi.]; and at Lichfield, Ethelwald in 822 allotted distinct prebends to the secular clergy and set over them a provost [*Ang. Sacr.* i. 463]; at Wells, Bishop Robert [A.D. 1136-59] severed

the prebends which had hitherto been in common [*Ang. Sac.* i. 561].

On the first constitution of cathedrals prebendaries were divided into three grades, priests, deacons, and sub-deacons; so many of each attending in quarterly courses for duty in the choir: but at length the division into simplices, or non-residentes, and residentiarii, stagiarii, or stationarii canonici, took effect, many preferring to reside at their prebends, substituting vicars in their places as deputies in choir, and paying a certain fine by way of composition to the residentiary canons. [Maillane, *Du Droit Canonique*, iv. 449. Beyerlinck, iv. 558. Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccles. Disc.* l. iii. c. 7-10. Van Espen, *Jus Univ. Eccles.* p. i. tit. 8. Lyndwood, *Prov.* l. iii. tit. 7, nota e, p. 144. Walcott's *Cathedralia.*]

PREDESTINATION. [Election.]

PRE-EXISTENCE OF CHRIST. The Eternity of the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity —that He was in the beginning, and is from the beginning, before all worlds—is asserted by the Church under the term "Pre-existence" [Word], against all who assign a commencement to the existence of Christ. First, and most properly, against the Photinians,[1] who taught that Christ did not exist before His birth of the Virgin; the Word named by St. John being, in their heretical scheme, not a Person, but an emanation only from the Godhead, which descended upon the Son of Mary and constituted Him the Son of God. Second, against the Arians, who allowed indeed that Christ was before the foundation of the world, but asserted that His existence had a beginning,[2] that He was created out of nothing. [Eternal Generation.]

PRE-EXISTENCE OF MATTER. This heretical tenet supposes matter to be coeval with the Deity, whose creative work was what may be called the secondary act of creation, not creation in its proper and peculiar sense of production out of nothing. Scripture is clear against this tenet. For St. Paul's words [Heb. xi. 3], though their construction is disputed [see Alford's note], must ultimately yield the sense given them by Chrysostom, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ ὄντα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός [see also *Hom.* iii. *in Gen.*], in accordance with the belief of the Jews [2 Macc. vii. 28].

The tenet of the pre-existence of matter is, in its consequences, the worst form of heresy. If matter be coeval with the Deity,[3] it must be self-existing and eternal. But that which is self-existing and eternal is none other than God. [Matter.]

PRE-EXISTENCE OF SOULS. The simple tenet of the pre-existence of souls is that at the creation of man the souls of the whole human race were formed, and that in God's keeping they await the creation of the bodies they are to inhabit. To this may be added the further position, that these souls are capable of action, of obedience, and of sin, before their joining their bodies: and there may be added further the doctrine of Metempsychosis.

The advocates of this doctrine of the pre-existence quote from the Old Testament, Deut. xxix. 14, 15 (upon which text Grotius writes that the generality of the Jews allege it for the προϋπαρξις of souls); also Jer. i. 5; Job. xxxviii. 19-21, LXX. version; from the Wisdom of Solomon the more express text, viii. 19, 20; from the New Testament, John ix. 1, 2, where they say that our Lord admits the doctrine. Further, although it cannot be a necessary inference, they do not shrink from adding that, at the time of the supposed production of all souls, our Lord assumed a human soul, and became as it were the Messiah elect, waiting for His Incarnation: that thenceforward until the Incarnation He dwelt with God, One Person in two natures, the Divine Nature and the reasonable human soul.[4] This, they assert, explains more readily the theophanies of the Old Testament, and such passages of the New Testament as Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8 (where they say it is difficult to conceive how an exinanition of Himself can belong to the Eternal and Immutable God by becoming man, whereas it is easier to conceive this of the soul of the Messiah united, as has been said, to the Godhead), and such passages also [John iii. 13] as speak of the Son of Man as coming down from heaven. Other arguments are that the daily creation of souls is inconsistent with the Father's resting from the work of creation: and that it is hateful to think of God's assisting by a special act of creation the sins of adultery and incest from which there is offspring.

On the other hand is one great argument, which seems to be decisive, namely, that the Mosaic account of the creation of man, which represents the body of man as first formed and the soul as then inbreathed into it from God, is not only an account of the creation of Adam, but, in its essentials, declaratory of the creation of every human being. The Mosaic record is treated in the New Testament as both fact and symbol,

[1] Socrat. *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 19, 24; Sozom. *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 5; Epiphan. *Hæres.* 74. Photinus was condemned in the Council of Antioch, A.D. 344. Döllinger considers this a Council of Semiarians. So also Lardner, *Credibility*, pt. ii. ch. lxxxix., where are brought together the several statements of the ancients regarding Photinus. He was also condemned in the Council at Milan, A.D. 347 [Harduin, *Concil.* i. p. 683-4], and again at Rome, by Julius, A.D. 349 [*ibid.* i. p. 689-90]. He was finally deposed by a Council of Eastern bishops at Sirmium, A.D. 357 [*ibid.* i. p. 701-2; Newman's *Arians*, p. 334].

[2] Τοὺς λέγοντας ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο . . . ἀναθεματίζει ἡ . . . ἐκκλησία.

[3] "Ita Hermogenes duos deos infert. Materiam parem Deo infert." [Tertullian, *Adv. Hermog.* ed. 1641, p. 267; also *Adv. Marc.* p. 440.] "Qui et Deum et materiam, duos deos, clusit. Et materia enim Deus, secundum formam divinitatis; innata scilicet, et infecta, et æterna." As the conception of two Gods is impossible, the necessary result is the identification of the Creator with the universe. [See Mill *On Pantheistic Principles*, pt. i. sec. 1, p. 21 *et seq.*]

[4] Origen, see *De Princip.* ii. 6, 3. Henry More, see *Mystery of Godliness*, b. i. c. viii. On this "strangely heretical notion, into which even Dr. Isaac Watts was led by the difficulty of conceiving the eternal generation of the Son," see Mill's note on the Pantheism of the Cabbala *in Pantheistic Principles*, pt. i. p. 154. The heresy appears to lie in the supposition that the Word assumed that pre-existent human soul, not in the supposition that the soul pre-existed to which the Word in fulness of time was to be united.

Adam being the representative man [Matt. xix. 4; 1 Cor. xv. 22; Rom. v. 12; James i. 15]. The formation of a child in the womb is as truly an act of creation as the creation of Adam.[1] Man is still formed of the dust of the ground, through the intermediate agencies of the plants which draw their substance from the ground and minister it to animals. The second part of the record is also repeated in each man's becoming a living soul.

Returning, then, to the arguments for the pre-existence of souls, it is sufficient to observe, regarding the quotations from the Old Testament, that they by no means necessarily imply that pre-existence, and are generally interpreted otherwise: regarding the quotation from Wisdom, that it may be allowed to stand as one among other proofs that the Alexandrian[2] school received the doctrine: regarding the dream of the union of the Word to a human soul before the Incarnation that it will be found to involve greater theological difficulties than it professes to remove, and that the scriptures it professes to make more easy are sufficiently explained by Catholic commentators. There remains then, of scriptural authorities, only John ix. 1, 2. This is indeed the only passage of Scripture which requires a special consideration.

The question of the disciples is to be interpreted, it appears to us, according to their belief. If we knew that they did not hold the pre-existence of souls, we might interpret their question as an elliptical mode of expressing an impossibility, "It is impossible that this man can have brought the chastisement on himself: is he suffering for his parents' sins?" But, knowing that the Alexandrians and the Rabbis held the doctrine in question, it is more natural to suppose that the disciples had heard it, and proceeded on the sup position of its truth. Does our Lord then in his reply give any sanction to the doctrine? Our Lord neither affirms it nor denies it. "The disciples were speculating about final causes. They would not have understood what any one meant who had told them they were doing so; they were doing it nevertheless. Jesus met them with the *most* final cause. 'I can give you a better reason for this man's blindness than those you have imagined. His blindness will be a means of shewing forth the power and purpose of God. He will learn himself, he will be a teacher to the world through this blindness, whence light comes, who is the Father of light.'" [Maurice, *Discourses on St. John*, p. 263.] This scripture, therefore, decides nothing regarding the truth of the doctrine. But the possibility of sinning in a pre-existent state, which appears to be contemplated in the question of the disciples, is decisively rejected by St. Paul in Rom. ix. 11, 12.

The other two arguments which are used need not detain us long. God rested from the primary act of creation: He works hitherto, as in the governing of the world He made, so in that secondary act of creation which is the continuance of the species. God has ordained that certain powers and agencies, both physical and spiritual, shall be called into exercise by human acts; and He does not alter His ordinance if those acts are performed sinfully. This is neither sanction nor assistance of the sin. It might be as fairly said that God aids and abets sin when a child of fornication is brought to holy baptism, or when parents, for the sake of a bribe, bring their child to the font. It is God's good pleasure to inbreathe the living soul to the offspring of man and woman; and He has given the law of matrimony. That He does not alter His original ordinance when that law is broken cannot without blasphemy be represented as assisting the sin.

In conclusion, there is no reason to denounce the simple doctrine of the pre-existence of souls as heretical, but the Church does not hold it, nor can it be considered a pious and probable opinion. The additions to the doctrine are heretical.

PRESENCE OF CHRIST. [Real Presence. Eucharist.]

PRIEST. The doctrine of the priesthood in the Church of Christ bears intimate relation to the mediation of our Lord, for as a priest is a mediator in action, so our Lord, being the one Mediator, is the only Priest by nature; but this does not exclude the extension of His Priesthood to others any more than the fact that He is the *only-begotten Son of the Father* is inconsistent with that other fact, which is equally true, that through Him all Christians are God's adopted children. To the Church, which is the Body of Christ, all that pertains to our Blessed Lord is extended, and therefore, because He is the Priest and King, His people are "a royal priesthood." There are vital principles which belong to the whole body, but there are particular organs through which these principles act, and thus the extension of our Saviour's Priesthood to the whole body of His people is not inconsistent with His appointment of an official priesthood to carry on His work of mediation upon earth. [Bishop Hamilton's *Charge*, p. 39.] Our Blessed Lord, having gone up to Heaven there to exercise His Priestly functions on our behalf, has delegated His office below to those whom He had chosen. It was just before His Ascension that He said to His Apostles, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost" [John xx. 21; *cf.* Luke iii. 22, ix. 35].

[1] The proper and peculiar sense of "creation" is production out of nothing, when there is no antecedent material out of which the created thing is made. Man was not so called into being. His creation was the organizing of matter that already existed, and imparting to it a principle of life. The creation of every man is the same, only the process occupies, it may be, a longer time, and the operating powers are in some degree made known to us. [Body. Creation.]

[2] The Alexandrian school derived the doctrine from the Greeks, among whom it was held by the Pythagoreans and Platonists: though Coleridge says that Plato never meant or taught it. Tertullian writes: "Consequens enim est, ut ex Dei flatu animam professi, initium ei deputemus. Hoc Plato excludit, innatam et infectam animam volens: et natam autem docemus et factam, ex initii constitutione." [*De Anim.* iv. edit. 1641, p. 307.] From the same source came Origen's metempsychosis. [See *De Princip.* iii. 5.]

To understand the nature of the priestly office, we must look back to the Jewish dispensation, for its types and shadows would have been unmeaning if they had not signified the realities which should exist in the Church of Christ. If the high priest was the representative of Christ, the subordinate priests were also representatives of the subordinate priests who, under Him and acting by His commission, should stand between His people and their God. The priesthood was changed, but not abolished, when the Levitical tribe was succeeded by the Christian ministry [Heb. vii. 12]. In the continuance and expansion of the priesthood was fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah that God would take of the Gentiles for priests and Levites [Isa. lxvi. 21], and that of Jeremiah, "As the host of heaven cannot be numbered, neither the sand of the sea measured, so will I multiply the seed of David my servant, and the Levites that minister unto me" [Jer. xxxiii. 22].

I. The existence of a priesthood was common to all ages and all religions. We can trace from the earliest times the institution of a class of men ordained to stand between God and their brethren, and to offer for them sacrifices and prayers. In the patriarchal age the head of the family was its priest, and the sacrifices which he offered were not for himself alone, but for the members of his household. So we find Abraham, Lot, Noah, and Job exercising the office of priests. Heathen religions have preserved so much of the primitive tradition, and their universal agreement proves that they derived it from a common source. In some nations the king, as representative of his people, was the priest. In others, as in Egypt, a family caste was set apart for the office; whilst in others the most learned men were initiated by solemn rites into the mysteries of their religion. Under the Mosaic dispensation one tribe was substituted for the firstborn of each household; and in this tribe were duly ordained ranks, high priests, priests, and Levites. Their office exhibited the two sides of the principle of mediation. On behalf of the people they offered sacrifice, and in God's name they blessed the people. The blessing which God bestowed on His people passed through human media, and a divinely organized priesthood was in exact harmony with the mode of God's dealings, since He employs men to be fellow-workers with Himself in the production of the fruits of the earth and in carrying out the works of His providence.

II. When our Blessed Lord was on earth, He indicated by many acts the continuance of this principle of the intervention of human media. When He raised Lazarus from the grave, one who stood by must first roll away the stone from the tomb before the dead could come forth, and others must loose him before he could be free. When He multiplied the loaves and fishes, He did not Himself distribute them to the people, but this He commissioned His Apostles to do. When He sent forth the twelve and the seventy, He not only gave them commandment to preach the Gospel, but power to do the works which He Himself performed. And when He delivered the final commission to the Apostles, He said, "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. . . . As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." Thus He was preparing His people for the delegation of His Priestly power to an official priesthood; and if acting for Him they could heal the sick, it was no greater marvel that they should have power on earth to forgive sins.

III. Whatever authority was given by our Lord to His Apostles was not given to them as individuals, but as the first of an order of men through whom it was to be transmitted from one age to another. Our Lord indicated the permanence of the commission in the words, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." He could not have been with the Apostles individually to the end of the world in any sense which would agree with the circumstances under which these words were spoken, and therefore it must be understood of the Apostolic order of which they were under Him the founders. Whatever authority was given to them was to be transmitted to some successors. And, therefore, we find that no sooner had our Lord ascended than the eleven, instructed by all that He had spoken during the great forty days of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, *i.e.* the government of the Church, supplied the place from which Judas had fallen by the election of Matthias to take part in their Apostleship.

IV. Our blessed Lord breathed upon His Apostles when He invested them with His authority. This was an action proper to its first delegation, and to Him from whom their power was derived; but the manner in which it was transmitted by the Apostles to other men was by taking up into the system of the Christian Church a well-known rite of the Jewish Church. Any ordained transference, such as the substitution of the victim for the offerer had always been made by the laying on of hands, and the Apostles ordained their successors by the same outward means [Bishop Hamilton's *Charge*, p. 40]. That their successors receive no less authority than was delivered to the Apostles the Church has always believed, for our Saviour's own words of consecration are still repeated by the bishop at the ordination of every priest.

V. Although, considered as a matter of order, there are three ranks in the Christian ministry, the priesthood is but one. Quoad Sacramentum bishops and priests possess the same priestly authority, but the bishop has the power of transmitting it to others, which an ordinary priest can not do, while the deacon, although the assistant of the priest, can perform no sacerdotal function.

VI. The chief sacerdotal function [1] of the Christian priest is to offer up on behalf of the people the Eucharistic Sacrifice. This sacrificial action is the counterpart on earth of Christ's perpetual pleading and presentation of Himself in heaven, and is consummated when the bread and wine are made the Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood. It is the *μνημόσυνον*, or shewing forth of the Lord's death, as a plea for our pardon.

2. Baptism is properly a priestly act in its con-

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nection with the remission of sins. In the washing of regeneration a fulfilment of the promise is found, "Whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven." The minister of baptism is the representative of Christ when he takes the child in his arms and pours the healing waters on his head. When, however, the priest is not present, baptism may be delegated to the deacon, and Lay Baptism in cases of necessity is admitted to be valid.

3. The ministry of reconciliation includes also that power and commandment, which Christ hath given to His ministers, to declare unto His people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins. The principle of absolution may be seen under the Jewish dispensation, where leprosy was viewed as a type of sin, and the leper was excluded from the congregation of God's people; but when the leprosy was healed it was appointed that he should go to the priest, who was to examine him, and pronounce him clean, if he found that he was healed; and then the leper might enter without fear into the courts of the Lord. So in the Christian Church, those who are troubled in conscience are invited to come to the priest, that "by the ministry of God's Holy Word they may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of their consciences and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness." The friend to whom the penitent unburdens his griefs is one who has received the commission, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted." The public confession of sins in the ancient Church was succeeded by private confession, but the exercise of the priestly office of absolution remained unchanged. Care was taken that the delegative power of the priest was not confounded with the autocratic power of Him who alone could forgive sins by His own act, just as the Apostles were careful to explain that their miracles were wrought not by their own power, but in the Name of Christ. [Name.] Since the truly penitent alone could benefit by this ministration, penances were used as tests applied to the hearts and minds of those who professed to be repentant, and as the Jewish priest examined the body of the leper, so did the priest search the heart of the penitent to the best of his ability, that he might not pronounce him clean whilst he remained in his sins. And since the efficacy of absolution depended on the repentance of the sinner, and his heart was open to God alone, it must be proclaimed that God would only ratify those sentences, and confirm those exercises of delegated power, which approve themselves to His judgment. The exercise of absolution is public and private. In the daily order of morning and evening prayer, the priest declares to those who are truly penitent the absolution and remission of their sins, and to those who truly repent these words will come as Christ's message, even as the words which Nathan was commissioned to pronounce to David; "The Lord hath put away thy sin." But there are other special occasions where a more direct form of absolution is needed, as when the sorrows of a doubting heart are unburdened, or when the Christian on his deathbed desires to hear the message of pardon from God's appointed ambassador.

4. In public worship, generally, the priest, on the people's part, collects and offers up their prayers. For them he intercedes as an appointed intercessor with God, and in God's name he blesses them with the blessing of peace.

VII. The objections made to the doctrine of the priesthood are:—

Obj. 1. *That it interferes with the mediation of Christ.* Rightly viewed, it brings the mediation of Christ into greater prominence, for it leads us through sacraments and ordinances directly up to Him who has sent His earthly priests as His ambassadors to men. The very title of "High" Priest which we give to Him implies the existence of lower priests under Him, and acting by His commission.

Obj. 2. *That it interferes with the priesthood of His people.* The family of Christ are a royal priesthood, but the Jews likewise were a kingdom of priests and an holy nation; yet under the Jewish dispensation an official priesthood was established, and therefore the existence of an official priesthood in the Christian Church is not more inconsistent with the privileges of the people of Christ. [Lay Priesthood.]

Obj. 3. *That if the commission was given to the Apostles, such powers could not be intended for their successors.* The power granted to the Apostles was given, not for the glorification of themselves, but for the edification of the people; and those powers which were necessary for all times we must expect would be continued. There were some powers, such as the gift of bodily healing, which were given temporarily, and not to the Apostles exclusively, as signs and wonders which should direct attention to their preaching; but such a power as the forgiveness of sins must be as needful for men in the nineteenth century as in the first, and therefore it would be unreasonable to suppose that if Christ gave this power to His Apostles, it would be withheld from their successors.

Obj. 4. *That the name of priest is not given to Christ's ministers in the New Testament.* No argument can be founded on this, because there is considerable confusion in the titles which are given to Christ's ministers. Three orders are discernible, but it was only after the Apostolic age that their nomenclature assumed a permanent form. It is significant, no doubt, that while priestly functions are often spoken of, the name of priest does not occur in the New Testament: but the omission is to be thus accounted for. "Christianity arose, not as the antagonist of the Mosaic system, but as its inner life gradually developed under the covering of its external forms." The infant community of Christians even used, as far as might be, the Jewish institutions, amongst which none was more prominent than the priesthood. To have assumed at once the name of priests would have been to erect a rival institution, and to place the Gospel in immediate antagonism with the Jewish religion; and while the Christian converts frequented the Temple services,

and received certain ordinances at the hands of the Jewish priest, the existence of two orders of priests, each so-called, would have caused confusion in the minds of both communities. No such objection attached to the use of the word presbyter or elder, which was used indifferently for all offices of reverence or authority.

Another object was to be attained, and that was to wean the mind of the Jew from the external associations of his ancient faith. The temporary disuse of the term was providentially ordered for this purpose to facilitate the progress of the Jewish mind to a clearer view of the spiritual realities of the new kingdom [Carter's *Doctrine of the Priesthood*, pp. 120, 121].

Obj. 5. *That since the priest is the representative of the people, his power must be claimed, not from a divine commission, but from the people.* The Jews were a nation of priests, and yet Aaron was chosen not by them, but by God. "No man taketh this honour unto himself but he that is called of God, as was Aaron" [Heb. v. 4]. The several titles given to the ministers of God in Holy Scripture, prove that their authority comes not from below, but from above. They are called ambassadors, but an ambassador's commission comes from the king who sent him, and not from the people to whom he is sent. They are called stewards, but a steward is appointed by the owner of the soil, not by the tenants. They are called shepherds, and a shepherd is not chosen by the sheep, but by their owner. And yet because they are representatives of the people, the voice of the people assents to their choice. A bishop is elected, but his consecration, and not his election, constitutes him a bishop. A priest must, before his ordination, receive the implied consent, at least, of the people, and for this purpose the "Si quis" must be publicly proclaimed in the congregation.

Obj. 6. *That the etymology of priest is not from* ἱερεύς, *but from* πρεσβύτερος. The answer to this objection is contained in that to the fourth. We are dealing not with words, but with living realities, and it is the priestly functions, not the titles given to those who were commissioned to perform them, that we have to deal with. [Absolution. Lay Priesthood. Carter *on the Priesthood.* Bishop Hamilton's *Charge*, 1867. Blunt *on the Sacraments and Sacramental Ordinances of the Church.*]

PRIESTHOOD OF THE LAITY. [Lay Priesthood.]

PRISCILLIANISTS. A sect of Spanish heretics taking their name from their founder, a Spaniard of noble birth, who lived about A.D. 380. Their tenets were an admixture of Gnostic and Manichæan doctrines, and much licentiousness was acknowledged by their leaders, notwithstanding a profession of asceticism in some particulars. The heresy spread very much among the women of Spain; and though it was formally condemned by a Council at Saragossa in A.D. 381, obtained much influence at the court of the Emperor Gratian. His successor Maximus, however, put Priscillian and six others to death (contrary to the earnest remonstrance of St. Martin), in A.D. 385, and persecuted the sect with great severity. In consequence of this cruelty, St. Ambrose refused to communicate with Maximus. But the conduct of both these holy men was a protest against capital punishment for heresy, and not a defence of the Priscillian party. There is, however, much obscurity as to the exact tenets of the latter, and they died out altogether during the fifth century. [*Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

PRISCILLIANISTS. A name sometimes given to the Montanists, from the so-called prophetess Priscilla. [Montanism.]

PROCESSION OF THE HOLY GHOST. A theological term used to express the mode in which the Divine Essence is eternally existent in the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. It is a term analogous to that of Eternal Generation, which expresses the mode by which the Divine Essence exists in the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.

As early as A.D. 373, this term had found its way into the Creed, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον being the words used in a Creed so preserved by Epiphanius, in his Ancorate [Epiphan. *Ancorat.* cc. 119, 120]. Eight years afterwards [A.D. 381] it obtained a permanent settlement in the Constantinopolitan revision of the Creed of Nicæa, in precisely the same form; in which form it still appears in that Creed as used by the Eastern Church. In the Western Church a word has been added to express the fact of procession from the Son as well as from the Father, a full account of which has been given elsewhere. [Filioque.]

The doctrine itself, as distinct from the history of the controversy respecting this addition, will be here considered with reference to the scriptural and patristic authority on which it is founded. It must first be noticed, that when it is said the Holy Ghost "proceeds from the Father and the Son," we are not to understand that He proceeds in the same sense from one Divine Person as from the other. The Father is the only Fountain of Godhead, and the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son as from one source, and, in theological phrase, by one spiration—the Divine nature of the Father and of the Son being hypostatically one and the same, though the Persons are distinct. The only difference between the Father and the Son is their personal distinction, that is paternity and filiation; spiration therefore must equally belong to each, otherwise we make a difference between the Divine nature of the Father and of the Son, which is impossible. But spiration in the same sense (activa spiratio) cannot be affirmed of the Holy Ghost, since His personal distinction in the Godhead consists in His procession, which may be gathered from His name, the Holy Spirit. He proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son—"amor unitivus amborum."

Such is the explanation of this doctrine by St. Thomas Aquinas and mediæval theologians of the Western Church;[1] but the subject, it must be remembered, is necessarily mysterious and incomprehensible; man can only vainly attempt to

[1] Aquin. *Summa*, I. quæst. 36, 37.

"search out the Almighty to perfection." We are compelled to use such terms as "spiration" and "procession" in reference to the Third Person of the Trinity, and rival disputants argue from them as if they conveyed a definite meaning or were fully intelligible to ourselves, which assuredly is not true; hence follows, on both sides, much irreverent language, and inferences and conclusions upon which no real dependence can be placed.[1]

The passage on which the doctrine of the Eastern Church is founded as contained in the Creed is John xv. 26, "the Holy Ghost which proceeds from the Father." Here, it is said, our Lord expressly states that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and thus that the *Filioque*, "and from the Son," is not only an unauthorized addition of the Western Church to the Creed, but also to the teaching of Holy Scripture; this inference is entirely founded on the supposition that our Lord's words refer to the eternal procession, and not, according to an obvious explanation, to the temporal mission of the Holy Ghost. Maldonatus interprets the passage, that "Christ will send the Holy Ghost, Who proceeds from the Father, and is therefore fully acquainted with the mysteries of Divine knowledge,"—a sense fully accordant with our Lord's words and the general meaning of the passage.[2] Bengel argues that the mission of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and* the Son is here equally intimated. He says "that as saying the Son sends the Comforter does not deny that the Father also does, so saying the Spirit proceeds from the Father does not deny that He also proceeds from the Son." Kuinoel explains "proceeding from" as merely synonymous with being sent by the Father. And even should we admit that the doctrine of an eternal procession is here taught, it does not follow, as the commentator just quoted (Maldonatus) shews, that the passage is to be understood in an exclusive sense—*as if* the Holy Ghost does not *also* proceed from the Son:—there are manifest reasons why the procession from the Son should not here have been explicitly mentioned.

But the passage before us cannot fairly be considered as the foundation on which this doctrine rests, and did it stand alone, we could not say with certainty that the procession of the Holy Ghost is revealed in Scripture at all. The passage seems to imply more than a temporal mission from the Father, but this is all that can be affirmed. Passages far more conclusive are contained in Scripture, and to these chiefly must we appeal for any real information on the subject. Such are those which speak of the Holy Ghost as the Spirit of the Father and of Christ, with the inferences which must certainly follow. Thus the Holy Ghost is called the Spirit of the Father [Matt. x. 20], of God [Rom. viii. 9], of the Lord [Acts v. 9]. Such statements imply a mysterious and (necessarily) eternal procession from the Father; the Spirit *of God* being always represented as inherently possessing, *through that relationship*, all the prerogatives and attributes of Godhead, as omnipresence [Ps. cxxxix. 2], omniscience [1 Cor. ii. 10], and eternal existence [Heb ix. 14]—in a word, as being really God, *because* He is the Spirit of God. Admitting this, there is the same proof that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as from the Father. Thus He is called the Spirit of Christ [Rom. viii. 9; 1 Peter i. 11], and God is said to have sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts [Gal. iv. 6]. One of the passages quoted [1 Pet. i. 11] has an important bearing on the subject. The Holy Ghost is called the Spirit of Christ which inspired the prophets; hence it appears that the Holy Spirit is not called the Spirit of Christ merely as being sent by Him [John xvi. 7-14] to complete His mediatorial work (the usual explanation of those who deny the doctrine of the double procession), which has no connexion with the inspiration of the prophets; nor can any valid reason be assigned why He is here called the Spirit *of Christ*, but on account of His procession from the Godhead of the Son.

The Eastern Church claims the writings of the Fathers generally as being in accordance with their teaching, but this claim is exaggerated even as regards the Fathers of the Eastern Church. Petavius has quoted passages from Epiphanius,[3] which at least imply the doctrine of the double procession; and in other quotations he has given from Fathers of the Eastern Church, the same doctrine is implicitly, if not expressly, taught.[4] But the testimony in proof of the double procession from Fathers of the Latin Church is clear and unexceptional, and can only be set aside by vague and unproved assertions that the works

[1] See some examples in Neale's *Hist. East. Ch.* 1140.

[2] "*Quem mittam* ab eo loco ubi Pater est, a sinu Patris. At quid hoc ad rem attinebat? Ut Ejus commendaret testimonium; illius enim testimonium gravissimum fore qui ex sinu veniret Patris, omnia mysteria Patris sciens fidusque legatus neminem fallens. Qua eadem ratione paulo post dicit: *Qui a Patre procedit.* Hinc alia explicatur quæstio, cur non dixerit etiam a se procedere: quia id apud homines magis minuere quam commendare poterat ejus testimonium. Cum enim de ipsomet ageretur suspectum potius Spiritus sancti testimonium videretur, si dixisset a se procedere. Præterquam quod, ut modo diximus, modestius ita loquitur."

[3] St. Epiphanius does not expressly state that the Holy Ghost "proceeds" (ἐκπορεύεται) from the Father *and* the Son, but clearly intimates or implies it. He says (in *Ancor.* sec. vii.) that the "Holy Ghost is from the same substance of the Father and the Son" (ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς αυτῆς οὐσίας Πατρὸς καὶ Τἱοῦ, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον), and that "He is from Both" (sec. 71, παρ' ἀμφοτέρων), that "He proceeds from the Father, and *ever* receives from the Son" (ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευομενον καὶ τοῦ Τἱοῦ λάμβανον ἀεί) [*Cont. Sabell. Hæres.* 42 *sive* 62]. Thus, though "proceeding" is only spoken of as from the Father, yet the truth of a procession from the Son is clearly implied. We may say of the Fathers of the Eastern Church generally—they keep close to the words of Scripture, which only declares an ἐκπόρευσις from the Father, yet they really imply, without directly stating it, the doctrine of a double procession. The question is not as to the use of the word, in itself of equivocal meaning, but as to an important doctrine elsewhere clearly implied in Holy Scripture. The dispute between the Churches seems little else than a logomachy, both believing in substance the same truth. When St. Epiphanius asserts that the Spirit receives *eternally* from the Son, it cannot be supposed that his doctrine differs essentially from that of the Western Church.

[4] *De Trinitate*, lib. vii. c. 3.

from which quotations are given are spurious. Passages from St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Fulgentius, are quoted by Pearson [art. viii.] Two, which are not so quoted, may also be added from Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas, which, considering the age of the writer [A.D. 200] and the undoubted genuineness of his treatise, have an important bearing on the controversy. They clearly shew that the doctrine of the double procession was held from an early period in the Western Church, and disprove the theory of its supposed origination at the time of its insertion in the Creed. Tertullian says that the Holy Spirit is "derived from no other source than from the Father and the Son;"[1] and more plainly, that "the Spirit is the third from God and His Son, as the fruit which comes from the shrub is the third from the root; and the river which proceeds from the stream is third from the fountain."[2]

That the doctrine of the double procession was held at an early period is evident from other reasons, since we cannot otherwise *fairly* account for its insertion in the Creed in the fifth or sixth century, and its general reception afterwards in the Western Church. A Creed containing in *express terms* a doctrine which was maintained by the principal Latin Fathers had an unquestionable claim to be acknowledged by the Western Church; although the addition to *the Nicene Creed*, strictly speaking, was unauthorized, and as such censured by Leo III.

The main objection to the Latin doctrine by the Easterns[3] may be traced to a misapprehension of its right meaning, as if it implied two principles, or what is called a double principiation in the Godhead, but this inference does not follow if the Latin view be correctly explained, and is repudiated by the definition of the Council of Florence, in which the true doctrine is clearly stated. [Monarchia.]

PROPAGANDA. [Missions.]

PROPHECY is that aspect of the *Supernatural* which, together with Miracles strictly so called, constitutes the fundamental proof of Revelation. [Miracles.] To foreknow and to foretell a future event as far transcend the ordinary laws in accordance with which human knowledge is exhibited, and as much imply the intervention of the all-knowing God, as the act of raising the dead, or of changing water into wine, transcends the laws in accordance with which the ordinary course of the world proceeds, and implies the intervention of the God of Nature. This is the *predictive* element of the Prophetic Volume; to which must be added as a *second* element—the *moral*. To this *moral* element of Prophecy must be assigned its due prominence when we seek for the significance of the Divine Revelation. The moral Revelation, it has been often pointed out,[4] made by the successive Prophets, holds an intermediate state between the Law of Moses and the Gospel. It is a step in progress beyond the Law, and preparatory to the Gospel. *E.g.*—"the Prophets taught the doctrine of *repentance* with a clearness and certainty which were not admitted into the Law of Moses." [Davison, *l. c.* p. 45. *Cf.* too such passages as Ps. xl. 1; Isa. i.] It is an error, however, not unusual with modern writers, to confine their attention to the *moral* element of Prophecy, and to disparage the *predictive*. Thus Dr. Arnold wrote: "Prophecy fixes our attention on principles, on good and evil, on truth and falsehood, on God and His enemy. . . . Prophecy is God's voice, speaking to us respecting the issue, in all time, of that great struggle which is the real interest of human life, the struggle between good and evil." As an illustration of the results which follow from such a partial estimate of Prophecy, it may be noted that Dr. Arnold concludes that the Book of Daniel is to be ascribed to the time of the Maccabees, chiefly because its latter chapters, "if genuine, would be a clear exception to my canon of interpretation."[6] The most striking characteristic of the *predictive* element of Prophecy is its *double sense*, which rests upon what may be termed the *law* according to which Divine Revelation unveils the future—viz. that when the future was to be foreshadowed, certain events of the time, historical or incidental, were selected as occasions on which were founded the several disclosures of God's Will. Thus, in Heb. i. 5, the words "I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to Me a son," originally spoken of Solomon [2 Sam. vii. 14], are directly applied to Christ.[7] To this head belongs the entire class of types—*e.g.* the brazen serpent [John iii. 14]. The value of the *predictive* element of Prophecy as a proof of Christianity depends, manifestly, on the fact that, in no case, have we in the Bible a *vaticinium post eventum;* and for this fact the evidence is supplied by the testimony to the Canon of Scripture.

PROPITIATION. [Reconciliation. Wrath of God.]

PROSTRATI. [Genuflectentes.]

PROTESTANTISM. The name Protestant was first given to those who at the second Diet of Spires [A.D. 1529] protested against the revocation of a resolution of the first Diet [A.D. 1526], which had granted to each prince the power of management of ecclesiastical affairs until the meeting of a general council, and against the edict substituted for that resolution, declaring all change in doctrine, discipline, or worship unlawful. It has since been used *first* as a convenient historical term designating collectively all who refuse the usurped supremacy of the Pope; *secondly*, as a term of controversy implying [1] a condemnation of alleged Romish errors and superstitions, and sometimes [2] a yet further assertion of certain tenets supposed to be of the essence of Protestantism.

[1] "Quia Spiritum non aliunde puto quam a Patre per Filium" [c. 4].

[2] "Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus a frutice, et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine" [c. 8]. The translation in the text is Dr. Burton's. See *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, &c.

[3] Palmer on the Orthodox Communion, *Dissert.* viii.

[4] See Davison on *Prophecy*, p. 43.

[5] *Sermons*, 5th ed. vol. i. p. 377.

[6] *Life and Correspondence*, 6th ed. p. 505.

[7] On this subject see Lee on *Inspiration*, 4th ed. p. 153, &c.

I. *As an historical term.* The body of Protestants consists, generally speaking, of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, all Lutheran; the larger half of the population of the Netherlands, about half the population of Switzerland, including the cantons of Aargau, Zurich, Berne, most of Vaud, all Calvinistic; the Catholic English, Irish, and Scottish Churches, with their Colonial and American daughters; the Scottish Presbyterians; the large bodies of Lutherans, Calvinists, Huguenots, in the other countries of Europe; the English and Irish Nonconformists, and their descendants in the United States and the Colonies.

II. *As a term of controversy.* It is [1] conceivable, but has not occurred, that a national church might renounce the Pope, but retain Romish doctrine. The case occurs from time to time with individual persons, and they reject the title *Protestant:* from a feeling that the term implies, more or less, a condemnation of Romish error. The term, however, asserts neither the subjects in which the Church of Rome has erred, nor the extent of the error; still less does it assert, on the other hand, the Catholic truth in the matters in question. It is merely a term of indefinite negation, and it is of importance to notice that great harm results from putting forward this negative Protestantism as if it were a definition of the essential nature of a church. It leads the unwary members of that church to mistake their position, to forget their catholicity. That they are Protestants is accidental: that they are Catholics is essential. Again, great harm follows from attempts at ecclesiastical union upon the mere basis of this negation. Union can be based only upon truth; and an attempt to compass an union by a simple denial of error proceeds on the supposition that there are many doctrines which may be indifferently substituted for the error. If the Lutheran and the Zuinglian shake hands because they both deny Transubstantiation, it is that they sink the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. The general discussion of this topic belongs to Syncretism: but the impossibility of such a union among Protestants is so apparent, that no real attempt has been made by the governing bodies of Churches and sects to bring it about. Cranmer for some time cherished the notion, and even took the first step, that of inviting a congress of divines; but the scheme soon dropped. [Blunt's *Hist. of Reformation*, i. 470.] In the Comprehension scheme of 1689, it was designed to recognise the ministry of the foreign Protestants. This the Lower House of Convocation stopped. In our own times the Jerusalem bishopric and the Evangelical Alliance have not recommended these Syncretistic arrangements to English Churchmen.

[2.] The attempts that have been made to discover and supply positive principles to Protestantism have resulted in propounding two dogmas, both erroneous and both mischievous. One is Chillingworth's, who published in 1635 *Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation.* The main proposition of this book is that the Scriptures, and not ecclesiastical tradition, are the sole and infallible rule of faith. The Puritans had held this doctrine, but their controversy with the Church led them to insist upon the sufficiency of Scripture with regard to discipline and forms of worship, rather than with regard to faith. In 1659 it was stated in Milton's *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases:* "It is the general consent of all sound Protestant writers, that neither traditions, councils, nor canons of any visible church, much less edicts of any magistrate or civil session, but the Scripture only, can be the final judge or rule in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself." "With the name of Protestant hath ever been received this doctrine, which prefers the Scripture before the Church, and acknowledges none but the Scripture sole interpreter of itself to the conscience." "If by the Protestant doctrine we believe the Scripture, not for the Church's saying, but for its own as the Word of God, then ought we to believe what in our conscience we apprehend the Scripture to say, though the visible Church with all her doctors gainsay." "To interpret the Scripture convincingly to his own conscience none is able but himself, guided by the Holy Spirit; and not so guided, none than he to himself can be a worse deceiver." This is not the doctrine of the Church of England. If the Church have authority in controversies of faith, it is a matter of conscience to submit one's private judgment to that authority. "There co-exist in the Church of God two authorities, mutually corroborative of each other, and, so far as individual interpretation of each, mutually corrective of each other: the inspired Word and the inspired Church—the inspired Word receiving its canonicity, its interpretation from the inspired Church; and the inspired Church tested in its development by the inspired Word." [Bishop Forbes, on *XXXIX. Art.* p. 95.]

The second dogma, which many would make an essential of Protestantism, is that the Pope is Antichrist, the Church of Rome no true church, but strictly idolatrous, her rites and ceremonies so polluted that none may be used with a good conscience. Undoubtedly, there is much to be said for considering the first of these items a maxim of Protestantism, as the continental Reformers in general held it; and it being commonly in England held by the Reformers of Edward VI.'s reign, and thence down to the middle of the seventeenth century. Kennet [*Register*, p. 77] tells us that Sheldon was the first in Oxford to deny the doctrine, to the scandal of Prideaux, who was presiding in the Schools. Still it is not the doctrine of the English Reformation. The *Institution of a Christian Man* declares "the pretended monarchy of the Bishop of Rome is not founded upon the Gospel, but is repugnant thereto," and proceeds to treat the matter very coolly; "and as for the Bishop of Rome, he cannot pretend himself no more to be grieved or injured therewith, than the king's chancellor, or any other his officers, might worthily think that the King's highness should do him wrong in case he should, upon

good cause, remove him from his said room and office and commit it unto another." [Lloyd's *Formularies*, pp. 121-123.] The Elizabethan bishops also understood their position. Neale, in laying down this Protestant principle as a Puritan principle, opposes it to the tenet of the Court Reformers, who held that "the Church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt in some points of doctrine and government, that all her ministrations were valid, and that the Pope was a true bishop of Rome, though not of the universal church." [Neale's *Hist. of Purit.* i. 96, ed. 1754.] Cranmer then learnt the doctrine from the Lutherans: intercourse with Geneva did not lessen its popularity: and it was held as a private opinion for a century. Church of England divines in general have relinquished it: dissenters for the most part hold it. It is easy to understand why the doctrine had stronger hold on the continental divines than on English divines. The throwing off the papal supremacy in England by the Crown, the clergy, and the laity, requires for its justification no such dogma. But it is very doubtful whether the separation caused by Luther can be defended without this dogma, or one equivalent to it. Coleridge has adopted the equivalent, or rather the only rational form of the dogma, in justification of Luther; and declares that nothing less than this could have justified so tremendous a rent in the Catholic Church, with all its foreseen and most calamitous consequences. [Coleridge, *Church and State*, pp. 157-159.]

Those, however, who advocate this Protestant dogma are not satisfied with the distinction which Coleridge carefully draws between the episcopate of the Romish Church and the *Papacy with the hierarchy so far as it is papal*, any more than the Puritans were satisfied with the distinction when made by Elizabeth's divines. They go on to the other assertions named above, which, by their narrowness and want of charity, have caused the word *Protestant* to imply to the minds of many all that is sectarian and unamiable.

The Church of England, then, not being Protestant in this last sense, not holding these two principles, and not resting in the vagueness of a mere negation, has determined [1] that the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England; [2] that as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith—that is, not in matters which the Church of England declares to be *de fide*, but in matters which the churches named have taught are to be believed; and [3] it specifies errors, sometimes naming the Church of Rome, sometimes describing the doctrine. It needs much care, and no inconsiderable acquaintance with the language of the schools of theology to determine how far the doctrine of the Schoolmen has been maintained by the Council of Trent; whether the doctrine named in our Articles be the doctrine of the one or the other; whether, when a doctrine is described and condemned without the Church of Rome being named, it is really the doctrine of the Church of Rome.

PROTHESIS. The oblation of the unconsecrated elements which precedes the Pro-Anaphora in Eastern Liturgies. The "Office of the Prothesis" is said, not at the altar itself, but at a side table (or "credence" as it is called in the West); and in large churches a separate apse or chapel is set apart for this, on the north of that in which the altar is placed. The name seems to be derived from the Temple service, the setting in order of the loaves upon the table of shewbread being called by St. Paul ἡ προθέσις τῶν ἄρτων in Hebrews ix. 2, and the loaves themselves ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως by our Lord in Matthew xii. 4. The rite going by this name in the Eastern Church is a solemn preparation of the elements before they are taken through the "holy doors" of the iconostasis to the altar, with the ceremony called the "Great Entrance." It includes what is known in our English Liturgy as the Offertory, but a very elaborate ritual is also used in the preparation of the bread, and at the conclusion of the office there is a special prayer of the Prothesis, in which God is besought to accept the oblation for the celebration of the holy mysteries. [Neale's *Eastern Church*, i. 352.]

PROTOTYPE. The prototypal form in which Adam was created was the image of God; in Christ that image is restored; and it is our hope that this form will be ours also when we wake up after God's likeness and are satisfied [Psa. xvii. 15]. It is a term, therefore, that has an anthropological, a Christological, and an eschatological character, as referring to Adam, to the Redeemer, and to the redeemed. Now, in what does that likeness consist? Not surely in outward form; but in spiritual attributes, for God is Spirit. But those attributes pertain to the soul invested in body, which God has not, therefore the likeness of God must be restricted to such divine attributes as are reflected in man independently of his material nature, such as a love for all that is good and holy, right reason and free will, which constitute in him the "likeness and glory" of God [1 Cor. xi. 7; see GLORY], and exclusive of other attributes that serve only to mark the imperfection of the creature. When Irenæus, therefore [*c. Hær.* v. 6], speaks of the image of God as being "suâ naturâ" of a bodily character, he may express correctly the philosophical notion of the Deity, and therefore of the divine likeness, as derived from ancient schools, but he hardly speaks with the authority of Catholic antiquity on a point which had as yet received but little consideration. Our only safe guide is the Apostle, who expresses himself with sufficient explicitness. With him Christ is the very "image of God" [2 Cor. iv. 4], "in the form of God" [Phil. ii. 6], "and the express image of His Person," as well as "the brightness of His Glory" [Heb. i. 3], "The image of the Invisible God" [Col. i. 15]. He is now to us as the prototypal form in which Adam was created full of grace and truth; and man's hope of having that form restored in him hereafter depends on the genuine-

ness with which some few rays of that glory are reflected in his soul now. So it has been decreed from everlasting, that all who are called according to God's sanctifying purpose should be "conformed to the image of His Son" [Rom. viii. 29]; that "as we have borne the image of the earthy," we may also "bear the image of the heavenly" [1 Cor. xv. 49]; that having His high exemplar before us, and "beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord," by a continually progressive sanctifying process, we "may be changed into the same image from glory to glory as by the Spirit of the Lord" [2 Cor. iii. 18]. It is of this "renewing in the spirit of our mind," according to the prototypal likeness of Christ, that the Apostle speaks, when he exhorts his charge to "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image" of the Creator [Col. iii. 10], and "after God [כדמות] is created in righteousness and in the holiness of truth" [Eph. iv. 24]. According to Roman doctrine original righteousness was not this prototypal likeness, but a superadded gift conferred after the act of creation was complete. So the Tridentine Catechism says, "Quod ad animam pertinet, eam ad imaginem et similitudinem suam formavit Deus, liberumque ei tribuit arbitrium; omnes præterea motus animi atque appetitiones ita in eo temperavit, ut rationis imperio nunquam non parerent. Tum originalis justitiæ admirabile donum addidit," &c. [ed. Colon. 1565, p. 63]. The council purposed, in the first instance, to express its meaning as "Justitiam et sanctitatem in qua Adam conditus fuerat," but accepted the correction of Paceco, and wrote "constitutus fuerat" [Pallavic. *H. Conc. Trid.* vii. 9]. For the teaching of the Schools on this point, see SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY; for the whimsical notions of Judaism, see CABBALA.

PROVIDENCE is the name of the order of the visible creation, so far as it makes provision beforehand for the well-being and government of the sensitive part thereof, especially mankind. We do not speak of God's Providence over angels, good or evil, we speak of them as the instruments of His Providence, because their state is fixed, and they already inherit the supreme good or the supreme evil: whereas providence dispenses spiritual and temporal blessings and trials which are not absolute or final. We speak of God's Providence over the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, but only in a transcendental (not an unreal) sense of His Providence over the lilies of the field, because providence always, in its ordinary sense, implies either the discipline or the benefit, we may say the gratification, of what is subject to it.

Providence is further said to work by means, by which we understand that the order of providence is an order of secondary causes, and that at no point in the order do we come to the immediate action of the First Cause; consequently the action of Providence is essentially capable of being explained, though we are never in a condition to explain it completely: but the limitation of our knowledge is always a limitation of degree, and does not imply a radical defect of faculty. At the same time, the conception of providence is a provisional conception of the temporal aspect of an eternal operation: when we think of providence, we think of means arranged beforehand and of results following them in due season, yet we know that all things in space and time are ordered by God in an infinite here, an everlasting now. Hence we are not in a position even to state the question, What is the relation of God's Providence to man's free agency? It is only safe to say that the results of human will, like all finite agencies, are absolutely controlled and directed at every point by providence. When we have realized the central paradox of an eternal working in time, which is inconceivable and indisputable, we shall be prepared to believe that a free agency is absolutely controlled and determined in all its results, good and evil, by that eternal love. As it is written, "I make peace and create evil: I the Lord do all these things" [Isa. xlv. 7].

In this sense all providence is special, since each of the individual events which happen in this order are reverently to be accepted as the will of God, by Whom the whole order is directed. When we speak of the whole order we speak provisionally, for the order of the whole creation is undoubtedly one; we think of the order of providence as including only what we can in some sense reckon upon, but spirits which see God understand in Him the order of all things, even of those which we call extraordinary. To such spirits it may well be easier to understand in what order God heals sickness by faith than in what order He heals sickness by medicine. To us the lesson of such extraordinary providences or miracles is that God is above the order which He makes, and that as we see it that order is not complete or self-sustaining. The same lesson is enforced by another kind of providences, which we call special, not extraordinary. A common type of such providences would be, that a perfectly accountable detention should preserve a man from a perfectly accountable calamity, *e.g.*, a railway collision, or that two men should be brought, by independent and accountable process, to the same place without intending to meet. Here it is the co-ordination of independent series of causes to a result which has no accountable connection with any one series, that points to something beyond the order which we conceive and understand. In other words we learn by miracles that the order of the world as we see it is partial, by special providence that our conception of that order is inadequate.

PROVISIONS. A letter or title issued by a superior to an ecclesiastic, stating his institution and promotion to a particular office. There are three kinds: provisio libera, which depends upon the sole will of the granter; provision per force, where the latter cannot refuse; and provision under colour, where it is only an apparently lawful title, wherein the original nullity and defect are covered by the fact of peaceable possession during three years, provided that it has not been

acquired by violence. They are invalid where the granter has not the right of lawful collation, or the grantee is incapable of a benefice, or has been guilty of simony in procuring one. Persons nominated to bishoprics receive six bulls from Rome, the first being that of provision.

The Statute of Provisors defines as subject to a præmunire the offence of persons who purchase from the See of Rome provisions for holding abbeys or priories, &c. It was passed as 25 Edw. III. stat. vi. sec. 3. Matthew Paris, under the year 1245, states that at one time there were so many Italians beneficed in England, that they received more money yearly out of it than all the revenues of the Crown, to the high disservice of God, the great scandal of religion, the decay of hospitality, and the utter ruin of the English Church. In the time of Edward III. the Pope assumed the right to fill almost every vacant see upon the score of these reservations in his own patronage, the right of capitular election was overridden, and bishoprics were often conferred upon unworthy persons. The State at length interfered to check this arbitrary and injurious presumption—which Bramhall calls "sublimated simony"—both in England and France.

PURGATORY. The Roman Catholic doctrine is thus stated by the Council of Trent: "There is a Purgatory, and the souls there detained are helped by prayer, and chiefly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar"—a statement obviously vague and indefinite, as leaving the most important inquiry undetermined, which is, whether the souls in Purgatory are in a state of happiness or misery: they are "detained," but nothing more as *de fide* is stated. But, on referring to the Catechism of the Council of Trent, drawn up by order of the Fathers there assembled, we find a clearer and more explicit definition: "There is a purgatorial fire, where the souls of the righteous are purified by a temporary punishment [ad definitum tempus cruciatæ expiantur], that entrance may be given them into their eternal home, where nothing that is defiled can have a place. And of the truth of this doctrine, which holy councils declare to be confirmed by the testimony of Scripture and of Apostolic tradition, the pastor will have to declare more diligently and frequently, because we are fallen on times in which men will not endure sound doctrine." [*Conc. Trident.* sess. vi. can. 30, sess. xxv. sec. I. *Catech. Trident.* cap. vi. qu. 3.]

Thus a definite meaning is given to the vague teaching of the Council: there is a purgatorial *fire*, and the souls of the faithful are *punished* for a defined period till their sins are expiated. The almost universal belief prevailing amongst Roman Catholics—though they do not consider torment by *fire* as being *de fide*, but only the most probable opinion—is that Purgatory is a place of suffering or punishment for imperfect Christians.[1] Bellarmine says "that the Fathers unanimously teach that the pains of Purgatory are most severe or terrible" [*De Purgat.* ii. 14].

Prayer for the dead, as shewn elsewhere, was the universal usage of the early Church, derived, as the Fathers asserted, from Apostolic tradition. The Fathers also unanimously believed that prayer benefited the departed, though how, or in what sense, there was no consentient belief, and it is sometimes difficult to harmonize their conflicting opinions or theories. All admitted the Apostolic belief and usage, but held various opinions, more or less probable, which originated from it; and we must clearly distinguish between what is of assured faith, and doubtful, though even probable, theories or speculations. Now, on considering the teaching of the Fathers, we find no mention of a "Purgatorius *locus*" or "*ignis*," to which the souls of departed Christians were generally conveyed, but of an intermediate state in which was the abode of *all the souls of the dead*, where they remained until the day of resurrection—a state or place either of happiness or misery according to their past life. Such was the teaching of the Fathers, and had all Christians been in the fullest sense righteous or wicked, no further difficulties on the subject could have arisen; but besides the class of the righteous and the wicked, properly and emphatically so called, there was, as at present, a large intermediate number of imperfect Christians, who could hardly be said to belong to one class or the other—not fit in their present state for the happiness of heaven, nor deserving the punishment of hell: and the teaching of the Fathers as regards the future condition of these requires to be specially investigated.

There were two theories in the Primitive Church which are carefully to be distinguished: they are not inconsistent with each other, and probably, in many cases, were held together. One may be called the Judgment day Purgatory, and pleaded in its support the words of St. Paul literally understood, that the "fire shall try every man's work," and that even he who has built wood, hay, straw, stubble on the true foundation "shall be saved, yet so as by fire" [1 Cor. iii. 11-15]. In proof of this doctrine was also quoted the frequent use of the word "fire" in connection with the Lord's Coming or the Day of Judgment [see Psa. l. 3; Isa. iv. 4; Dan. vii. 9; Zech. xii. 9; Mal. iii. 2, 3, iv. 1].

The following extracts will shew the belief of the Fathers, that all Christians must pass through the fire on the Day of Judgment, though all will not be injured by it—the highest saints passing through unhurt, and others suffering a punishment proportioned to their sins, till "the wood, hay, straw, and stubble" built on the true foundation be consumed. Quotations shall first be given from writers of the Western Church. Thus St. Hilary speaks of the severity of the Judgment day purgation by fire, through which all, even the Blessed Virgin, must pass;[2] and St. Ambrose

[1] Thus Dr. Milner, though he says "that in the Council of Trent all is contained that is necessary to be believed on this subject," yet afterwards defines Purgatory "as a place of temporary *punishment*," which is not asserted by, and goes beyond, the decree of the Council. [*End of Controversy*, p. 170, 374, ed. 1841.]

[2] "Diem judicii . . . in quo nobis est ille indefessus ignis subeundus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia? Beatæ Mariæ animam gladius pertransibit ut revelentur multorum cordium cogitationes" [*Luc.* ii. 35]. "Si in judicii severitatem

says: "We must all pass through the fire, whether it be John the Evangelist, whom the Lord so loved, that He said to Peter, 'If I will that he remain, what is that to thee, follow thou Me.' Of his death some have doubted, of his passing through the fire we cannot doubt; for he is in paradise, and not separated from Christ."[1]

St. Jerome, in his *Commentary on the Prophet Amos*, compares the ten revolted tribes of Israel to heretics, and the other two "to the Church, and to sinners (members) of the Church, who confess the true faith, but on account of the defilement of vice (vitiorum sordes) have need of the purging fires."[2] And again, "As we believe that the torments of the Devil, and of all infidel (negatorum) and wicked men who have said in their hearts 'there is no God,' are eternal, so of sinners, although Christians,[3] whose works are to be tried and purged by fire (in igne), we believe that the sentence of the Judge will be lenient (moderatam), and tempered with mercy."

"Let me not be amongst those," says St. Augustine, "to whom Thou wilt hereafter say, *Go into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels. Neither chasten me in Thy hot displeasure*, so that thou mayest cleanse me in this life, and make me such that I may after that stand in no need of the cleansing fire for those *who are to be saved so as by fire.* Why? Why, but because they *built upon the foundation wood, stubble and hay.* Now they should build on it *gold, silver and precious stones*, and should have nothing to fear from either fire; not only that which is to consume the ungodly for ever, but also that which is to purge those who are to escape through (per) the fire. For it is said, *he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire.* And because it is said *he shall be saved* that fire is thought lightly of. For all that, though we shall be *saved by fire*, yet will that fire be more grievous than anything that man can suffer in this life whatsoever."[4] Again, "But if he shall have built on the foundation wood, hay, stubble, that is, have built worldly attachments on the foundation of his faith; yet if Christ be in the foundation, so that He have the first place in the heart, and nothing absolutely is preferred to Him, even such are borne, even such are tolerated. The furnace shall come, it shall burn the wood, the hay, the stubble: but 'himself, he saith, shall be saved, yet so as by fire.' This shall the furnace do; some shall sever to the left, others it shall in a manner melt out to the right."[5]

To illustrate the doctrine of the Eastern Church a passage may first be quoted from St. Clement of Alexandria: "We say that fire sanctifies not flesh, but sinful souls, speaking of that fire which is not all-devouring, such as is used by artisans (*παμφάγον καὶ βάνανσον*), but of that which is discriminative (*φρόνιμον*), pervading the soul which passes through the fire."[6] Origen often speaks of the Judgment day fire: thus he says that though Peter and Paul must pass through the fire, they shall hear the words, "When thou passest through the fire, the flame shall not harm thee."[7] St. Basil, in his *Commentary on Isaiah* [iv. 4], says that baptism may be understood in three senses—in the one, of regeneration by the Holy Spirit; in another, of the punishment of sin in the present life; and in a third, "of the trial of judgment by fire." And that they who have committed deadly sins after they have received the knowledge of the truth, need the judgment which is by fire[8] (*τῆς ἐν τῷ καύματι κρίσεως*). And in his work on the Holy Spirit, illustrating the passage "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," he calls the trial of judgment a "baptism of fire;" as the Apostle says, "the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is."[9]

St. Gregory of Nazianzum, speaking of the Novatians, says: "Perchance in the future world they shall be baptized with fire, the last baptism more severe and long continued, which devours as grass the stubble, and consumes every vestige of wickedness"[10] (*δαπανᾷ πάσης κακίας κουφότητα*). And in one of his poems he speaks of standing in fear of the fiery river of judgment[11] (*μεσος φόβων ἕστηκα πυρωπόταμου*).

St. Gregory Nyssen says, speaking of infants who die unbaptized: "How shall we judge of those who thus died? Shall that soul behold its Judge, and shall it be placed with others before His tribunal? Shall its past life be judged, and will it receive a deserved recompence, purified by fire according to the teaching (*φωνὰς*) of the Gospel, or refreshed by the dew of benediction?"[12] And he teaches, in another oration, that "we must either be purified in this present life by prayer and the love of wisdom (*φιλοσοφίας*), or after our departure hence in the furnace of the purging fire."[13]

Such was the teaching of the Fathers on the Judgment day Purgatory: they seem to have universally, except St. Chrysostom,[14] interpreted in a literal sense the passage of St. Paul which we are illustrating. They also maintained that this interpretation was confirmed by quotations (already given) from the Old Testament; and unquestionably it must be admitted that the passage at least will bear, if it does not positively require, such an interpretation. The Judgment day purgation entirely differs from the Roman Catholic doctrine as

capax illa Dei Virgo ventura est, desiderare quis audebit a Deo judicari?" [*Tract. in Psalm.* cxviii. lit. 3, sec. 12].

[1] Hierom. *in Psalm.* cxviii. Serm. xx. sec. 12, *et vid.* sec. 15.

[2] Hierom. *Comment. in Amos*, lib. iii. c. 7.

[3] The common reading is, "sic peccatorum atque impiorum et tamen Christianorum." "In vetustiori Ambrosiano MS. 'sic peccatorum et tamen Christianorum,' verius opinor ad Hieronymi mentem." *Note*, Migne ed.

[4] Augustine *on the Psalms*, vol. ii. p. 71, Oxf. transl.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 105.

[6] Clem. Alex. *Stromata*, lib. v. c. 6.

[7] Orig. *Homil.* iii. *in Psalm.* xxxvi., *vid. Homil.* vi. *in Exod.*

[8] Basil. *Opera*, tom. i. *in loc.* Gaume.

[9] *Ibid.* iii. p. 40.

[10] Greg. Naz. *Opera*, tom. ii. c. 358, Migne.

[11] *Ibid.* iii. c. 1423.

[12] Greg. Nyss. iii. c. 161.

[13] *Ibid.* tom. iii. c. 498.

[14] St. Chrysostom (*Comment. in loco*) interprets "shall be saved so as by fire" of the eternal fire of Hell, in which the wicked shall be preserved in being, but has *σώζω* ever this meaning in the New Testament? It is *always*, apparently, used in a good sense.

Purgatory

Bellarmine admits,[1] and has not been censured or condemned by the English Church.

But there was another doctrine held generally by the Fathers of the Western Church, which resembled, at least, the Roman Catholic tenet,—namely, that there exists a state of temporary punishment for sin in the intermediate life between death and the resurrection. Thus Tertullian speaks of the widow praying for her departed husband's soul, begging for him in the interim (*i.e.* before the resurrection) a cooling place or place of refreshment[2] (refrigerium interim adpostulat ei), the same word refrigerium also occurs in inscriptions in the Catacombs, as "Deus refrigeret spiritum tuum." In the vision of St. Perpetua, she sees her brother in a dark place, heated and thirsty, and with a countenance foul and pallid. After frequent prayer for him she has another vision: the place before dark was now light, and she sees her brother clean, well-clothed, and refreshed (refrigeratum); then she knew that he was removed from punishment[3] (translatum eum esse de pœna). St. Augustine commemorates the martyrdom of St. Perpetua, and implicitly at least admits and sanctions the doctrine her visions imply, of a temporary punishment for sin in the intermediate state. He also says, in one of his latest works, "some endure punishment in this life, others after death, others both now and then, and yet *before* that most terrible judgment."[4] In the Mozarabic and Gallican Liturgies we find the same teaching—prayer is offered for the dead, as being then in a state of suffering or punishment, and even as enduring the torment of lost souls.[5]

The passages last quoted from Fathers of the Western Church appear to imply that the faithful departed generally are in a state of temporary suffering, and such in the West was probably the prevailing belief; but we find in the Eastern Church another and apparently different teaching. Throughout the Eastern Liturgies there is no express mention of the purgatorial suffering of souls in the intermediate state. In the Apostolical Constitutions and in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the Church prays for those who rest in faith.[6] Even in the Roman Canon there is only a prayer for those resting in Christ,[7] and a common inscription in the Catacombs over the departed is "in pace." Such statements are not indeed necessarily inconsistent with the state of the departed Christian being a state of suffering; for even then he would rest from the sorrows and trials of life, and have the assured hope of eternal life. Still, where there is no direct allusion (as in the Mozarabic and Gallican Missals) to the suffering of the departed, we cannot fairly and reasonably suppose that a state of suffering is implied when the faithful departed are said to be at rest. Such an expression must be taken in its ordinary meaning, as denoting a more or less perfect happiness. Besides, the Eucharistic sacrifice was offered for all the faithful departed, as the ancient patriarchs, saints, and the Blessed Virgin, who were not considered to be in a state of suffering; and though it by no means follows that all commemorated with them were enjoying like happiness, still we may suppose that, had the state of the departed been ordinarily one of torment, a distinct allusion would have occurred to their purgatorial suffering and the hope of deliverance from it. Again, some of the Fathers, as St. Cyprian, speak of the happiness of the faithful departed and of the joys which at once await them on their departure from this life.[8] Thus there was apparently in early ages a difference between the teaching of the Eastern and Western Church on the state of the departed, a difference which still exists and may be illustrated from their present belief.

"The doctrine of the Fathers," says Palmer, "and of the early Church, of the present Greek or orthodox Church, and of the other separated Eastern Churches, is this, that, speaking generally and upon the whole, the state of the faithful departed is a state of light and rest and peace and refreshment, of happiness far greater than any belonging to this life, yet inferior to that which shall be enjoyed after the resurrection and final judgment. The doctrine of the Latins, on the other hand, is this that, speaking generally and upon the whole, the state of the faithful departed is a state of penal torment, differing from that of hell only in the certainty of future deliverance." And afterwards: "There are souls in the lower ranks of them that may yet be saved, of which the Greeks can think with hope, and yet cannot think of, as of their being at once and absolutely and unmixedly in a state

[1] "Sane hanc sententiam quæ docet omnes transituros per ignem licet non omnes lædendi sunt ab igne, nec auderem pro vera asserere, nec ut errorem improbare" [*De Purgatorio*, lib. ii. c. 1].

[2] *De Monogamia*, c. x.

[3] Ruinart, *Acta Martyr.* pars 1, p. 196, &c. [Galura ed.]

[4] *De Civitate*, lib. xxi. c. 13.

[5] Thus in the Mozarabic Missal: "Tu fidelium defunctorum spiritus e locis pœnalibus (*al.* a pœnali conditione) exime" [*Feria tertia post Pasche*]. "In defunctis pœnalis combustio evanescat" [*Feria quinta Pasche*]. "Defuncti eruantur pœnis" [*Feria sexta Pasche*]. "Offerimus pro indulgentia fidelium defunctorum ut mutata sorte tristium mansionum felici perfruantur societate justorum" [*In Nativitate Domini*]. Other similar expressions occur as "eruas e tenebrosa infernali caligine." The following prayer is given from the Gothico-Gallican Missal: "Istis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur ut si qui peccatorum meritis inferni tenebris et suppliciis detinentur misericordia tua oramus, indulge clementia, eosque ad requiem transire præcipias, et prima anastasi cum sanctis et electis tuis jubeas sociari ut portio tua sint in terra viventium."

[6] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων δεηθῶμεν, lib. viii. c. 13. Also in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων Προπατόρων . . . καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος δικαίου ἐν πίστει τετελευμένου. In other Liturgies, as of St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, there is prayer for the rest and forgiveness of the departed (τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον: St. Mark).

[7] "Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum qui nos processerunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis Domine et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur" [*Canon Missæ*].

[8] See his treatise *De Mortalitate*, where he dwells on the happiness which the faithful immediately possess on their release from the temptations and sufferings of the world.

of happiness. But of such they think as needing the prayers and oblations of the Church to procure their refreshment and to lighten them τῶν κατεχόντων ἀυτους ανιαρῶν."[1] This writer thinks that the difference of belief as to this doctrine between the two Churches is not essential or fundamental, as the Greeks admit that some of the souls in the intermediate place are in a state of suffering. Perhaps not: still there *is* a real and important difference in the teaching of the Churches—one maintaining that almost all the souls of the faithful are in a state of suffering, the other that, generally and on the whole, they are in a state of rest and happiness.

The difference may be thus further illustrated. The Latin Church whilst admitting the great importance of prayers for the dead in mitigating or shortening their sufferings, believes that the departed must mainly *themselves* in Hades make an atonement for their past sins, paying off the debt due to Divine Justice: whilst, on the other hand, the Eastern Church, allowing that some of the faithful departed are in a state of suffering, though such is not generally the case, believe that their pardon, or their "sins being done away," mainly depends on the prayers and alms and the offering on their behalf of the Holy Sacrifice.[2] No language can be more emphatic than that of St. Chrysostom, in attributing the greatest possible efficacy to prayers, &c. for the dead, implying that their condition is well-nigh hopeless unless they have relatives or friends to intercede, &c. for them;[3] though not denying that some departed Christians are in a state of suffering, and gain an alleviation by the prayers of their friends—passages from his Homilies evidently imply such a belief[4]—still the mention of, or allusion to, penal sufferings is not as explicit, nor does it hold the same place as in the teaching of writers of the Western Church.

Concluding with the Easterns that there was no certain tradition in the early Church on the state of the departed, a few remarks may be added as to the teaching of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers.[5]

The Scriptures expressly declare that the faithful who die in the Lord "rest from their labours" [Rev. xiv. 13]—a statement to be received in its literal and obvious meaning, and which is quite inconsistent with the belief that almost all departed Christians are for a time in a state of suffering or punishment. Besides, as we have seen, the teaching of the Fathers and Liturgies of the Eastern Church is inconsistent with the ordinary belief of Roman Catholics. So clear and express indeed is scriptural and patristic teaching on this point, that the Church of Rome does not assert, whatever may be the common belief of her members, that Purgatory is a state of suffering. The souls of the departed there "detained"—nothing more is said *de fide*—are helped by prayer and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Had the Church of Rome, instead of speaking of souls "detained," defined that they were punished in Purgatory (*cruciatæ*, as in the Tridentine Catechism, instead of *detentæ*), and thus made penal pain its normal state, Scripture, tradition and the unanimous belief of the Eastern Church, would have been contradicted and set aside. Hence, whilst teaching in the Tridentine Catechism that souls are "cruciatæ" in Purgatory—of which "tormented" is the popular equivalent—a very different word is used in the decrees of the Council, which really leaves the main question undetermined. Again, the Eastern Church allows that some at least of the faithful who will finally be saved are enduring temporary suffering in Hades, and *so far* symbolizes with the usual teaching of the Latin Church.

That in the intermediate state there must be a preparation for the final judgment, that the souls of the departed will then be amended or purified, is clear from our Lord's description of the day of judgment. All mankind, He teaches, will at the judgment day be arranged into two classes, finally and determinately, good or evil. A change must therefore have taken place in the condition of many after their departure from the world, since the great mass of Christians do not belong to one class or the other. They are partly good and partly evil, even the lives of those mainly on God's side are imperfect and stained with sin, so that in their present state they are manifestly unfit for His presence and kingdom; and in the case of others who we may hope will finally be saved, there is a far greater amount of imper-

[1] *Dissertations on the Orthodox Communion*, p. 124, *Purgatory* [1853]. The Eastern Bishops, in their correspondence with the Nonjurors at the beginning of last century, thus speak of the Latin doctrine, "As for the purgatorial fire invented by the Papists to command the purse of the ignorant, we will by no means hear of it. For it is a fiction and a doting fable invented for lucre and to deceive the simple; and, in a word, has no existence but in the imagination. There is no appearance or mention of it in the Sacred Scriptures or Holy Fathers, whatever the authors or abettors of it may clamour to the contrary. But we say that the benefactions and holy sacrifices, the alms and prayers of the Church and her priests for the dead, are the things that greatly profit them, and not the purgatorial fire, which does not by any means anywhere exist. For these relieve the pains which the souls suffer in Ἅδης, as is plain from the centurion, whose son our Lord healed at the centurion's petition, and from the paralytic whom He recovered by a double cure, for the faith of those that brought him to Him, and might be proved from a thousand other instances as clear as the sun." [*The Orthodox and Nonjurors*, by Williams, pp. 47, 48, A.D. 1868.]

[2] For if barbarians burn the goods of the departed together with them, more were it a righteous thing for thee to send away with the dead what things he hath, not to be turned to ashes with those, but to invest him with more glory; and that if he departed a sinner, it may do away his sins, but if righteous, it may become an increase of reward and recompence. [St. Chrysostom, *Homilies on St. Matthew*, p. 456, Oxf. transl.]

[3] "How then say you, if he (the departed Christian) be desolate and a stranger and have none to care for him? And why is it that he has none, I ask you? In this very thing thou sufferest thy desert, that thou hast none to be thus thy friend, thus virtuous, &c." [*Homily on Acts*, p. 309, Oxf. transl.]

[4] See *Homily on St. John*, p. 553, Oxf. transl.: "to procure some comfort for him," &c.

[5] Dr. King says the Greek Church "does by no means allow the (Latin) doctrine of Purgatory, or define anything dogmatically of the state or condition of departed souls." [*The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*, p. 17, A.D. 1772.]

fection and sinfulness. The intermediate state being thus one of preparation, each soul will be dealt with according to its individual wants or condition, some, it may be, amended by temporary chastisement, and others prepared for judgment by instruction in divine knowledge, which they had no opportunity of acquiring whilst on earth. The intermediate state has thus a bearing upon, and prepares for, the terrible judgment of the last day.[1]

Another awful inquiry remains—Who amongst the great mass of imperfect and unworthy Christians will, after whatever purgation, be finally saved? That Christians finally impenitent will go into everlasting punishment is certain by the Word of God, and thus that some men have sinned beyond the hope of repentance and pardon. Roman Catholics assert, according to a theory first proposed by the Schoolmen, that the *venial* sins of the righteous only are purified by purgatorial suffering, and that they who die in mortal sin without repentance are eternally lost. Sins undoubtedly may be classed as venial and mortal, and the distinction is a true and real one. But our almost insuperable difficulty is to make in each case the distinction required. A venial sin, in one instance, may be mortal in another; the circumstances under which it is committed materially alter or even determine its character. Were this classification strictly adhered to, few comparatively could have the hope of a future expiation of sin; the mass of imperfect and unworthy Christians would be eternally beyond the hope of mercy or pardon. But whatever explanation may be given of the Roman Catholic theory, and no doubt practically it is interpreted with considerable latitude, the theory, whether probable or not, is at least a novel one; as the Fathers do *not* speak of the *venial* sins of Christians only being forgiven, either in the intermediate state or by the judgment day purgation, but of sin in general, even grievous and mortal sin.[2] On this subject, it must be remembered, we have not the guidance either of Scripture or tradition, and thus can only speak doubtfully or conjecturally. Undoubtedly God will deal with each soul according to its own particular condition. He only can know whether faith and love still exist in any degree in the heart, though well-nigh buried beneath earthly imperfection and corruption; or if sin have been wilfully committed, or through ignorance and almost irresistible temptation; the due allowance also to be made for prejudices often apparently insuperable, and for wrong and defective education. He only, in a word, can fully know, but He will assuredly compassionate, the weakness of fallen nature with its manifold errors and shortcomings. Should the *probability* of the mediæval theory be admitted, the subtleties of modern casuistry must be laid aside, and we must leave to infinite wisdom and mercy to make in each case the right distinction.

The "Romish" doctrine of Purgatory, censured in the XXII. Article, is that which was believed and taught in the sixteenth century, mainly founded on legends of the Middle Ages, and which, in connection with the sale of indulgences, gave the first impulse to the Reformation in Germany.

PURIFICATION OF WOMEN. By the law of Moses [Lev. xii.], after the birth of a son, the mother was unclean for forty days, and after the birth of a daughter for eighty days. At the end of the period she presented herself at the door of the Tabernacle for re-admission to its offices. If of sufficient means, she brought a lamb and a pigeon; if not, a pair of turtles or two young pigeons [Luke ii. 24]. One of these was for a burnt-offering, one for a sin-offering. Our Christian practice for women to return thanks to God after child-birth has been derived *through*, rather than *from*, the Jewish rite. It is but reasonable that the restoration of the woman to the privileges of the Church should be accompanied by a solemn thanksgiving for deliverance in her great danger. The title of the service, "The Thanksgiving of Women after Child-birth," was adopted in 1552 to bring this point into prominence. The old Sarum title, "Ordo ad purificandam mulierem post partum," and that in the Prayer Book of 1549, "The Order of the Purification of Women," seemed to mark an unholiness in the woman which the service removed.[3] The Puritans objected to the use of the service altogether, upon this ground. "For what doth else this churching imply but a restoring her unto the Church, which cannot be without some bar or shutting forth presupposed?" They complained, too, that if we returned thanks to God solemnly and expressly for all mercies equal to this, there would be no time left for preaching, or for the Sacraments. Their objections have been answered by Whitgift and Hooker.[4] In the Sarum Use the service was read at the church door, "ante ostium ecclesiæ:" in the Book of 1549, "nigh unto the quire door," afterwards at the altar-rails: now at "some convenient place." It is thus left to the discretion of the minister, but on all accounts, comparing the final rubric on the expediency of the woman's receiving

[1] "As no soul," says a modern Lutheran bishop, "leaves this present existence in a fully complete and prepared state, we must suppose that there is an intermediate state, a realm of progressive development in which souls are prepared and matured for the final judgment. Though the Romish doctrine of Purgatory is repudiated, because it is mixed up with so many crude and false positions, it nevertheless contains the truth that the intermediate state must, in a purely spiritual sense, be a Purgatory designed for the purifying of the soul." [Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics*, p. 457; Clark's transl.]

[2] As St. Jerome [*Dial. ad Pelagianos*, lib. i. sec. 28]; St. Cyril of Jerusalem [*Lecture* xxiii. *Myst.* 5], the translator says that St. Cyril's teaching is contradictory to Roman doctrine on Purgatory [*note*, p. 276, Oxf. transl.]; St. Chrysostom [*Homilies on the Acts*, p. 308; Oxford transl.].

[3] The rubric in the Sarum rite expressly disclaims this interpretation: "Nota quod mulieres post prolem emissam quandoque ecclesiam intrare voluerunt gratias acturæ purificari possunt, et nulla proinde peccati mole gravantur, nec ecclesiarum aditus est eis deregandus; ne pœna illis verti videatur in culpam."

[4] In Keble's third ed. of Hooker's works, ii. pp. 434-438 [bk. V. lxxiv. 1-4], the objections of Cartwright and replies of Whitgift are given in the notes.

the Holy Communion, the choir door is the most fitting place. The solemn re-admission of the woman to divine service of the Sarum Use has been wholly discontinued.[1] In the opening address in 1549, "and your child baptism," is added as a subject for thanksgiving. The woman, too, was to "offer her chrisom and other accustomed offerings;" and Hooker justifies the term "oblations" as applied to these offerings. The "decently apparelled" of our Book refers to the custom of wearing a veil for this service. An instance is given[2] of a woman not conforming to an order in the diocese of Norwich that all should come veiled, who was excommunicated. On the case coming before the judges, the bishops were consulted, and they pronounced that the ancient usage of the Church of England was for women to come veiled.

Palmer says that all the Western rituals, and that of Constantinople, had offices for this rite. A service of the tenth century is given by Migne,[3] "Benedictio puerperæ secundum usum Æthiopum."

PURITANISM. In English history, a form of religion claiming to be more pure than the form of the Church. The Puritans, the great anti-hierarchical party, as outside the Church, date from the formation of Presbyterian congregations in 1566; and the Nonconformists of the Revolution are the last phase of old English Puritanism. Modern Puritans are usually called by other names, and there has been sufficient change of character to justify the distinction. This party was in general Calvinistic in doctrine, anti-episcopal in church government, democratic in politics. Its objects cannot be better stated than in the words of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, who wrote to the Protestants of Holland, France, and Switzerland, "The houses of parliament have convened this assembly to assist them with our best advice for the reformation of the Church, for the purging of error and superstition, and retrieving the purity of religion: and here they require us to make God's Word the standard, to work by the pattern in the Mount, to endeavour the nearest conformity to the best reformed churches, and to bring the three kingdoms to an uniformity in belief and worship. And this is the business we are now upon, though the enemy has stirred up the heart of our dear and dread sovereign against us. However, through the good hand of God upon us, we have made some comfortable beginnings;"—that is to say, the Parliament army was in the field, the bishops' estates were sequestered, Lord Strafford had been beheaded, Bishops Wren and Laud were in the Tower.

[1] "Deinde inducat eam sacerdos per manum dextram in ecclesiam, dicens: Ingredere in templum Dei ut habeas vitam æternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

[2] Hooker, quoted above. See also *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, p. 304.

[3] The anointing the forehead of the woman and child "sacra unctione," the imposition of hands, the reception of Holy Communion, the giving of incense, are parts of this rite. The final prayer is of great length, but is very curious. The service is printed in Migne's *Cursus*, Paris, 1841, vol. cxxxvii.

The principles of this party must be learned by ascertaining what was common to the two great bodies, Presbyterians and Independents: for notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Presbyterians when the Independents took their work out of their hands, and the bitter scorn with which Milton, the mouthpiece of the Independents assailed them, historians have always classed these bodies together as Puritans. For the statement of these principles Neale may be trusted, except that he writes as a Presbyterian, and that his statement must be modified so as not to exclude the Independents. He gives the Puritan principles as follows:—

I. The introduction of reformations is not to be left to the civil power: for the Apostolic rule "That all things be done decently and in order," mean what it will, was not directed to the prince or civil magistrate.

II. The Pope is Antichrist, the Church of Rome no true Church, all her ministrations superstitious and idolatrous, the validity of her ordinations therefore, though claiming to be by succession from the Apostles, not to be trusted.

III. The Holy Scriptures are a standard of discipline as well as of doctrine: and if it be proved that all things necessary to the government of the Church cannot be deduced from Scripture, the discretionary power is not in the magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the Church.

IV. No church officers or ordinances to be admitted but such as are appointed in Scripture. The government ordained by the Apostles was aristocratic, according to the constitution of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and a pattern for after ages.

V. Things left indifferent by Christ not to be made necessary by any human law. Such rites and ceremonies as had been abused to idolatry are no longer indifferent, but unlawful.

VI. Uniformity in public worship is necessary, and the magistrate ought to enforce it; the standard of uniformity being the decrees of provincial and national synods. [Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, i. p. 95, 4th ed. 1754.][4]

The aristocratical principle must be left out, and so much of these six articles as can be joined on to the democratic principle of Independency may be taken as the rules of Puritanism. For the Independent principle Milton may be quoted: "But when every good Christian, thoroughly acquainted with all those glorious privileges of sanctification and adoption . . . shall be restored to his right in the Church, and not excluded from such place of spiritual government, as his Christian abilities and his approved good life . . . shall prefer him to, this and nothing sooner will open his eyes to a wise and true valuation of himself, &c. And this I hold to be a considerable reason why the functions of Church government ought to be free and open to any Christian man, though never so laic, if his capacity, his faith, and pru-

[4] There is a treatise [*English Puritanism*] by William Bradshaw, 1605. Neal gives an abstract of it [i. 447], with the remark that the reader will learn the near affinity between the principles of the ancient and modern Nonconformists.

dent demeanour commend him" [Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, ii. c. 3].

The discussion of these principles of Puritanism has employed our best divines from Whitgift to Hammond. They need not here be dealt with from any other than the historical point of view, and it is only necessary to notice [1] the causes, [2] the progress, [3] the religious character of Puritanism, and [4] its effects upon our Church and nation.

It will be remembered that the intercourse between England and the "Reformed Churches" did not create the anti-church party. That party, as modified by such intercourse, we call Puritan; but its origin is traceable to an earlier date. The common jealousy of the clergy which united the Lollards had prepared a fit soil for the seed of Geneva, and the produce was English Nonconformity, the main body of which was Puritanism.

I. In his singularly instructive tract on *Church Controversies*, Bacon has noted four principal causes and motives of schisms and divisions.

[1.] Imperfections in the conversation and government of those which have chief place in the Church: it being the double policy of the spiritual enemy, either by counterfeit holiness of life to establish and authorize errors, or by corruption of manners to discredit and draw in question truth and things lawful.

[2.] The nature and humour of some men who love an inward authority over men's minds, in drawing them to depend upon their opinions and to seek knowledge at their lips. These men are the true successors of Diotrephes, the lover of pre-eminence, and not lord bishops. Such spirits light upon another sort of natures, which do adhere to these men: "quorum gloria in obsequio:" stiff followers, and such as zeal marvellously for those whom they have chosen for their masters.

[3.] The extreme and unlimited detestation of some former heresy or corruption of the Church already acknowledged and convicted. Many think it to be the true touchstone to try what is good and evil, by measuring what is more or less opposite to the institutions of the Church of Rome, be it ceremony, be it policy, or government; yea, be it other institutions of greater weight, that is ever most perfect which is removed most degrees from that Church; and that is ever polluted and blemished which participateth in any appearance with it.

[4.] The partial affectation and imitation of foreign churches.

The operation of the first of these causes must be referred principally to the times before Elizabeth. The refugees returned on Mary's death, not merely open to such an influence, but also fully ripe for schism. The misconduct of the prelates had produced its effect, and the teaching of the foreign Protestants had been too faithfully received. While it must be confessed that this first cause has operated more or less through the whole career of the Church of England, there was certainly no special cause of scandal in the conduct of the Elizabethan bishops

The second cause has never perhaps received so signal an exemplification as it received in Calvin and Beza. The authoritative interference of these two in the Church affairs of England is well known. Collier's pithy remark upon Calvin's letter to the Protector Somerset is of general application, "He addresses the Protector as if the government of the Church was almost wholly at his disposal." And it may be noticed that when the Nonconformists rejected the advice of Calvin and Beza, they did so not only by a more strict adherence to the principles of their leaders, but as if they felt that the leaders would be better pleased by the rejection than by the acceptance of the advice. [Collier, vi. 435 and v. pp. 353-5, ed. 1852; Keble's *Preface* to Hooker, p. liv.]

An example of the working of the third cause may be seen in the engagement taken by the Puritans, the leading principle of which is "In the Church of the traditioners there is no other discipline than that which hath been maintained by the antichristian pope of Rome; . . . for the which cause I refuse them" [Collier, vi. p. 528-9].

For the fourth of the causes named, the platform of Geneva was avowedly the ideal of the early Puritans, and the Westminster Assembly nearly a century later, set up the same standard.

II. It will have been seen from the instances already given, that after Mary's death the time was past when the mere surrender of certain ceremonies supposed to be superstitious, and the removal of certain acknowledged abuses, would have satisfied those who called for reformation.[1]

The refugees from the Continent had proceeded to the stage of condemning the government of bishops as an hierarchy remaining to us of the corruptions of the Romish Church,[2] and very soon advanced to claiming the establishment of Genevan policy as the only and perpetual form of policy in the Church. At an earlier period many perhaps would have been satisfied by the removal of abuses. But reformations sought in a tumultuary and insubordinate manner are naturally refused—the abuses are then defended, and made a part of the system attacked. And so it happened with the calls for reformation during the fifteenth century. "Even the wild follies of Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and many others of their class were but the exaggerated outcome of the conviction of the necessity of reformation, and much of these men's wildness and folly was provoked by the stolid opposition with which their better aspirations were met by those

1 See Bacon's *Tract.* Bacon does not name the periods of history to which he refers. If in his first stage of the growth and progression of the controversies he has in mind the disputes of Elizabeth's day, he underrates the amount of the antagonism to Episcopacy which possessed the early Puritans.

2 The contrary is often stated. The opinion of a foreigner may be quoted: "Maxime ii, qui sub prosecutione Mariæ hactenus in Belgio, Helvetia, Germania exulaverant, implacabile imbiberant odium et cærimoniarum omnium et episcopalis disciplinæ" [Daniel, *Codex. Liturg.* iii. p. 306].

in authority." A more timely reformation would probably have been effected without (at least) the growth of so large an anti-church party. Perhaps it might have been effected without leaving any abiding schism in England. The delay of reformation, then, in the fifteenth century led to the formation of the anti-church party, and the Puritans, as we have limited the term, were from the first ripe for schism, and without delay entered on a course of schism. Their leaders in Elizabeth's time would have been quite at home in the Westminster Assembly. The continuance to the last of certain abuses doubtless aggravated their hostility: but had the routine of the ecclesiastical courts been amended, and residence of the clergy been better enforced, still there would have remained the determination to introduce Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. Episcopacy to them was at its best a relic of Popery.

The growth of Puritanism, then, was rather an increase of numbers than a development of principle: while at the same time the stiff refusal to make any change afforded but too good a handle for the opponents of the Church. "A contentious retaining of custom," said Bacon, "is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation. . . . Is nothing amiss? Can any man defend the use of excommunication as a base process to lackey up and down for duties and fees; it being a precursory judgment of the latter day?"

On the other hand is to be noticed the growth of the true doctrine of Episcopacy. The uncertainty in the minds of some of the divines of the Reformation on this point may be seen in the resolution of several bishops and divines to Henry VIII.'s questions, printed by Burnet and Collier [Collier, ix. p. 175, ed. 1852]. This uncertainty arose from the difficulty and confusion of thought attending the transfer of the supremacy from the Pope to the King. The Pope's supremacy had been wrongfully extended so as to make him, in the minds of many, the only source of episcopal power, and such men did not properly limit the supremacy in its transfer to the Crown. They could not at once accept the notion that spiritual power was conferred by succession of bishops from the Apostles, without some one centre from which the power was to emanate; nor did they at once distinguish between this spiritual power, and the jurisdiction in an Established Church which the Crown has to confer. It was only by degrees that our controversial divines assumed their true ground [see Keble's *Preface* to Hooker]. It is difficult to conjecture what would have been the effect on the controversy had the true ground been taken from the first. At any rate, the opponents of Episcopacy would not have had the right on their side when arguing against the true principles of Episcopacy, as they had when arguing against the excess of the Regale. The Puritans were right in claiming a larger degree of independent authority for the Church than was allowed by the early notions of the supremacy: they were wrong in that they lodged that power in wrong hands.

III. *The Character of Puritan religion.* In considering this point one is glad to remember that not a few of the Puritans, especially in later times, were able to rise above the system of their sect, and to keep themselves clear from the evils to which its principles naturally led. Those principles (which had indeed their consistent result in the general body), may be brought together into this radical form, that the Church (*i.e.* the body which stood to the Puritans in the place of the Church) was a holy body, not as in Christ, but inasmuch and in so far as each individual member was holy: that each member by his individual holiness helped to make up a holy Church.[1] It is not meant that this was distinctly enunciated as the principle of the sect, but that it was the error which really underlay their thoughts and guided their conduct. Nor, considering the formation of the body, could it have been otherwise. The refugees who fled to avoid persecution returned to the Church, not as children to a mother, but as men who thought that they had become wiser and holier than their mother. They returned to a Church not good enough for them. And those in England who joined them, joined them on precisely the same ground. The notion of individual holiness was the very ground of the separation. It is a notion that must be found more or less in all separatists, but may exist in very different degrees according to the cause of separation. With the Puritans it existed in its widest extent, as their very name shews. Now this putting forward the individual (not to name the pride and conceit which necessarily accompanies it) leads to a magnifying one branch of religion at the expense of the other branch. True religion is not only in the direct reference of the individual to Almighty God, but also in the access to Him as one of His family, as a member of Christ's Body. Nor can the former of these be of a right kind without the latter. In Puritanism the sense of the holiness of the Church as Christ's Body was lost, and access to God through the Church was not recognised, or was greatly impeded. The former branch of religion, the direct reference of the individual to God, appeared to be heightened, but was really injured in its character by the loss or depreciation of the latter. Still, this direct reference of each man to God, in the sense of personal responsibility, is the fairest aspect of Puritanic religion. As such it is dwelt upon, *e.g.* in the laudatory preface to *English Puritanism, Documents.* The intensity of the realization of God's Presence is the key-note of the laudation, and yet the very terms of the eulogy betray the imperfect belief of the Puritan, and the cause of the imperfection. The Puritan may have realized the presence of the Sovereign and the Lawgiver, but he did not approach the Father. For he who has not the Church for his mother has not God for his Father, and he who separates himself from the Church, although his schism may

[1] See Maurice, *Discourses on St. John*, xxii.-xxiii. xxiv.; and the note on these discourses,—particularly the paragraphs in xxii. regarding this error as exemplified in the Jewish sects. Professor Maurice does not make the application to the Puritans.

not be so entire as utterly to destroy his sonship, yet renounces its privileges.

How little this alleged realization of God's Presence was effectual in the body at large history tells. "Every advancing stage of that unexampled progress more and more demonstrates the irreconcileable contrariety of the whole anti-hierarchical genus with the Church of England; and that the innate instinct of the former is to bear down and extinguish the latter. And most impressively are we taught what kind of religious and moral institute such reformers would substitute in its room. The religious principles of a Brooke, a Hampden, or a Pym, might doubtless have kept them inwardly upright, and outwardly blameless, in common times; but we see that in a season of uncommon temptation, instead of preserving them, they disposed those men and others of like mind, not only to engage in a ruthless party war, but to become its chief promoters and leaders. Perhaps, because there was still some good in those heresiarchs, they were taken from the scene before the evolving of its full-grown horrors. These, however, we see acted by men not less ardent formerly in Puritanic zeal, and still retaining in show and exercise the self-same character. There is no atrocious act of blood to which they do not coolly and deliberately proceed, and with which they do not associate and blend the semblance of severe and energetic devotion. Cromwell embodies in himself all the qualities of his fellow-actors in that revolting tragedy; and going on with him, from that letter of his, in the sketch of his history in the *Quarterly Review*, until the colloquy at the last between him and Dr. Goodwin, we have altogether such an exemplification of fallacious religion, as I suppose never was equally afforded in this world's history" [A. Knox to Bishop Jebb, *Correspondence*, ii. p. 482]. It is vain then to attempt to substitute a sense of individual responsibility for the nurture, the strength, the grace which flow from membership in the Body of Christ; and the fear of God apart from that membership, at the best, has the sternness and severity which arises from considering God as a Lawgiver, not a Father, a fear easily degenerating into abject awe towards God and moroseness towards men. This character of the Puritan fear of God was in most cases heightened by a fatalistic interpretation of the doctrine of election, and by the horrible dogma of reprobation.

It is easy to follow out the radical error of Puritanism into its effects upon the doctrine and use of the sacraments, upon public worship, upon all that depends on the Catholic doctrine of the communion of saints. The Holy Eucharist no longer held its place as the central act of Christian worship: the prevailing notion of individual holiness dictated the extemporary prayer and the exaggerated sermon: public worship and public teaching were marred.

It is also to be observed that the rejection of tradition and of the Primitive Church, the determination to have Scripture authority for every observance, led to a manner of handling Holy Scripture which, while exalting it in name, in reality is most derogatory to its supremacy. The Puritan was obliged to "resort to naked examples, conceited inferences and forced allusions, such as do mine under all certainty of religion." And particularly, as the New Testament evidently does not contain all that the Puritan was determined to find in Scripture, he was obliged to have recourse to the Old Testament, to take his measures and rule from the old dispensation. Hence he became Jewish rather than Christian in spirit. Daniel has noticed this Judaic spirit in the liturgic forms (if they deserve to be so called) of the Reformed Churches. He attributes it to following the pattern of the earliest days of the Christian Church before she was emancipated from the discipline of the synagogue. And of the reformed bodies with which the Puritans were in closest connection he writes, "Apud Batavos et præsertim apud Scotos et Helvetos pristina morositas et genus rituum exile locum suum obtinuit" [*Codex Liturgicus*, iii. pp. 6, 18. See also pp. 4, 5, regarding the Judaic spirit in general in the Reformed Churches].

Upon the whole, this point may be concluded as Bacon concluded it, "I know they have zeal and hatred of sin, but again let them take heed that it be not true which one of their adversaries said, that they have but two small wants, knowledge and love."

IV. That to the Puritans we owe much of the civil liberty we now enjoy is undeniable. That they shewed no tolerance themselves is equally clear. That which remained of their spirit in the Church has been much strengthened by subsequent intercourse with them; and their opposition to the authority of tradition, their low estimate and teaching regarding the sacraments, their sabbatarianism, their unreasoning protestantism, their uncharitableness, are still prevalent.

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QUADRAGESIMA. [Lent.]

QUAKERISM. The popular name of Quakers is given to a religious community known among its members as "The Society of Friends," which originated with George Fox, about A.D. 1648.

This fanatic was one of the products of that strange time which ushered in the temporary triumph of Puritanism and the suppression of the Church of England. He was born, A.D. 1624, at Drayton in Leicestershire, and apprenticed to a dealer in skins, leather, and wool; but two years before his apprenticeship expired, he made himself clothing out of some of the skins, and idled about the country without any means of support, in a restless condition, and full of fantastic dreams which have been dignified with the name of religious reveries. His friends reclaimed the youth, after a year or two of his wandering life, but he was still disinclined for honest labour, would not go to Church for the purpose of Divine Worship, but went there to abuse the clergy and church-goers, and professed a call to become a religious reformer. Being very ignorant, he proclaimed that education was not necessary for the ministerial office, and at once took upon himself the office of an apostle. His first efforts were made by "prophesying" in parish churches, but this naturally led to his being punished for disturbing Divine Service, and he was imprisoned at Nottingham in 1649, as well as at Derby in 1650, the republican schismatics who were then in power not tolerating his irregularities any more than they would have been tolerated by the Laudian party, if they had occurred a few years before. It was at the time of his committal to prison in 1650, that the name of "Quakers" was given to Fox and his followers by a Puritan justice of the peace. Whence the name was derived is not clear, but probably from Fox warning the magistrates to "quake for fear." On being thus nicknamed, Fox made the spirited reply, that there would be Quakers in England when justices of the peace had been forgotten. He and his followers were much persecuted during the time of the Commonwealth, and Cromwell thought Fox dangerous enough to require from him, at a personal interview, a written undertaking that he would not disturb the Government. After the Restoration the Quakers still laid themselves open to the law, and it was only when the strange intimacy between Penn and James II. arose, that they became more orderly and more capable of toleration. Fox married a rich widow in 1669, after a visit to America, and died in 1690, having made several subsequent visits to America, the West Indies, and the Continent. From the time of Penn the Society of Friends has been a prosperous community, very successful in trade, and winning a certain kind of respect by an ostentation of simplicity and exactness; their quaint old world garments and language having also enough mystery about them to gain them influence with the uneducated. They are not now numerous in England, and the intellectual portion of them is being gradually absorbed into the Church.

The religious principles and practice of Quakerism are based upon an extreme form of the theory which supposes the Holy Spirit to indwell within individual persons, independently of sacramental union with Christ through the Incarnation. Quakers do not recognise either Baptism or the Holy Eucharist. They believe that every man is illuminated by the Holy Spirit, and that he becomes holy in proportion to the extent in which that illumination is developed: such development being the result of man's own will exercised in self-discipline. The "Inward Light" thus given produces an immediate inspiration for ministerial purposes, an inspired guidance for a state of probation, and a "saving light" for ultimate salvation.

The meetings which the Quakers hold for worship are conducted without any settled ministry, or form of prayer, or sacraments: the principle of their worship being that of "waiting for the Spirit." They are, in fact, meetings for mental devotion, the theory being that God Who is a Spirit understands the language of the spirit. Spoken language is however permitted both for prayer and exhortation, provided it is used by those who are "under the influence of the Spirit" at the time they pray or preach. Subject to this condition any man or woman is permitted to pray or preach in their assemblies. Among the minor characteristics of Quakerism may be mentioned the theories that holy days are superstitious, Sunday being tolerated in deference to the habits of Christians; that oaths are unlawful; that war is unlawful; that capital punishment is unlawful; that payment of tithes and Church-rates is unlawful; and that no education being required for the Christian ministry no Christian minister ought to receive money for his labours. [Oath.]

QUARTODECIMAN. [Paschal Controversy.]

QUATUOR TEMPORA. [Jejunia IV. Tempora.]

QUICUNQUE VULT. These are the initial words of the hymn known as the Athanasian "Creed," and in fact its only appropriate name, the real composer of this ancient formulary being unknown, its origin a mere matter of conjecture. Much has been written, and much might yet be said on the subject of this venerable heirloom of antiquity. A cursory notice of its history in ancient and modern times is all that can be here attempted.

There can be no doubt but that it took its origin in the Gallican Church. It was first received in that Church. Gallican councils and bishops have always treated it with especial deference. Churches which received the Gallican Psalter received with it this "Expositio fidei." The oldest known translation into the vernacular was Gallican, as prescribed by Hincmar of Rheims to his priests. The first writers who cite its words were Avitus of Vienne and Cæsarius of Arles; the oldest commentator upon its text was Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poictiers; and MSS. were nowhere so abundant or so ancient as in Gaul [Waterland, end of vii.].

This "creed," to use its scholastic title, first appeared in Latin; the Greek copies that exist being independent versions from that language. The age also of the oldest Latin MSS. exceeds that of the Greek exemplars by several centuries. The oldest Latin copy is referred by Archbishop Usher to the very beginning of the seventh century, and was in the Cottonian collection [Usser. *de Symb. Præf.* ii. 3]. The Treves MS., acephalous, is of nearly equal antiquity. Five MSS. of the eighth century are known, the Ambrosian of Milan; the Cottonian in King Athelstan's Psalter, referable with certainty to A.D. 703, and professing to be "fides St. Athanasii Alexandrini;" the Colbertine, copied in Saxon character from the Treves MS. shortly after the middle of the century, and like the original imperfect at the beginning; the Paris MS. of equal date, also in Saxon character; and the copy written in letters of gold which was presented by Charlemagne, while only king of France, to Adrian I. on his succession to the pontificate, A.D. 772. It is still preserved at Vienna. The Greek copies are of much latter date; and Montfaucon had never seen one that was more than three hundred years old [*Diatribe*, 727].

The earliest form in which this "expositio fidei" is found is the Commentary of Venantius Fortunatus in the middle of the sixth century, shewing that it was then of popular use. The fourth Council of Toledo also [A.D. 633] adopted many of its more striking expressions. Rome, once distrustful of novelties, only admitted it after long delay, as Waterland says, about A.D. 930. Thus it was accepted by the Churches of the West "as soon, or sooner than, the Nicene Creed."

This dogmatic hymn has a direct bearing on the Apollinarian error, which was condemned by Pope Damasus, A.D. 375. This heresy had much in common with the Eutychian error of the middle of the fifth century; but the latter had certain distinguishing features of which no notice is taken in the Creed, and for this reason the clauses that contravene both errors may be safely applied to Apollinarian notions: we need not look for its origin therefore so low as the Eutychian period [Harvey, *Hist. and Theol. of Creeds*, 549-557], in which the dying embers of Apollinarianism kindled up again. Neither can its composition range later than the Nestorian controversy, which commenced with the first year of the patriarchate of Nestorius [A.D. 428], and led to the Council of Ephesus [A.D. 431]; otherwise the crucial term θεοτόκος must as certainly have found its way into it, as that the term ὁμοούσιος was made the "lapis Lydius," of orthodoxy by the Nicene Fathers; hence this "expositio fidei" must have been written before the year A.D. 428 [Waterland; Harvey]. But by how many years did it anticipate the Council? There are undeniable points of resemblance between many of its expressions, and the terms used by Augustine in his work *De Trinitate* [A.D. 416, Harvey, 562-564]; which furnished the copy, the Father or the Creed? Waterland affirms the former, but reasons quite as cogent point to the latter conclusion. Augustine says that the phrases used by him in defining the three Persons of the Godhead were adopted also by catholic writers his predecessors, and in fact the writer of the Creed may have borrowed the corresponding terms, in some few cases, from Tertullian, but abundantly from Ambrose. The Creed, then, so far as its phraseology is concerned, is quite as likely to have been written between A.D. 381, when Ambrose completed his work *De Spiritu Sancto*, and A.D. 416, when Augustine put forth his work *De Trinitate*, as after this latter date.

Further, the rudimental statements of the Creed are more fully developed in the work of Augustine. The Creed simply says "The Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son; neither made nor created nor begotten, but proceeding." The most unbending Greek theologian would have allowed the statement to pass unchallenged.[1] The third Person was universally acknowledged to be of the Father and of the Son, and His origination was allowed to be by procession; that which was denied was His procession from the Son as well

[1] *E.g.* Cyril of Alexandria says of the Holy Spirit, "For He is termed the Spirit of Truth, and Christ is Truth; and He proceeds (προχεῖται) from Him, as in fact he does from God and the Father" [*Ep. Synod. cf.* Harvey's *Vindex Cathol.* i. 188]. Thus also Basil says "the Spirit proceeds from God, not by generation as the Son, but as the Spirit of His mouth;" where it is manifestly intended that as the Spirit proceeds from God the Father, so also He proceeds from God the Word. Ambrose makes the matter more plain, "Dei Spiritus et Spiritus Christi et in Patre est et in Filio, quia oris est Spiritus" [Ambros. *De Sp. S.* i. 11, 37, 114, iii. 6]. There is an Augustinian definiteness also in those other words of Ambrose, "et si Spiritum dicas, et Deum Patrem, a quo procedit Spiritus, et Filium, quia Filii quoque est Spiritus, nuncupasti." [*Ibid.*]

as the Father, instead of from the Father by the Son. But the work *De Trinitate* originated all the discussion that followed, and in fact led to that schism between the Churches of the East and of the West which has never again been healed. Augustine expresses himself with his usual roundness and perspicuity upon a point that was a result of scriptural reasonings collected into one focus of light [*Trin.* iv. 29, xv. 47]. The concluding chapters of the work are filled with statements of the procession of the Holy Spirit, and a comparison of these with the more shadowy lines of the Creed, satisfies the judgment that Augustine was indebted to the Creed and not the Creed to Augustine. Then again the Creed instances by way of illustration the union of a spiritual and a material nature in the individual man: "As the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ." The illustration is exactly to the point; but Augustine follows out the idea in a strain of subtle argumentation that runs through six books of his work; finding points of analogy between the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity and the unity of the mind existing in different states; and falling into modes of expression that are exactly square with others in the Creed, "Hæc igitur tria, memoria intelligentia voluntas, quoniam non sunt tres vitæ sed una vita; nec tres mentes sed una mens; consequenter utique nec tres substantiæ sunt sed una substantia" [*De Trin.* x. 18]. Both the Creed and Augustine argue from man's bodily and mental constitution, but the convincing simplicity of the former and the strained scholastic reasoning of the latter convince the mind that here again the Creed was the archetype. Diverging therefore at this point from Waterland, who dates the Creed A.D. 420, four years after the publication of the work *De Trinitate*, we may now see whether we can assign a prior date for its composition.

It should be borne in mind once more that the Apollinarian heresy is the latest form of error of which the Creed takes cognizance. But that heresy never took root in the Churches of the West; therefore no newly appointed Gallican bishop would have gone out of his way to condemn it, as Waterland supposes Hilary to have done on his appointment to the see of Arles. "It is hardly in keeping with the mild 'credo' of a newly installed prelate. But in the year A.D. 401, we can point to a most popular and zealous bishop of Western Gaul, apostolical in his labours among the benighted population of the Nervii and Morini [Pas de Calais] as well as in his self-inflicted poverty [Paulin. Nol. *Ep.* 18 *ad Victric.*], who was accused publicly of teaching heresy, and that evidently of Apollinaris; who also gave account of his faith in a confession that, without any great degree of improbability, may be identified with this exposition of the Catholic faith. This eminent son of the Church was Victricius, Confessor and Bishop of Rouen, who at the close of the fourth century was considerably advanced in years" [Harvey, *Creeds*, 578]. The terms of this confession are sketched out by Paulinus of Nola [*Ep.* 37, *ad Victric.* 3, 4], and they harmonize remarkably with those of the Creed [*ibid.* 5, 6]. There are historical reasons for believing that this confession was presented at Rome between A.D. 399 and 402 when Anastasius was pope [Harvey *on the Creeds*]. But the name of Victricius was in time expunged, and it then stood as the production of Anastasius. Hence, since one commentator terms it "Fides Anastasii," and a Codex ascribes it to Anas*th*asius, it is highly probable that this name was connected with the Creed at an earlier date than that of Athanasius, into which it easily passed. The name of Athanasius is first placed at the head in a copy of the eighth century, which leaves a wide margin of three hundred years for the change of title. The earliest MS. [Cottonian now lost] assigned no name to the Creed, but simply styled it "Fides Catholica," as does also Venantius Fortunatus in his commentary. The reasons for assigning it to Victricius have been thus summed up.

[1.] "Its careful well considered terms are more consistent with the mature age of Victricius, who had attained the honour of confessor forty years before the date now assigned to the Creed, in 401, than with the youth of Hilary, who was only eight and twenty years of age when he is supposed by Waterland to have composed the hymn on his advancement to the episcopate. [2.] Its style, though not that of an apology in vindication of the writer's faith, agrees well with the supposition that he was accused of the errors that he anathematizes. [3.] Its matter is exactly parallel with the subjects upon which Victricius, if we may judge from the expressions of Paulinus, was called to defend himself. With respect to both of these particulars the supposition that Hilary should have been the author is singularly unsatisfactory to the judgment. His exposition of faith on entering upon his episcopal office would scarcely have been pointed with anathemas which the history of his time persuades us were not required. Indeed, the Creed can only be assigned to Hilary upon the supposition that Apollinarianism infested the Gallican Church at the date of his appointment to the see of Arles; a supposition wholly contrary to fact. But since we know that Pelagian tenets had then taken a firm root in the south of France, we know also the direction that any inaugural exposition by Hilary must have taken. [4.] Again, if Hilary had been the author of the Creed, his name must have commanded respect, and he would scarcely have met with such hard words from Pope Leo I. as may be found in his epistle to the French bishops, A.D. 445.[1] On the other hand, the highly probable communication between Victricius and Anastasius, and the preparation of a confession of faith by the Gallican confessor, indicate the process whereby the name of Athanasius may have been placed at length, by assimilation, at the head of the Creed.

[1] *E.g.* "Non est hoc . . . salubritatem impendere diligentiæ pastoralis, sed vim inferre latronis et furis . . . Potest forsitan ad depravandos vestræ sanctitatis animos Hilarius pro suo more mentiri" [Leo, *Ep.* 10].

For these reasons therefore, it is considered that the authorship of the Creed may be referred to the Confessor Victricius, Bishop of Rouen; and that the date of the production may be asigned to the year 401" [Harvey *on the Three Creeds*, 583].

The warnings of our Lord were the words of Him to whom the future world and the results of the final judgment were better known than any thing present can be to us; and He has said, "He that rejecteth Me and receiveth not My words hath One that judgeth him, the Word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him at the last day;" "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned;" κατακριθήσεται being the correlative term of σωθήσεται; and our Lord making that declaration knowing the form of faith that should be as the life-blood of His Church. The Apostles taught the same thing, "Believe on the Lord Jesus and thou shalt be saved" [Acts xvi. 31]; "If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed" [Gal. i. 9]. So Hymenæus and Alexander were delivered over unto Satan, or separated from the communion of the Church, for denying an article of the primitive Creed, and saying that "the resurrection is past already." Therefore, if we listen with reverence to the words of Christ, if we recognise in the doctrine and practice of the Apostles the working of the same spirit, we cannot do otherwise than accept with confidence the statement that the Church by long use has made her own, "Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith." But the faith that saves is not a mere speculative quality; it is essentially operative and practical, and without its guidance the deeper phases of speculative truth are veiled from the intellect. "If a man do His will he shall know of the doctrine" [John vii. 17]. Practice is better than theological lore; and he who studies to do God's will is kept from straying into soul-destroying heresy, the natural "terminus ad quem" of ignorance and self-conceit. "Quando Deus magis creditur nisi cum magis timetur?" is a question put by Tertullian that is of much depth [*De Fuga.* i.]. Soul and spirit may be justified by faith, but the heart is purified by it [Acts xv. 9]. The converse also is unhappily true, and sin is the sure parent of misbelief. To hold the Catholic faith is to obey as well as to believe, and unless a man do keep the faith whole and undefiled, both in doctrine and practice, as truly as Christ hath spoken, so shall His word judge the erring soul at the last day. Is it too much then to say "except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved?" Or is our Lord's division of all human souls at the last day to the right and to the left of the dread tribunal to be eliminated from the objects of faith because it is truly alarming? The Catholic faith knows of no such compromise; it can only move straight forward in the path of truth; bearing forth the Lord's decrees to the end of time. [Waterland *on the Athanasian Creed.* Harvey, *Hist. and Theol. of the Three Creeds.* Blunt's *Annoted Prayer Book*, which latter work should be consulted with reference to its liturgical use.]

QUIETISM. A form of devotional life and theology founded on the principle that perfect union with God is most nearly attained by a state of passive rest or "quiet," in which total inaction of will and intellect bring the soul into a condition best adapted for the operation of the Holy Spirit, and for union with God.

This exaggeration of a principle whose true development has been illustrated by the contemplative saints of all ages from St. John downwards, originated with Michael de Molinos, a Spanish Jesuit of the seventeenth century, who gained much influence as a Confessor and Director during his residence at Rome, and who eventually condensed his special system of theology into a work published in A.D. 1675, and entitled *The Spiritual Guide, which disentangles the soul, and brings it by the Inward Way to the getting of perfect contemplation, and the rich treasure of internal peace.* The other most celebrated names associated with Quietism are those of Archbishop Fenelon and Madame Guyon. Molinos' book was condemned and burnt by the Inquisition in A.D. 1685, and he himself remained in prison until his death in A.D. 1696. Fenelon also was obliged to recant his opinions, and Madame Guyon's mad fanaticism brought some persecution upon her. Quietism, however, gained some hold in France, and English Methodism was originally tinged with its colour.

But Quietism was, in reality, no new doctrine, nor was it at first perceived that the doctrines of the *Spiritual Guide* differed so far from the current doctrine of the Mystics as to require the interference of Church authority. There is a well known line of earlier Spanish Mystics, and their doctrine had in the sixteenth century passed into extravagances which were suppressed, not without persecution. The *Spiritual Guide* was at first classed with the less hurtful teaching. After a time it was found to be really no less dangerous than the teaching of the Illuminati of Spain, and was dealt with accordingly.

The current doctrine of Quietism is stated by Jeremy Taylor in words so closely resembling the language of the *Spiritual Guide* as to shew beyond a doubt that Molinos took for his basis the accepted tenets of mystical theology, and raised upon them his further and more dangerous tenets. Taylor writes, "For beyond this I have described (*i.e.* the legitimate practice of meditation), there is a degree of meditation so exalted that it changes the very name, and is called Contemplation; and it is in the unitive way of religion, that is, it consists in unions and adherences to God; it is a prayer of quietness and silence, and a meditation extraordinary, a discourse without variety, a vision and intuition of Divine excellences, an immediate entry into an orb of light, and a resolution of all our faculties into sweetnesses, affections, and starings upon the Divine beauty; and is carried on to ecstasies, raptures, suspensions, elevations, abstractions, and apprehensions beatifical" [*Life of Christ*, Works, ii. 118, Heber's ed.]

Mystical theology is defined by its professors to be that doctrine which reveals to man the hidden essence of God's Being. The way to this wisdom is in three stages, the purgative, the illuminative, the unitive; the first purging the will from low affections, the second communicating to the intellect the knowledge of God, and the third leading the soul thus prepared to union and deification.

The following table, from Arnold's *Historia Theologiæ Mysticæ*, p. 88, gives this theology in outline. Some parts of it need an initiated interpreter.

VIA AD SAPIENTIAM EST VIA

UNIVERSALIS.	PURGATIVA.	ILLUMINATIVA.	UNITIVA.
Quæ intendit Summum	Bonum	Verum	Unum
hominis	Naturalis	Spiritualis	Deiformis
quoad	Corpus	Animam	Spiritum
cujus	Sanitas	Scientia	Sanctitas
est perfectio	Sensus	Rationis	Mentis
ex Dei	Bonitate	Sapientia	Potestate
secundum naturam	Humanam	Angelicam	Divinam :
Quæ 1° præparatur	Jejunio	Vigiliis	Oratione
vivendo	sobrie	juste	pie
erga	seipsum	proximum	Deum.
Et 2° comparatur	Mortificatione	Contemplatione	Adhæsione
membrorum	Carnis	Veritatis	Virtutis
per Christi	Passionem	Resurrectionem	Ascensionem ;
Qui solus est	Via	Veritas	Vita
In lumine	Naturæ	Gratiæ	Gloriæ
Cujus gratia	Abluimur	justificamur	sanctificamur
In sacramento	Baptismatis	Cœnæ	Unctionis
per fidem in	Patrem	Filium	Spiritum S.
attestantibus	Aqua	Sanguine	Spiritu
atque 3° conservatur	Fide	Spe	Charitate
in schola	Pœnitentiæ	Scientiæ	Concordiæ
discipulorum	incipientium	proficientium	perfectorum
ætate	puerili	juvenili	virili
ubi classis	inferior	media	superior
et gradus	imaginationis	cognitionis	amoris
per osculum	pedum	manus	oris
ministerio	Angelico	Cherubico	Seraphico :
4° reparaturque	separatione	sublimatione	conjunctione
corporis	puri ab impuro	lucidi ab opaco	solidi cum soluto
cum temperamento	aqueo	aëreo	igneo
et sic ascendimus	e terra	per paradisum	in cœlum
et ingredimur in vitam	Corporis	Animæ	Spiritus æternam

It is evident that this scheme, if at all carried out to its legitimate consequences, leads directly to the error of those enthusiasts who supposed the kingdom of Christ to be an earlier and inferior dispensation, the reign of the Spirit the later and perfect dispensation. Men are taught by it, not the superiority of love to knowledge in St. Paul's sense, but that they may become more perfect by disregarding the knowledge of an earlier state, by becoming again children in understanding. And to that earlier state are referred the power of Christ's Resurrection and the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. What the higher Sacrament of Unction is does not appear. In working out this scheme, Molinos taught as follows :—

1. The perfection of men, even in this life, consists in an uninterrupted act of contemplation and love, which contains virtually all righteousness : that this act once effected lasts always, even during sleep, provided that it be not expressly recalled ; whence it follows that the perfect have no need to repeat it.

2. In this state of perfection the soul ought not to reflect either on God or on itself, but its powers ought to be annihilated, in order to abandon itself wholly and passively to God.

3. Perfect prayer is this state of quietude, in which there should be absolutely no thought or wish or hope. Vocal prayer, confession, all external things are but hindrances.

4. In prayer the first act of faith, the first intention of resignation, prevails to constitute the whole an act of worship. "One may persevere in prayer though the imagination be carried about with various and involuntary thoughts." These are not to be actively resisted, but merely neglected.

5. The violent and painful suggestions of impatience, pride, gluttony, luxury, rage, blasphemy, cursing, despair, and an infinite number of others, are God's means for purifying those whom He calls. The soul ought not to be disquieted on account of them.

An example of pure Quietism may be quoted in illustration of these principles : Gregory Lopez having for the space of three years continued that ejaculation, "Thy will be done in time and in eternity, repeating it as often as he breathed, God Almighty discovered to him that infinite treasure of the pure and continued act of faith and love, with silence and resignation ; so that he came to say that, during the thirty-six years he lived after-

wards, he always continued in his inward man that pure act of love, without ever uttering the least petition, ejaculation, or anything that was sensible or sprung from nature" [*Spiritual Guide*, translation, 1699, p. 75].

Molinos is charged by Romanist writers with teaching Antinomianism. The charge does not appear to be well founded, but that his teaching regarding evil thoughts is most dangerous there can be no doubt. At the same time the truth of which it is a perversion is very discernible.

Molinos proceeds to his doctrine of self-annihilation through what he calls infused contemplation. The means whereby the soul ascends to infused contemplation are two—the pleasure and the desire of it. The steps of it are three—satiety when the soul is filled with God; intoxication, an excess of mind and elevation of soul arising from satiety of Divine love; security, when the soul is so drenched with love that it loses all fear, and would go willingly to hell if it knew such to be the will of God. Six other steps there are—fire, union, elevation, illumination, pleasure, and repose. But there are many other steps besides, as ecstasies, raptures, meltings, deliquiums, glee, kisses, embraces, exaltation, union, transformation, espousing, and matrimony; which, Molinos says, I omit to explain, to give no occasion to speculation. Madame Guyon, however, does explain: "The essential union is the spiritual marriage, where there is a communication of substance, when God takes the soul for His spouse, unites it to Himself, not personally, nor by any act or means, but immediately reducing all to an unity. The soul ought not, nor can, any more make any distinction between God and itself. God is the soul, and the soul is God." [*Explicat. du Cant. des Cant.*]

Molinos passes through annihilation to the same result of deification. The soul that would be perfect passes, with the Divine aid, into the state of nothingness: from the spiritual death the true and perfect annihilation derives its original; inasmuch that when the soul is once dead to its will and understanding, it is properly said to be arrived at the perfect and happy state of annihilation, which is the last disposition for transformation and union. The soul no longer lives in itself, because God lives in it. The soul being in that manner the Nothing, the Lord will be the Whole in the soul.

One loses the sense of the ridiculous which is inevitably felt in the first reading of the language used, such phrases, *e.g.*, as "getting snug in the centre of Nothing, taking a nap in Nothing," in the sense of the Pantheism which is thus introduced, and the blasphemies which must follow such a doctrine. Such teaching may be compared with the teaching of the Brethren of the Free Spirit in the thirteenth century. They adopted a "system of mystic theology, built upon pretended philosophical principles, which bore a striking resemblance to the impious doctrines of the Pantheists. Amalric, who was "undoubtedly of the same way of thinking," was a Pantheist [Mosheim, *Cent. XIII.* pt. II. ch. v.; Bayle, *Dict.* art. *Spinoza*, note A], and, according to Fleury, he held that heresy which has been alluded to already, that the dispensation of the Son lasted twelve hundred years, and the age of the Holy Spirit then commenced, in which the sacraments and all external worship were to be abolished.

The words quoted before from Milman regarded the philosophy of Abelard. This, Milman writes, might have opened a safe intermediate ground between the Nominalism of Roscelin and the Realism of Anselm and William of Champeaux. As the former tended to a sensuous Rationalism, so did the latter to a mystic Pantheism. If everything but the individual was a mere name, then knowledge shrunk into that which was furnished by the senses alone. When Nominalism became theology, the three Persons of the Trinity (this was the perpetual touchstone of all systems), if they were more than words, were individuals, and Tritheism inevitable. On the other hand, God, the great Reality, absorbed into Himself all other realities; they became part of God, they became God. [Pantheism.]

Rohrbacher [xxvi. 281] distinguishes between the Quietism of Molinos, Fenelon, and Guyon. Madame Guyon admits, he allows, the fundamental principle of Molinos that the perfection of man in this life is a continued act of contemplation and love, but she rejects with horror the consequences which Molinos drew, viz. that positive resistance should not be made to evil thoughts. If her Quietism did not tend so directly to Antinomianism, it reached the point of heresy. Fenelon condemned expressly the "continued act" of the false Mystics, and placed perfection in an habitual state of pure love, in which the hope of reward and fear of punishment has no part.

It is common for Protestant writers to take for granted that the Jesuits and Dominicans, in their opposition to Quietism, were actuated by the danger in which it put their craft. The foregoing statements will shew that they had better cause for their opposition; and that the Inquisition had the presence of danger of no small evil to justify them in their extraordinary step of examining the Pope himself regarding his belief in Quietism and his patronage of Molinos. [Mysticism.]

QUINISEXT. A name given to a Council held at Constantinople, A.D. 691, for the purpose of passing Canons which had been omitted at the *fifth* and *sixth* General Councils; to both of which it is therefore considered complementary. This Council is also called the Trullan, or *in Trullo*, from the domed building in which it was held. Its authority has never been fully recog nised in the Western Church. See, however, a note under Reservation.

QUINQUAGESIMA. The name of the Sunday next before Lent, so called as being nearest to the fiftieth day before Easter. In ordinary years it is the forty-ninth day before Easter, in leap years it is the fiftieth. [Septuagesima.]

QUINQUARTICULAR. [Five Points.]

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RATIONALISM. There are two ways by which the human mind can attain the knowledge of truth; first, by receiving a Divine revelation of it; and secondly, by means of observation and ratiocination. The name of Rationalism is given to that school of thought which believes that the latter of these two ways is of itself fully sufficient for the attainment of all truth.

That such is not, and cannot be, the case is manifest from the fact that a Divine revelation has been given, and also from its subject matter. That man could not from his natural powers gain an adequate knowledge of his Creator, and of his own duties and obligations, may be gathered from the fact that a Divine revelation has been given, since if man's reason had been fully sufficient for his guidance the necessity for a revelation would be set aside, as man's inherent powers would have sufficed for his obtaining a knowledge of the will of God and of the service which is acceptable to Him. But Rationalism not only thus renders revelation unnecessary, it is also inconsistent with, and really subversive of, revelation by claiming a right to judge of its truth, and to set aside any portion which is deemed inconsistent or irreconcileable with human reason. Thus revelation teaches the doctrine of an Atonement; this doctrine, it is asserted, is unintelligible or contradictory to man's reason: hence it is explained away or rejected. But in subordinating revelation to man's reason, the former is not only *logically* set aside, but also in fact and experience, as will presently be fully proved; *logically* by representing man's reason as superior to Divine Revelation, as being able to judge of its truth or falsehood, and thus affording a higher proof of certainty. Hence revelation is unnecessary, and we cannot escape the conclusion that, in any true or proper sense of the word, it has not been given by God. It *cannot*, if really from Him, take a subordinate position, and be either true or false in regard to its teaching as seen in the light of man's reason. It is monstrous to suppose that GOD has revealed anything untrue: prove that it is untrue, and its claim to a Divine revelation must inevitably be abandoned. The case is not really altered if it be said that revelation is partly true and partly false, that some of its statements are untrue and irreconcileable with human reason: for we thus, as before, represent God in a certain degree as the author of falsehood. Such theories, as their ultimate result, can only lead to a rejection of Divine revelation. Whatever else be true, it is at least infallibly certain that God is not the author or revealer of falsehood in any sense whatever.

A Rationalist will probably take the following line of argument and defence. Rightly saying that man's reason is God's gift, he will add, that if we refuse an entire submission to its dictates, we are really setting aside this gift and rejecting Divine teaching. Such an argument would be weighty, and perhaps conclusive, if man had not been in a corrupt and fallen state. Had reason been, as when man was created, in a state of perfection, he would have seen by *intuition* the surpassing excellence and perfection of Divine revelation: not even *apparent* discordance would have existed between reason and revelation: the two lights which God had kindled, reflecting alike their divine origin, would have been equally illuminative. But man is in a fallen state, the slave of ignorance, prejudice and sin. Hence, reason alone is an imperfect and totally insufficient guide, and may, and often does, lead astray. Should any deny man's fallen state, and that his reason is now imperfect and has a corrupt bias, with such we have no concern. They set aside revelation by denying a fact which it explicitly asserts and throughout its teaching manifestly implies, and which if denied would render it superfluous.

But the facts of Divine revelation, considered generally, cannot be judged of by human reason, since they relate to matters of which reason *cannot* take cognizance. The nature and perfections of God: the supernatural communication of grace and its influence upon the heart and life: man's spiritual existence in another world, and a future state of eternal happiness or misery: on these and such like truths reason in our present state can afford no information, and for all assured knowledge we must necessarily depend on the word and teaching of Another. Hence the Scripture most explicitly teaches the necessity of faith. He that cometh unto God must believe that He is, must acknowledge on some ground or other His existence, since He is not visible to mortal sight. In a word, the first condition for approaching God in any sense is faith. All must admit that the very existence of God is a matter of faith. Unbelievers by no means allow that the fact of a visible creation necessarily implies a Creator and a God. The first step in religion therefore, the

mere belief in Theism, must in a certain degree be by faith. But if the existence of God can only be accepted on faith, a matter in proof of which reason can give the strongest evidence, much more may we suppose that faith is required as regards other truths where reason is manifestly an imperfect or totally inadequate guide. Hence, as might have been supposed, having two facts before us, man's blind and corrupt state by nature and the stupendous truths which Divine revelation unfolds, not contradictory to but far transcending human intellect and apprehension, the greatest stress throughout Scripture is laid on faith, which plainly intimates that God's revealed truth is obviously antagonistic to Rationalism. One system inculcates reliance upon self, the other upon the word and teaching of God. Such is the real issue between that Divine system founded on faith which the Church brings before us, and a sole reliance for instruction and guidance on man's corrupt and biassed reason.

But the subject before us will be best illustrated by tracing the progress of Rationalism from its beginning to the present day, and the effects which follow its teaching.

Rationalism may be dated from the epoch of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Some of its leading theories were proposed and obtained partial influence in the Middle Ages,[1] but they were now carried out on a wider basis, and issued in the formation of large societies, bound together by a new organization, separated from the rest of Christendom. Luther and others were members of a Church overspread with gross moral corruptions. Instead of attempting its reformation, with due regard to Apostolic order and Catholic belief and tradition, they fell into fundamental error on the true nature of Christianity itself. It is not, as they supposed, or at least acted on the supposition, it is not a system of belief and practice to be elicited *de novo* from the Bible by the exegesis of individuals or communities, but a divinely instituted kingdom, founded by our Lord and His Apostles, and endowed with the presence of the Holy Spirit to preserve and perpetuate His religion in the world. By historic evidence, the transmission of Apostolic truth from age to age ever has been and can only be proved.

But the theory of ascertaining truth by a private interpretation of Scripture is not only inconsistent with the primary institution of the Church, but was soon found in practice to be the source of endless divisions. The Bible, like other books, stands in need of interpretation, and will admit of various meanings. Thus Luther taught the doctrine of the Real Presence under the form of Consubstantiation, whilst another Reformer, Zwingle, interpretated the words of Institution in a metaphorical or figurative sense. Calvin elicited from Scripture the doctrine of irrespective election and reprobation, and Socinus maintained that its teaching was inconsistent with Catholic belief in our Lord's Godhead. An appeal to the mere letter of Scripture not only, however, opened the door to the most erroneous opinions, but failed utterly, interpreted without regard to the faith and authority of the Church, in forming a rule of faith. The meaning of Scripture is confessedly doubtful on many points: it bears witness to the truth of the Catholic system of doctrine and discipline, which it does not set forth in its full proportions. Thus it cannot be doubted that the doctrine of the Trinity as taught by the Church is really contained in Scripture, and is the only theory, if we may so speak, upon which its apparent discrepancies can be reconciled, but who can discover its truth by a mere analysis of the letter of Scripture, if we ignore the doctrine of the Council of Nice and the definitions of the Athanasian Creed. If we first admit their interpretative authority, and then consider the teaching of Scripture, the latter will appear lucid and harmonious—manifestly illustrating and confirming the former.

Scripture self-interpreted thus supplies materials for the prevalence of Rationalism to the widest extent. But this is not all. With Scripture only before us, other questions must necessarily arise—as the genuineness and authenticity of its several books: the true nature also of inspiration: whether or in what degree it guards from error—questions, as we know, admitting various replies, and often decided in the present day not only with reckless contempt of the general belief and tradition of the Church, but so as to set aside the claims of Christianity to be in any true sense a revelation from God.

Subsequently to the period of the Reformation, the prevalence of Deistical writings in England, at the end of the seventeenth and in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, gave the first impulse to Rationalism. Deism and Rationalism are inseparably connected, the former system being identical with the latter when fully and consistently developed. Thus Deism wholly denies

[1] A modern writer dates the beginning of Rationalism from the twelfth century. "The more carefully," says Mr. Lecky, "the history of the centuries prior to the Reformation is studied, the more evident it becomes that the twelfth century forms the great turning-point of the European intellect. Owing to many complicated causes, which it would be tedious and difficult to trace, a general revival of Latin literature had taken place which profoundly modified the intellectual condition of Europe, and which therefore implied and necessitated a modification of the popular belief. For the first time for many centuries we find a feeble spirit of doubt combating the spirit of credulity; a curiosity for purely secular knowledge replacing in some degree the passion for theology; and as a consequence of these things, a diminution of the contemptuous hatred with which all who were external to Christianity had been regarded. In every department of thought and knowledge there was manifested a vague disquietude that contrasted strangely with the preceding torpor. The long slumber of untroubled orthodoxy was broken by many heresies, which, though often repressed, seemed in each succeeding century to acquire new force and consistency. Manichæism, which had for some time been smouldering in the Church, burst into a fierce flame among the Albigenses, and was only quenched by that fearful massacre in which tens of thousands were murdered at the instigation of the priests. Then it was that the standard of an impartial philosophy was first planted by Abelard in Europe, and the minds of the learned distracted by subtle and perplexing doubts concerning the leading doctrines of the faith" [Lecky's *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, i. 52, 53. 1865].

the truth of the Christian revelation, which Rationalism, whilst professedly admitting, equally sets aside by rejecting the supernatural system of faith which Christianity reveals and teaches, and by which only it is distinguished from Deism.

The history of the Deistical School will be found in an earlier article [DEISM], in which the opinions of its successive leaders, Viret, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Hobbes, Charles Blount, and others are fully analyzed. But there are two Rationalist writers, who wrote about the middle of the eighteenth century, during the prevalence of Deism, whose works deserve a special notice here, namely, Locke and Middleton.

Locke [A.D. 1632-1704], whose patron was the Earl of Shaftesbury, with whom he for some time lived, wrote an essay on the *Human Understanding*, in which in determining the "distinct province" of faith and reason, he maintains a certain theory, which, if admitted, must deprive Christianity of its supernatural character and virtually assimilate it to mere Deism. Thus, after laying down the proposition that "Revelation cannot be admitted against the clear evidence of reason," he thus defines and illustrates his meaning: "Because, though faith be founded on the testimony of God (who cannot lie) revealing any proposition to us, yet we cannot have an assurance of the truth of its being a divine revelation greater than our own knowledge: since the whole strength of the certainty depends on the knowledge that God revealed it, which, in this case, when the proposition supposed contradicts our knowledge or reason, will always have this objection hanging to it, viz. that we cannot tell how to conceive that to come from God, the bountiful Author of our being, which, if received for true, must overturn all the principles and foundations of knowledge He has given us; render all our faculties useless; wholly destroy the most excellent part of His workmanship, our understandings, and put a man in a condition where he will have less light, less conduct than the beast that perisheth. For if the mind of man can never have a clearer (and perhaps not so clear) evidence of anything to be a Divine revelation, as it has of the principles of its own reason, it can never have a ground to quit the clear evidence of its reason, to give a place to a proposition whose revelation has not a greater evidence than those principles have."[1]

Without dwelling on the exaggeration which characterizes this extract, since it is manifestly absurd to say if man's reason be imperfect and only partially adequate for his guidance, that he has *less* light than the beast that perisheth, let the substance of Locke's theory be stated in a few words. "Divine Revelation," he says, "can never afford any higher or more certain proof of the truth of any proposition than human reason: the latter is from God, and the former cannot have a higher origin: besides there may be some doubt, whether the supposed revelation be rightly understood, or really proceeds from God. Reason therefore, if it does not take a higher ground than revelation, cannot at least, under any pretence, be superseded by it." Such is this writer's view, which is founded on the fallacy of supposing that man's reason is in a state of perfection, as when originally created, neither biassed by prejudice nor bad education—a supposition notoriously contrary to fact and experience. But his theory, which makes reason the supreme judge of the truth or falsehood of any proposition, as if it were impossible that revelation could establish the truth of anything contradictory to what he believes to be the dictates of human reason, strikes at the root of a Divine revelation, or necessarily identifies it with the natural light of reason and conscience. It precludes the possibility of revealed truth being *above* our natural powers as relating to a higher order of things of which we have no knowledge whatever, and which sometimes, from our present limited faculties, may appear to set aside and contradict human reason. Let us consider some of the essential doctrines of revealed truth and we shall find, as might have been expected, that such is really the case. Locke says, before the extract quoted, "that we can never assent to a proposition that affirms the same body to be in two distant places at once, because it should pretend to the authority of a Divine revelation: since the evidence, first, that we deceive not ourselves in ascribing it to God, secondly, that we understand it right, can never be so great as the evidence of our own intuitive knowledge, whereby we discern it impossible for the same body to be in two places at once. And therefore no proposition can be received for Divine revelation, or obtain the assent due to all such, if it be contradictory to our clear intuitive knowledge." The statement is true that a body cannot be in two places at the same time according to natural laws, or the natural mode of existing; but this does not contradict the doctrine of Christ's supernatural Presence in the Holy Eucharist: nor can we even *reasonably* argue from the well-known properties of a natural to those of a spiritual Body, of whose mode of existing we know nothing. But let us put to the test, according to this writer's theory, a few essential doctrines of faith. Many writers have attacked the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, on the ground of its being contradictory to human reason:—that the real distinction of the three Persons and the unity of the undivided Essence is, as they say, a contradiction in terms, and that Tritheism or Sabellianism alone can be true. Again, how often has the doctrine of the Atonement been denied for similar reasons, the impossibility of explaining, according to human reason, the necessity for Christ's vicarious suffering, or in what sense, according to our own ideas of justice, the Lord could lay upon Him the iniquities of us all. The scriptural doctrine also of everlasting punishment has been rejected on the same ground: all professing to follow the guidance of reason only, believe that it is *manifestly* unjust and unworthy of a beneficent Creator.

[1] Locke's *Philosophical Works*, vol. ii. p. 303. Bohn's ed.

About the middle of last century Dr. Middleton published a work,[1] the professed object of which was to prove that miracles ceased after the Apostolic age. He argues that we cannot rely on the testimony of the Fathers in proof of the miracles of a subsequent period, since *they* were not only credulous and superstitious, but may, he thinks, rightly be charged with deliberate falsehood and imposture. Besides, he says, even if we do accept their testimony in proof of miracles, the miracles they relate would prove the truth of doctrines or usages which all "Protestants" reject, as "the institution of monkery, the worship of relics, frequent use of the sign of the cross, curing diseases with consecrated oil." Such is Middleton's professed object, according to the title of his work, but it is not his only, or even his principal object, as he himself avows. He wished wholly to discard the testimony of the Fathers, and thus to set aside the historic proof upon which Christianity rests: hence, nothing would be left to "Protestants" from which to derive their ideas of Christianity but each man's interpretation of the Bible.

Thus, he says, the primitive writers are "of some use and service on several accounts. First, in attesting and transmitting to us the genuine books of Holy Scripture; yet this is not owing to any particular sanctity or sagacity of those ancient times, but to the notoriety of the thing, and the authority with which the books themselves were received from their first publication in all churches: whence they have since been handed down to us in the same manner, as the works of all other ancient writers, by the perpetual tradition of successive ages, whether pure or corrupt, learned or unlearned. Secondly, their more immediate and proper use is, to teach us the doctrines, the rites, the manners and the learning of the several ages in which they lived: yet as witnesses only, not as guides: as declaring what was then believed, not what was true; what was practised, not what ought to be practised, since their works abound with instances of foolish, false, and dangerous opinions, universally maintained and zealously propagated by them all. Lastly, their very errors also afford an use and profitable lesson to us: for the many corruptions which crept into the Church in those very early ages are a standing proof and admonition to all the later ages, that there is no way of preserving a purity of faith and worship in any church, but by reviewing them from time to time and reducing them to the original test and standard of the Holy Scriptures." And afterwards, the religion of Protestants rests "on the single but solid foundation of the Sacred Scriptures; unmixed with rubbish of ancient tradition or ancient Fathers, and independent of the character and writings of any men whatsoever, except of Moses and the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles."[2]

Middleton, who was engaged in controversy during the greater part of his life, was considered by some of his opponents as a mere infidel in disguise, who, by an insidious and unsatisfactory defence, was really aiming at the overthrow of Christianity: an imputation reasonable enough, (even though, as we may hope, undeserved,) since by asserting that the testimony of the Fathers is unworthy of credit, he sets aside the only evidence which we can have for the genuineness and authenticity of the books of Scripture. Middleton thus attempts to answer this objection, which was soon made against his statement that patristic testimony was unworthy of credit. "It is objected," he says, "that by the character which I have given of the ancient Fathers, *the authority of the books of the New Testament*, which were transmitted to us through their hands, will be rendered *precarious* and *uncertain*." He says, in reply, "that the objection is trifling and groundless, since the authority of these books does not depend upon the faith of the Fathers, but on the general credit and reception which they found, not only in the churches, but with private Christians; and though it might be the desire of a few to corrupt the Scriptures, yet it was the common interest of all to preserve, and of none to destroy them. Being widely dispersed from their very origin, it was hardly possible that they should have been corrupted or suppressed or counterfeited by a few of what character or abilities soever; that in the natural course of things they would come down to us, like the ancient writings of Greece and Rome; and though in every age there were several perhaps who, from crafty and selfish motives, might be disposed to deprave or suppress particular books, yet their malice could reach only to a few copies; and that the greater number of the same books which were out of their reach would remain still incorrupt.' Again, he says, "The Scriptures were likely to be more effectually preserved than other ancient writings from the divinity of their character, the religious regard paid to them by all sects and parties, and the mutual jealousies of those parties watching over each other. Let the craft of the ancient Fathers be as great as we can suppose it to be, let it be capable of adding some of their own forgeries for a while to the Canon of Scripture, yet it was not in the power of any craft to impose spurious pieces in the room of those genuine ones which were actually deposited in all churches, and preserved with the utmost reverence in the hands of so many private Christians." Some of these assertions are not very satisfactory or conclusive as a defence of the writer's theory, and the latter statement it can hardly be doubted is wholly untrue, since we have no proof that *genuine* copies of the Scriptures (the Apostolic autographs) were deposited in all churches. It can only be *supposed* that different churches would carefully preserve the epistles addressed to them, as the Church at Corinth St. Paul's two epistles; but there is no proof or probability that they possessed genuine copies of epistles addressed to other churches. But Middleton's statements, implying that genuine

[1] *A Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church from the earliest Ages through successive Centuries*, 1749.
[2] *Ibid.* Introductory Discourse, cxii. cxiii. cxl.

copies of all the sacred books were deposited in all churches, is entirely, so far as is known, without foundation. But there is the best proof that Middleton's arguments have really very little weight, from the fact that he seems, from his subsequent remarks to have little assurance of their truth. We may thus learn the *inevitable* result (which, he says, "he cannot help") of discrediting the testimony of the Fathers. After the defence of his theory already quoted, he adds, "But I may go a step further, and venture to declare, that if we should allow the objection to be true, it cannot in any manner hurt my argument; for if it be natural and necessary that the craft and credulity of witnesses should always detract from the credit of their testimony, who can help it? or on what is the consequence to be charged, but on the nature and constitution of things from which it flows? or if the authority of any books be really weakened by the character which I have given of the Fathers, will it follow from thence that the character must necessarily be false, and that the Fathers were neither crafty nor credulous? That surely can never be pretended; because the craft and credulity which are charged upon them must be determined by another sort of evidence—not by consequences, but by facts; and if the charge be confirmed by these it must be admitted as true how far soever the consequences may reach" [*Free Enquiry*, p. 190-3].

Middleton not only, however, invalidates the proof derived from patristic testimony of the genuineness and authenticity of the books of Scripture, but overthrows the credibility of many of its narratives and miracles. Take, for example, the case of demoniacal possession. After saying that the most eminent and celebrated of the miraculous powers of the Primitive Church was the gift of casting out devils or the cure of demoniacs, and that the Fathers declare their power of *lashing*, *burning*, and *tormenting* them, and their groaning and howling under the torture of the Christian exorcism, Middleton adds, "And the other circumstances likewise so constantly attested by them all (the Fathers) concerning *the speeches and confessions of the devils; their answering to all questions; owning themselves to be wicked spirits; telling whence they came and whither they were going, and pleading for favour and care at the hands of the exorcists*, may not improbably be accounted for either by the disordered state of the patient answering wildly and at random to any questions proposed, or by the arts of imposture and contrivance between the parties concerned in the act" [*Free Enquiry*, pp. 80, 82]. Let it be granted that the disordered state of the patient, or the fraud of the parties concerned, satisfactorily explain patristic miracles of demoniacal possession, and it will certainly follow that they will also explain the miracles of Scripture in which the same phenomena are found; where demons also "make speeches and confessions," "own themselves to be evil spirits," "plead for mercy at the hands of the exorcists." If one class of miracles can only be regarded as an exhibition of fraud and imposture, the other, on the same ground, must be equally discredited. Again, "it is very hard to believe what Origen declares above" [*Contr. Celsum*, lib. iv.], "that the devils, for the sake of doing the greater mischief to men, used to possess and destroy their cattle:" what credit then can it be supposed that this writer gave, or thinks ought to be given, to the scriptural narrative of devils possessing and destroying swine by driving them into the sea? Ecclesiastical miracles, as such narratives suggest, are unquestionably to be regarded as a continuation of the miracles of Scripture, and answering in some degree the same purpose in the Divine economy, which clearly adds to their probability, and confirms the evidence alleged in their favour. The connection between scriptural and ecclesiastical miracles (with proof of the credibility of the latter) is investigated in Dr. Newman's well-known *Essay*.[1]

In pursuance of the history before us we have now to call attention to the prevalence of Rationalism in Germany, at the close of the last and the early part of the present century. The first impulse given to Rationalism in Germany, says Mr. Rose, from whose Discourses[2] the following account is abridged, was from the writings of the Socinians and Remonstrants, those of the English Deists who led the way (and it is a melancholy pre-eminence) in the career of disbelief, and subsequently the French so-called philosophers. Semler seems to be recognised by this modern school as its father and its founder; this designation being given to him because he first taught the German divines to reject the Divine origin of Scripture and its universal obligation, to think and speak lightly of a large portion of what at least is received by every Christian Church as Christian doctrine, and to produce theories which involve charges of the most serious nature against the moral character of the Founder and first Teacher of our religion. Semler's opinions shall now be briefly considered as being on some leading points characteristic of German Rationalism generally. It is first necessary to mention that he was a member of the Collegia Pietatis, which were founded by Spener [PIETISM], as the peculiar views of the Pietists in some degree influenced his theories. He first proposed what has been called the theory of Accommodation, asserting that we are not to take all the declarations of Scripture as addressed to ourselves, but to consider them in many points as purposely adapted to the feelings and dispositions of the age when they originated, but by no means to be received by another and more enlightened period. This theory, which Semler carried to great lengths, in the hands of his followers became the most formidable weapon ever devised for the destruction of Christianity. Whatever men were disinclined to receive in the New Testament, and yet could not with decency reject, while they called themselves Christians and retained the

[1] *An Essay on the Miracles recorded in the Ecclesiastical History of the early Ages*, 1843.

[2] *The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany, in a Series of Discourses preached before the University of Cambridge*, 1825.

Scriptures, they got rid of by this theory: maintaining that the Apostles, and in fact Jesus Himself, had adapted themselves not only in their way of teaching, but also in their doctrines, to the barbarous ignorance and prejudices of the Jews; and that it is therefore our duty to reject the whole of this temporary part of Christianity and retain only what is substantial and eternal. Every notion not suitable to existing opinions is therefore treated as mere adaptation to former ones—everything for example mysterious and difficult, the very notion indeed that Christianity was a revelation from heaven, is said to be merely a wise condescension to the weakness of former ages; and nothing at last remains but what common experience and natural religion suggest. This writer soon proceeded to attack the Canon of Scripture. Admitting that canonical books must be of divine authority, he maintained that their divinity was to be established on a new (though most dangerous) principle. The mark of a Divine origin was to be the utility of a work, or its tendency to promote virtue. Judging by this criterion, he ejected from the Canon the books of Scripture which did not meet his approbation. He decided that the Christian is not bound to receive a single book of the Old Testament as of Divine origin, for he declared that man can receive no moral improvement from them. The historical books of the New Testament were only valuable for the weaker brother, who must be guided by history rather than any principles formally proposed. And even others are only to be valued by the stronger minded Christian, till he has made himself master of the ideas they contain. He may then cast them from him, and pursue by his own strength the path of Christianity to an extent where they could never lead him. The principle which Semler applied to the books of Scripture he applied likewise to their contents, and judged of the history and doctrines by their utility alone, without any reference to the external evidence of prophecy and miracles. Such were his general principles: but we may look also at some particular instance of his treating sacred subjects. One of his favourite theories was that of the existence of two parties of Christians from the commencement—one which desired to connect Christianity closely in its origin and doctrines with the Jewish system, the other a Gnostic and Freethinking school. Christ, he tells us, conciliated both: when He addressed the Judaizing party He professed a reverence for the Jewish system; when speaking to His Gnostic followers He strongly opposed these Jewish prejudices. After His death St. Peter placed himself at the head of the Jewish converts: St. Paul took the lead in the Gnostic party, which endeavoured to generalize Christianity, and prepare it for the conversion of the Gentiles. The four Gospels which we possess, he said, were those of the Jewish party; the documents which recorded Christ's addresses to the Gnostics have perished, except the Gospel of Marcion. The letters of St. Paul belonged to the Gnostics, and the Catholic epistles were written to promote the union of the two parties. With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which contradicted this hypothesis, Semler asserted that St. Paul wrote it to please the Jewish party, at a period of his career when he had some hopes of conciliating them, a hope which he afterwards renounced; and with it, of course, the principles and professions which he had assumed as a mere matter of convenience.

It is unnecessary to give further details of the opinions and theories of this writer, which generally rest, as will be seen, not on any evidence, but only on the most arbitrary and improbable assertions. Besides, though in a certain sense, the founder of German Rationalism, it must not be supposed that his party had one uniform and consentient system, which even their own theory—a reliance on individual opinion and judgment—rendered impossible. It is hopeless, says Mr. Rose, amidst the chaos of writers and the chaos of contradictory opinions, theories, and fancies, which they proposed to the entire confusion of thought and reason, to do more than mark the *general* tendency of their sentiments. They are bound by no law but their own fancies; some are more and some are less extravagant: but it does them no injustice, after this declaration, to say that the general inclination and tendency of their opinions (more or less forcibly acted on) is this, that in the New Testament we shall find only the *opinions* of Christ and His Apostles adapted to the age in which they lived, and not eternal truths; that Christ Himself had neither the design nor power of teaching any system which was to endure; that when He taught any enduring truth, as He occasionally did, it was without being aware of its nature; that the Apostles understood still less of real religion; that the whole doctrine both of Christ and His Apostles, as it is directed to the Jews alone, so it was gathered in fact from no other source than the Jewish philosophy; that Christ Himself erred, and that His Apostles spread His errors; and that, consequently, no one of their doctrines is to be received on their authority, but that, without any regard to the authority of the books of Scripture and their asserted Divine origin, each doctrine is to be examined according to the principles of right reason before it is allowed to be Divine.

To give a few samples of the result of an examination of Christianity by German divines on the principles of "right reason." Some assume the hypothesis of a deception practised by the Apostles: in order to introduce a better moral system, they allowed themselves to give many circumstances a different dress from the true one; in other words, the Gospel is what is called a "pious fraud." Again, the Incarnation is rejected on the plea that in every religion many myths of the generations, incarnations, and apparitions of the gods, are found, and that the Christian doctrine is to be classed with similar fables. The evidence for Christianity derived from prophecy is rejected, partly by denying the genuineness of some of the prophetical writings, and partly on the theory that the prophets, being clever and experienced men, were likely to fore-

see future events. Miracles are said to be a part of that mythology which must attend every religion to gain the attention of the multitude, or, (some have suggested,) they were done by animal magnetism. Some of these writers maintain that Christ did not really die upon the Cross, but by the sedulous care of His friends He revived on the third day. One author has written a book to prove that Christ lived twenty-seven years upon earth after (according to Scripture) His ascension; another, that our Lord's ascension was a myth. The genuineness of most of the books of the New Testament has been denied by different writers of this school on various grounds; the four Gospels, it is asserted, were not published in their present form, or immediately after Christ's death; and many pamphlets have been written against the authenticity of St. John's Gospel.

Here we find Rationalism legitimately and fully developed. Reason, that is every man's own opinion or judgment, being the theologian's only guide, he abandons one portion of Divine revelation after another, till at length he reaches the final goal, that Christianity, rightly understood or purified from error, is identical with Deism or mere natural religion; from whence it must necessarily follow that its promulgation was useless—in no intelligible sense could it be called a *revelation*, since it revealed nothing, or only what was already universally acknowledged.

Since the publication of the work from which quotations have been given, the progress of Rationalism in Germany has been checked; its leading principles have been refuted by many divines far superior in scholarship to their Neologian predecessors, who have ably maintained the fundamental doctrines of Evangelical Christianity. The names of Neander, Olshausen, Stier, Hengstenberg, Kurtz, Auberlen, and a number of others well known in Germany, are equally celebrated in England and America as learned expositors of Scripture, and as writers to whom theological science generally is much indebted.

German Rationalism, as already stated, originated in some measure from the writings of English Deists: most unhappily in our own day this order has been reversed. Such works as Bishop Colenso on the *Pentateuch*, and *Essays and Reviews* are merely an impoverished reproduction of certain theories and speculations of German Rationalists, without even the negative merit of the ability and originality of their authors.

Probably, it will be said, that we have not yet fully examined what may be said in defence of Rationalism, and have too much treated its theories as wholly destitute of credibility and incapable of a fair apology and defence. On the contrary, we wish to state the strongest arguments proposed in its favour. Without dwelling on the apparent unreasonableness of certain Christian doctrines (of which something has been already said) or the supposed insufficiency of the evidence on which Christianity rests, the Rationalist, though not losing sight of such objections, will *especially* call attention to the discoveries of modern science, as of geology, which, as he asserts, will not allow us to understand literally the Mosaic account of the Creation; or of astronomy, which certainly forbids us to take in a literal sense the statements of Scripture. Hence he concludes that we are compelled to rationalize—to accept what is true, and reject what is erroneous in Scripture. Besides, how can Scripture be a direct revelation from God, and as such infallibly and on all points true, if errors of any kind whatever are to be found in its statements? This objection is founded on a wrong view of the object or purpose for which Holy Scripture was given. It was not written to impart to its readers information on scientific matters: nor have we any reason to suppose that its authors knew more on such subjects than their contemporaries. "These things," says St. John, "were written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through His Name" [John xx. 31]. This is the reason for which Scripture was written, and if its professed object be attained, what more have we a right to expect? But it will be answered that if God inspired the sacred writers—*all* that they taught, whether scientific or theological, would have been simply and entirely true; and we should not read of the earth being set on pillars, or of the sun going round it. Here, again, we see mistaken ideas of the purpose of inspiration, which was solely to communicate supernatural truth to the world, and had no direct reference to any other matters whatever. But the objection itself, as a few words will shew, is of no real weight or value. Let it be supposed that God had inspired prophets and apostles to give cosmical information with minute accuracy, such information, instead of furthering, would only have impeded the end which revelation has in view. Christianity in early ages, on account of the peculiar views of its authors, would probably not have been received at all, their theories would have been deemed so novel and extraordinary; being imposed too on divine authority, an insuperable bar would have been placed against its reception. The Bible would have afforded material for scientific theories and speculations which, instead of promoting, could only have hindered the diffusion of Divine truth, by diverting the minds of inquirers from its primary and all-important object. Besides, even in modern times, would a perfect statement of cosmical truths be likely to promote the object which revelation has in view? Is the world now prepared to receive it? would all scientific men accept it? Our knowledge on the two sciences referred to, astronomy and geology, is only yet in an imperfect or inchoate state: considerable information respecting the latter has been gained in modern times, yet disputes still prevail on important points, nor is it universally agreed whether or not the facts of science are reconcileable with the literal meaning of the Mosaic account of the Creation. And of astronomy even less has been discovered. We have no certain theory on the creation of the planetary system: nor are learned writers yet agreed whether or not the innumerable worlds pervading infinite space are inhabited. Suppose that all such matters were

Rationalism

fully revealed in God's Word, would writers of the present day accept the revelation? On the contrary, the Bible would be more likely, even than with its present contents, to afford the materials and occasion for speculative unbelief: since we have no right to take for granted, that if the exact truth on matters referred to were set forth in its fulness, that it would necessarily command general assent. It cannot, therefore, be fairly questioned, even humanly speaking, that it was the wisest course, as most likely to promote the desired end, to leave the sacred writers solely in possession of contemporary information. Such limited knowledge, it can hardly be doubted, best fitted them for the guidance of their own generation, and also really best enables them to be the instructors of future ages.

Another observation must be added. All unnecessary difficulties should be removed which hinder the reception of the truths of revelation. Rationalists, with much probability, question the truth of certain statements of Scripture literally understood, when probably the literal sense is not a matter of faith or certainty. Thus St. Augustine did not think that the six days of Creation ought to be understood in the letter, but that they indicated, as many geologists assert, an indefinite period of time.[1] He suggests, and some modern scholars have adopted his theory, that animals were created in certain localities after the Deluge[2]—a theory by which we might explain the fact, that, *e.g.*, in Australia the animal creation widely differs from that of the Old World. Again, there are disputes amongst orthodox theologians on the chronology of Holy Scripture, which is evidently in a crude or unsettled state; and also on the universality of the Deluge. Now, a certain view or theory on such matters ought not to be considered as *de fide*, or to expose those maintaining it to the charge of Rationalism or infidelity. A greater latitude of opinion on these and like subjects than many modern theologians suppose, would certainly have been allowed in the Primitive Church.[3] But whilst maintaining that it is an imperative duty to remove every stumbling-block from the sincere inquirer's path; it must also be remembered that this can only be done imperfectly and inadequately. There is much in Divine revelation, viewing only its subject-matter, which is beyond, and sometimes apparently opposed to, man's reason and intellect, and only to be received by faith. The Holy Ghost, foreseeing this, has provided an assured guidance for us amidst such perplexities and trials, a certain means of gaining enlightenment and a knowledge of the truth, which if neglected must leave men without apology or excuse. Our Lord declares, "If any man will do (is disposed or wills to do, θέλῃ ποιεῖν) His will he shall know of the doctrine" [John vii. 17], and also promises to all who are walking in the path of obedience a present guidance and support. "He that hath My commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth Me; and I will love him, and will manifest Myself to him" [John xiv. 21; see also Rev. iii. 20]. Hence St. John says, "We have an unction from the Holy One, and the same anointing teaches us of all things" [1 John ii. 20, 27]. Our Lord also in the Apocalypse assures us that to him who is overcoming (νικῶντι) in the spiritual warfare, shall be given of the tree of life and of the hidden manna[4] [Rev. ii. 7, 17]. Thus, we cannot doubt that in seeking after God by faith and obedience, knowledge already possessed will be increased, and fresh light and guidance afforded. "The manifestation (δήλωσις) of Thy word," says the Psalmist, "giveth light" [cxix. 130]; "Light is sprung up for the righteous" [xcvii. 11]. "The path of the just is a shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day" [Prov. iv. 18]. Let none think that this divine arrangement either can or will be altered. It is founded on unchangeable necessity. That knowledge of God which is life eternal [John xvii. 2] can *only* be communicated to those who love Him and keep His commandments; they *only* are capable of His inward presence, guidance, and consolation. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God"—see Him now by faith, and afterwards behold His Presence unveiled in the Beatific Vision.

Again, the doubts and obscurities overshadowing our path as Christians, and our conduct as regards them, are intended to test our fitness for sharing the blessings of redemption: faith is chiefly brought before us in Scripture, not as an exercise of the intellect, but an affection of the heart. "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." Until as children we lean on Another,

[1] *De Genesi ad literam*, lib. iv. c. 18—where he says that we cannot understand *literally* the first three days of Creation, since there could not be "morning" and "evening" before the sun was made.

[2] *De Civitate*, lib. xvi. c. 7.

[3] The following statement in his work against the Manichæans should also be attentively considered. It is an extract from one of the chapters entitled *Genesis ad literam ubique non potest exponi:* "Sane quisquis voluerit omnia quæ dicta sunt secundum literam accipere, id est non aliter intelligere quam littera sonat, et potuerit evitare blasphemias et omnia congruentia fidei Catholicæ prædicare, non solum non ei invidendum, sed præcipuus multumque laudabilis intellector habendus est. Si autem nullus exitus datur, ut pie et digne Deo quæ scripta sunt intelligantur, nisi figurate et in ænigmatibus proposita ista credamus, habentes auctoritatem apostolicam, a quibus tam multa de libris Veteris Testamenti solvuntur ænigmata, modum quem intendimus teneamus adjuvante Illo qui nos petere, quærere, et pulsare adhortatur [Matt. vii. 7]; ut omnes istas figuras rerum secundum catholicam fidem, sive quæ ad historiam, sive quæ ad prophetiam pertinent, explicemus, non præjudicantes meliori diligentiori tractatui, sive per nos, sive per alios quibus Dominus revelare dignatur" [*De Genesi contra Manichæos*, lib. ii. c. 2].

[4] "Manna cibus notissimus omnium Israelitarum erat. Post ingressum vero in terram promissionis, vasculum in quo manna reconditum erat, in arca fœderis, vel etiam juxta eam in Sancto Sanctorum adservatum fuit. Adeoque tunc revera erat κεκρυμμένον, quod Israelitæ ne quidem, oculis capere, nedum degustare poterant. Ejusmodi ergo cibum delicatum, sed ab omnium conspectu et usu remotum, Servator sanctissimis suis promittit; per quem intelligo gustum rerum sacrarum, et gaudium spirituale, conjunctum cum spe vitæ æternæ. Hoc vero ad Sacerdotium Christianorum pertinet; nam Sacerdos summus semel tantum quotannis illud manna videre, minime vero gustare poterat. Sed Christiani omnes id possunt." [Schoettgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ, in loc.*]

and like true disciples sit at the feet of our Master and learn of Him, we are not only unworthy of, but morally unfit for, divine guidance and instruction, and amidst spiritual doubts and darkness cannot hope to find rest unto our souls.

Possibly, there may be some who, seeking divine illumination in the path of duty, cannot find the guidance promised, but such cases can only be assigned to peculiar or individual circumstances, and cannot set aside the general rule of Scripture. Christian experience in all ages has fully proved, that to those who seek after God in the path of faith and obedience the promises of assured light and guidance are abundantly fulfilled—"yea, the wayfaring man though a fool shall not err therein."

READERS. [Lectores; ἀναγνῶσται.] One of the minor orders of the Primitive Church, whose duty was to read Holy Scripture during divine service. The order is of ecclesiastical rather than Apostolic institution, and cannot be traced back further than to the third century. Bona [*Rer. Liturg.* I. xxv. n. 17] says that the orders of acolytes, exorcists, *readers*, and doorkeepers were not instituted by the Apostles—"quos ab apostolis, vel ab immediatis eorum successoribus institutos, doctores scholastici adserunt, sed non probant." The reason of this is doubtless supplied by the passage which he quotes from St. Thomas Aquinas [*Supplem.* part iii. quæst. 36, art. ii.]: "In primitiva ecclesia, *propter paucitatem ministrorum*, omnia inferiora ministeria diaconibus committebantur, ut patet per Dionysium, cap. iii. Eccles. Hierarchiæ, &c. . . . Nihilominus erant omnes prædictæ potestates, sed implicite, in una diaconi potestate. Sed postea ampliatus est cultus divinus; et ecclesia quod implicite habebat in uno ordine, explicite tradidit in diversis."

The first to make mention of Readers is Tertullian. In his treatise, *De Præscript.* c. 41, he plainly shews by the complaint which he makes against heretics that they were a recognised order of the Church. St. Cyprian mentions them frequently, and Cornelius, Bishop of Rome [A.D. 251, 252], in his letter to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, states it as a fact well known to Novatus that the Roman Church possessed exorcists, *readers*, and doorkeepers [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 43]. Socrates relates how the office was undertaken by Julian, afterwards "the Apostate," at Nicomedia, in order to deceive his cousin Constantine as to his belief [Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 1]. Sozomen mentions how both he and his brother Gallus fulfilled this duty, and were reckoned worthy, ὡς καὶ ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ λαῷ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς βίβλους [Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 2]. "And there is no writer of that age," says Bingham, "but always speaks of readers as a distinct order of the clergy in the Church."

In the Church of Alexandria, the catechumens as well as the faithful were admitted to be readers [Socr. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 22]. In this case, probably, there was not the same solemn form of ordination which elsewhere prevailed. In general, readers were formally set apart for their work, in some Churches of the East, by imposition of hands, but in the West rather by the commission of the bishop. They were nowhere set apart like the "sacrati ordines," by καθιέρωσις, or consecration, but by εὐλογία, or benediction. The Fourth Council of Carthage [A.D. 398] thus ordered: "When the reader is ordained let the bishop address the people concerning him, making mention of his faith, life, and ability. Then, while the people are looking on, let him deliver to him the book out of which he is to read, saying, Take this, and be thou a reader of the word of God (lector Verbi Dei), which office, if thou fulfil faithfully and profitably, thou shalt have part with those that minister the Word of God."

The duty of this order was to read Holy Scripture to the people from the "pulpitum, id est, tribunal ecclesiæ" [St. Cyprian, *Epist.* 34 *al.* 39], standing in the body of the Church, but not to minister or read at the altar, which was the duty of the deacons. In the Apostolic Constitutions we have the following description of the reader's office in divine service: "The reader is in the middle, standing upon a high place, and reads the Books of Moses, of Joshua the son of Nun, of Judges, and of Kings, and of Chronicles, and of the things which were written about the return of the people, and, in addition to these, the Books of Job, and of Solomon, and the sixteen prophetical books. The two lessons having been read aloud, some other one sings the Psalms of David, and the people sing softly the Antiphons (τὰ ἀκροστίχια), and afterwards our own acts are recited, and the Epistles of Paul our fellow-labourer, which he sent to the churches under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. After these things the *deacon* or the *presbyter* reads the *gospel*," &c. [*Const. Apost.* ii. 57].

The law of Justinian [*Novell.* cxxiii. c. 13] forbad any person under the age of eighteen to be admitted a reader. Before this even infants (infantuli) were admitted; children dedicated to God by their parents being trained in this and other inferior offices for the higher orders of the Church.

In Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law* (under title "Readers") we find that it was usual in England to admit readers to officiate in churches or chapels where the endowment was very small, "to the end that divine service in such places might not altogether be neglected." A series of injunctions was drawn up at the Reformation, and signed by the archbishops and several bishops. Amongst them we find that the readers were not to preach or interpret, but only read what was set forth by public authority; and they were, of course, not allowed to minister the Sacraments or public rites of the Church, save only burial of the dead and purification of women after childbirth.

In the last century, Marshall, the translator of St. Cyprian, wrote that "the nearest resemblance we now have to the office of reader is that part which is performed by our singing-men in cathedrals; viz. *reading the lesson*" [*Epp. of St. Cyprian*, part ii. p. 93, n. ed. 1717].

It is interesting to notice that at the General Synod of the Church of Scotland in 1863 a canon was passed empowering the bishops to appoint "lay readers and catechists to read the Holy Scriptures and conduct the ordinary service of the Church." This canon was carried into effect on Sunday, January 29th, 1865, when to Lord Rollo, kneeling at the altar rails, the Bishop of St. Andrews delivered the Bible, saying, "Take thou authority to read the Common Prayer and Holy Scriptures in the congregation of God's people assembled for His holy worship: and in this and all thy works, begun, continued, and ended in Him, may the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be upon thee, and remain with thee for ever. Amen." Since that time readers have been solemnly set apart for particular parishes in several English dioceses. [Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Ecc. Disciplin.* ii. 1. Bingham's *Antiq.* III. v. Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, Phillimore's ed.]

REAL PRESENCE. A term used to express our Lord's Presence in the Holy Eucharist, in contradiction to certain modern theories which, though partially true, do not fully and adequately express the scriptural and catholic verity. Thus the word "Real" obviously means far more than a *figurative* Presence, as if the Bread and Wine were only memorials of Christ's Body and Blood; and more also than a *virtual* presence, as if our Lord only bestowed in the Eucharist the graces and blessings derived from His atoning sacrifice. The word "real," whilst not defining the mode of the sacramental presence, is intended, in contradiction to the theories mentioned, clearly and expressly to assert its truth.

The theory that our Lord's presence is only memorial is elsewhere examined [EUCHARIST]; a few words are here added respecting a "virtual presence." Certain modern writers most unhappily use terms which have a definite theological meaning in *their own* peculiar sense, and thus teach error or heresy under the guise of orthodox phraseology. Hence the theory of Virtualism, though essentially differing from the true doctrine of the Real Presence, is represented as being identical with it; but so far is it from being so, that it is a novel theory, totally unknown in the early ages of the Church. It was probably invented by Calvin in the sixteenth century, being first met with in his writings; and it is an attempted *via media* between the Primitive or Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist and the theory of Zuinglius, who denied altogether our Lord's sacramental presence, representing the Eucharist as being only a sign or representation of His sufferings and death. As regards Calvin's theory,—though he sometimes uses Catholic phraseology, and speaks of Christ being in the "symbol"[1] (in symbolo) and of our being "partakers of His substance"[2] (participes substantiæ ejus), yet it is certain that he wholly rejected the true doctrine of the Eucharist. Thus he asserts that our Lord's human nature can only be present at the right hand of God, and cannot in any sense whatever be present under Eucharistic signs:[3] but if our Lord's humanity be not there present, He Himself cannot in any true sense be present, as His two natures (divine and human) after the ascension are indivisible. Besides, if our Lord be not present with the signs or symbols, the Eucharist would not be a sacrament, which *as such* must consist of two parts, the outward sign and the inward accompanying grace.[4] Calvin maintained that the Eucharist was especially designed to kindle the believer's faith, and to raise his heart to Christ sitting at the right hand of God. He thus illustrates his theory, that as the sun, though so distant, can infuse light and heat, so Christ, though at the right hand of God, shines into the hearts of faithful receivers, and fills them with His grace and presence.[5] Whatever may be thought of Calvin's illustration it is certain that his theory does not *essentially* differ from Zuinglianism. Christ is *sacramentally* absent, according to Calvin's theory, no less than according to that of the Zurich reformer. Hence Calvin, in endeavouring to set forth his theory to the best advantage, is compelled to attempt the proof that the words of Institution are to be explained figuratively or metaphorically.[6] Thus Virtualism and the memorial theory are really identical: indeed, only two rational opinions on the subject are possible—a real presence or a real absence.

The chief objection in modern times to the doctrine of the Real Presence arises from unwillingness to admit that earthly elements can be the vehicle for the communication of divine grace. And yet this truth is abundantly confirmed by scriptural teaching and illustration. A woman touched the hem of our Lord's garment and was

[1] In symbolo panis habemus corpus Christi [*Catech. Genev.*].

[2] Calvin, *Inst.* lib. iv. c. 17, sec. 11

[3] *Ibid.* lib. iv. sec. 19, sec. 26.

[4] Calvin [*ibid.* lib. iv. c. 17, sec. 11] unsuccessfully attempts, on his own theory, an explanation of the sacramental nature of the Holy Eucharist. He admits that it consists of two parts, the outward sign and the inward grace; and says of the "presence" of the inward grace, that by the outward signs the Body and Blood of Christ are truly exhibited (exhiberi): but surely this "exhibition" of Christ by the symbols (per symbola panis et vini) totally differs from a real presence, or any *presence* whatever, in the ordinary meaning of the word.

[5] *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 17, sec. 22. Calvin sometimes goes beyond such illustrations, and *apparently* nearly approaches Catholic belief, but his *true* meaning must be carefully investigated. Thus in the *Institutes* he speaks of its being a wonderful and incomprehensible thing, that the Flesh of Christ, though at so great a distance, should be the food of our souls, which, he says, can only take effect through the power of the Spirit; but this spiritual "eating" he really attributes to faith viewed *per se*, and not to sacramental manducation (*i.e.* to faith *in* and *through* the sacrament). Thus, also, in the Genevan Catechism, after the statement that we are partakers of Christ's "substance" (though He is at the right hand of God) by the secret and wonderful efficacy (virtute) of His Spirit, the following question and answer are added: "*M.* Ergo nec corpus in pane inclusum esse sive sanguinem in calice imaginaris? *P.* Nequaquam. Quin potius ita sentio, ut veritate potiamur signorum, erigendas esse in cœlum mentes ubi Christus est, et unde Eum expectamus judicem et redemptorem: in his vero terrenis elementis perperam et frustra quæri."

[6] *Ibid.* lib. iv. c. 17, sec. 20, sec. 21.

healed, virtue going out of Him [Mark v. 30]; the eyes of a blind man were anointed with clay, and his sight was restored [John ix. 6]; handkerchiefs and aprons were taken from St. Paul's body, and the sick were healed by them [Acts xix. 12]; sins were washed away by baptism [Acts xxii. 16]; the Apostles laid their hands on converts and they receive the Holy Ghost [Acts viii. 17]. Why then should the earthly elements of bread and wine be an unworthy medium to convey heavenly and spiritual gifts? Their unfitness in themselves only places more strikingly in contrast the wonder-working power of God and His independence of human agency. He can transform the feeblest, meanest instrument, so that it becomes the channel of His grace, and the very token and pledge of His adorable Presence. [Eucharist. Transubstantiation.]

REALISM. [Conceptualism. Theology, Scholastic.]

RE-BAPTISM. The question of re-baptism was one which agitated the Church in the days of St. Cyprian in the latter half of the third century, and gave rise to much dissension. It arose out of a practical difficulty which was then making itself felt among Christians, viz. that of deciding how heretics and schismatics should be reconciled to the Church. St. Cyprian, the African Church, and the Church of Asia Minor, on the one side, held that all thus seeking reconciliation ought to receive Catholic baptism; Stephen, Bishop of Rome, and the rest of the Church, maintained that the heretical or schismatical baptism, if due matter and form had been observed, was valid, that it would be sacrilegious to repeat it, and that the imposition of hands was the right means of restoring heretics and schismatics to communion.

It is important to notice that there was no dispute as to the repetition of *Catholic* baptism. All agreed that, if baptism had really and truly been administered, it could not be repeated; and of all the heretics the Marcionites only taught the contrary, allowing it to be repeated thrice. St. Cyprian, while contending that heretics ought to be re-baptized, makes a special exception in the case of those who had been baptized in the Catholic Church and had afterwards lapsed. The Novatians, Donatists, Eunomians, moreover, re-baptized Catholics on the same principle, maintaining that their former baptism was null and void.

The history of the dispute is not clear. Stephen at one time used the strongest language against St. Cyprian, and broke off communion with the African Church. But Dionysius of Alexandria mediated between St. Cyprian and the next Bishop of Rome, Xystus or Sixtus II., and the result seems to have been that each church retained and observed its own practice. The question was, however, finally settled by the Council of Arles [A.D. 314], the eighth canon of which enacted that "if the schismatical baptism had been administered in the name of the Trinity, converts should be admitted into the Church by imposition of hands." [Routh's *Reliq. Sacr.* iii. 308, 309.]

Various laws, civil and ecclesiastical, were made against re-baptism, though apparently only against the repetition of Catholic baptism. The Council of Lerida forbids the faithful to eat with those who allowed themselves to be re-baptized. Long penances and degradation from orders were inflicted by the canons of Popes Innocent and Leo. The Donatists were laid under the civil penalty of confiscation of goods, and the same punishment was inflicted upon the Eunomians, with the addition of banishment.

In later times the question has been re-opened by the Anabaptists, who re-baptize all who have been baptized in infancy; and by the Roman Church, which receives converts by baptism. In the one case, the argument used depends on the denial of infant baptism; in the other, baptism is administered *conditionally*, on the ground that there is room for doubt as to its due administration in the first instance. The early Church, on similar grounds, allowed several cases of re-baptism, such as [1] the case of persons who could neither produce proof, nor themselves give any account of, their baptism—these were baptized without scruple [*V. Council of Carthage*, can. vi., Leon. *Epp.* xxxvii. 92]; but the discovery that one so baptized had been baptized before deprived him of ecclesiastical promotion: and [2] that of persons who had been *unduly* baptized in heresy, *i.e.* with some other form or matter than that ordained by Christ. [Baptism.]

It remains only to state briefly the main arguments used by the chief contending parties on this question. For the all but universal belief that *true baptism, acknowledged to be such, ought on no account to be repeated*, the following were some of the methods of argument:—

1. Because in baptism we are baptized into Christ's death, and Christ died once.

2. From St. John xiii. 10, Optatus, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose.

3. From Heb. vi. 4, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret. This was strongly urged by the ancients against the Novatians.

4. From Eph. iv. 5—"One Lord, one faith, one baptism,"—St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Leo the Great.

5. Later, because there is no affirmative command to repeat it as there is in the case of the Holy Eucharist.

6. Because the rite of circumcision was never repeated.

7. From the strong analogy between baptism and the natural birth, on the ground that the heavenly birth cannot be repeated. St. Augustine, Hooker.

St. Cyprian's main arguments for *the re-baptism of heretics* were taken from Eph. iv. 5, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." He held that water could not be sanctified to the washing away of sin outside the Catholic Church; and the same principle was held by the Novatians and Donatists, each of which sects regarded its own body as the one only Church, possessing and administering the one only Baptism. Stephen and the Roman Church held that heretical or schismatical baptism was of a like character with lay baptism, that it was valid, if administered with

water and in the name of the Holy Trinity. This, as we have seen, was the view ultimately adopted by the Church in her councils. The doctrine and practice of the modern Roman Church on this question are thus summarized in the Tridentine Catechism: "But as, from the force and nature of this character, it has been defined by the Church, that the sacrament of baptism is on no account to be iterated, the pastor should frequently and diligently admonish the faithful on the subject, lest at any time they may be led into error. That baptism is not to be repeated, the Apostle teaches when he says, 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism' [Eph. iv. 5]. Again, when exhorting the Romans, that, dead in Christ by baptism, they take care not to lose the life which they had received from Him, saying, 'In that Christ died to sin, He died once' [Rom. vi. 10], he seems clearly to signify that Christ cannot die again, neither can we die again by baptism. Hence the Church also openly professes that she believes 'one baptism:' and that this accords with the nature of the thing, and with reason, is understood from the very idea of baptism, which is a certain spiritual regeneration. As then, by virtue of the laws of nature, we are generated and born but once, and as St. Augustine observes, 'there is no returning to the womb,' so in like manner, there is but one spiritual generation, nor is baptism ever at any time to be repeated.

"Nor let any one suppose that it is repeated by the Church, when she admits to the baptismal font one of whose previous baptism doubts are entertained, making use of this formula: 'If thou art baptized I baptize thee not again; but if thou art not yet baptized, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' for in such cases baptism is not to be considered as impiously repeated, but as holily, because conditionally administered" [*Catech. Trident. De Bapt.* ii. 55, 56].

RECOGNITIONS, CLEMENTINE. A work of didactic theology, belonging to the early part of the third century, by an anonymous writer who personates Clement of Rome. It takes its title from the events of a narrative which brings together St. Peter, Simon Magus, Zacchæus, Clement, with his father, mother, and brothers. Clement's family had been separated, and the Recognitions are their discovery of one another. St. Peter's disputations with Simon, and his instructions to the others, are the staple of the book, and its sole interest. It is a work that does not claim to be history, nor pretend to the interest of a romantic narrative. It belongs to that class of which "imaginary conversations" are the simplest and rudimentary form.

A narrative almost identical, and told often in the same words, is the connecting thread of the Clementine Homilies. Other portions of the Homilies too are worked up in the Recognitions, a list of which may be seen in Schliemann, *Die Clementinen*, p. 301. But the theology of the two works is quite different. There can be little doubt that the Recognitions are the later of the two, an attempt to amend the Homilies by dropping their heresy. Although the more finished work, they are the less consistent, and the inconsistency arises from emendation. Thus the doctrine of syzygies, the leading doctrine of the Homilies, appears in a modified form in the Recognitions, and evidently corrected. The doctrine requires a false prophet to appear before a true prophet, and in the Homilies our Lord is preceded by a false prophet, John Hemerobaptist: in the Recognitions the contrast to our Lord is the tempter, which is in accordance with early opinions about ANTICHRIST. The doctrine of the Recognitions then is properly approached through the Homilies. Of these Gieseler has ably summed up the teaching [*Compendium*, i. p. 209]: "God, a pure simple Being of light, has allowed the world to be formed in contrasts, and so also the history of the world and of men runs off in contrasts (*συζυγίαι*), corresponding by way of pairs, in which the lower constantly precedes the higher. From the beginning onward, God has revealed Himself to men, while His Holy Spirit (*σοφία, υἱὸς θεοῦ, θεῖον πνεῦμα, πνεῦμα ἅγιον*), from time to time in the form of individual men (Adam, Enoch, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Jesus), as the true prophet (*ὁ προφήτης τῆς ἀληθείας*), constantly announced the very same truth, and in Jesus caused it also to be communicated to the heathen. According to the law of syzygies, false prophets also are always produced in addition to the true (*γεννητοὶ γυναικῶν*, Matt. xi. 11), who corrupt the truth. Thus the original doctrines of Mosaism are perfectly identical with Christianity, though they have not been preserved in their purity in the Pentateuch, which was not composed till long after Moses, and in the present form of Judaism have been utterly perverted. In general, the truth has been constantly maintained in its purity only by a few by means of secret tradition. Man is free, and must expect after death a spiritual continuation of life, with rewards and punishments. The conditions of happiness are love to God and man, and struggling against the demons, which draw away to evil through sensuality. For this purpose these sectaries prescribed abstinence from animal food, frequent fastings and washings, recommended early marriage and voluntary poverty, but rejected all sacrifice."

In this scheme, then, our Lord's divinity is denied, the doctrines of the Gospel are consequently lost, and Christianity is made a continuation of Judaism. In the Recognitions our Lord's divinity is asserted; He is the True Prophet, and the doctrines of the Gospel are nominally preserved. The continuity of principle from Judaism to Christianity is still asserted, but maintained by the doctrine that the True Prophet "Christ was ever present with the pious, though secretly, through all their generations, especially with those who waited for Him, to whom He frequently appeared" [i. 52]. So He appeared to Abraham [i. 33], to Moses [i. 34]. This action of the True Prophet is not such as the Church acknowledges, namely the Spirit of Christ speaking by the prophets as the ordinary rule, with occasional and rare manifestations of

Recognitions

the Word of God [THEOPHANIES], but an action involving the heretical tenet of a pre-existent Messiah, the tenet that the Divine Word, antecedently to His conception in the fulness of time of the Virgin Mary, assumed humanity by uniting Himself to a pre-existent human soul. [PRE-EXISTENCE.] This tenet appears to us to be plainly stated in i. 45. St. Peter there instructs Clement thus: "When God had made the world, He appointed chiefs over the several creatures, an angel over the angels, . . . a man over men, who is Christ Jesus. But He is called Christ by a certain excellent rite of religion. Him first God anointed with oil taken from the wood of the Tree of Life: from that anointing therefore He is called Christ."

The manhood of Christ is here dated from the beginning of the world, on which account it becomes necessary to assert another and mystical anointing in place of the historical descent of the Holy Spirit on our Lord in Jordan. In place then of the line of Prophets given in the Homilies, we have the continuous action from the first of the one True Prophet, effected by antedating the assumption of humanity by the Word. This, though in another way, asserts the identity of Judaism and Christianity, and makes it possible to hold that the Jews rejecting Jesus still believed in Christ. Accordingly it is said [i. 43] that "there is no difference between Jews and Christians, except that the latter receive Jesus as the True Prophet:" and again [i. 50], "the Jews have erred concerning the first coming of the Lord, and on this point only there is disagreement between us and them."

Theoretically this doctrine saves the doctrines of the Gospel; for the tenet of a pre-existent Messiah, though heretical, denies neither the true Divinity of our Lord nor the reality of His Incarnation. But practically, when it is held in order to establish the identity of Judaism and Christianity, it cannot but render theology very defective. Judaism cannot be raised to the level of Christianity, and Christianity must needs be dragged down. This is seen in the Recognitions, which perpetually represent our Lord as the Prophet, giving a one-sided view of His office. At the same time the attempt to identify Judaism and Christianity, though it apparently exalts Judaism, yet really disgraces it. For, to account for the cessation of sacrifices, the writer is obliged to state that they were allowed only as a concession to the ingrained sin of the Jews, who had learnt sacrifices from the heathen, and that the Temple (with its ritual therefore) arose only from regal ambition [i. 36, 38].

With the exceptions and defects arising from these causes, the Recognitions may be called orthodox. Still, they were felt in later times to be unsatisfactory, as will be seen by comparing with them the more precise statements of the Epitome.

The desire to identify Judaism and Christianity could not but cause a strong antagonism to St. Paul. In the Homilies this antagonism is more strongly exhibited than in the Recognitions, though in the latter there is the same anti-Pauline framework of narrative as in the former. The writer intending to set forth a book of Catholic instruction, an ideal of the Christian Church, has chosen a point of time at which he can represent St. James as primate of Christendom, Barnabas a missionary from St. James, Clement a disciple of St. Peter. From the same point of time he can tell of Saul the persecutor, and ignore St. Paul the Apostle, yet denouncing, as by anticipation, St. Paul's mission and authority. From the same point of time he can represent his ideal, St. Peter, living as a Hebrew of the Hebrews. A Catholic Christian of the third century would hardly have chosen for his ideal the Church as it was before St. Paul's conversion. The writer of the Recognitions dares to put into St. Peter's mouth the statements, that after all the Apostles in turn had in full discussion declared the truth in Christ, an enemy excited the people to murder, and snatching a brand from the altar, attacked St. James; that this enemy obtained a commission from Caiaphas to go to Damascus, because he believed that Peter had fled thither [i. 70, 71]. St. Peter [iv. 35] gives a strict caution that no teacher is to be received without a testimonial from St. James [compare 2 Cor. iii. 1], and a warning that no Apostle is to be looked for besides the twelve. He names [ii. 33] the mission of the twelve, and proceeds, "If I should speak anything different from what He who has sent me enjoined me, I should be a false Apostle, not saying what I am commanded to say, but what seems good to myself. Whoever does this . . . is without doubt a traitor."

And further, in the doctrine of syzygies (as modified in the Recognitions) we are led to a condemnation of St. Paul in a way which can hardly be mistaken. "God has appointed for the world certain pairs; and he who comes first of the pairs is of evil, he who comes second of good" [iii. 59]. A man is not to be led away by the signs which the former exhibits. Then [ch. 61] ten pairs are enumerated, "Cain and Abel, &c., the tempter and the Son of Man, Simon and Peter, all nations, and he who shall be sent to sow the Word among the nations." The clumsy correction of the tempter for a false prophet has been noticed; no less clumsy is the substitution of all nations for a false prophet. And it may be fairly asked whether the passage was not retained in order that the reader might supply for himself the only possible contrast, "he who pretends to sow the Word among all nations."

A notice of the Recognitions, however short, would have given a false impression, unless this anti-Pauline character was named.

The Recognitions, then, we may conclude to be an attempt by a writer of the more orthodox section of the anti-Pauline school to amend the heretical Clementine Homilies: an attempt, successful so far as his Judaism permitted, that Judaism rejecting St. Paul, calumniating St. Peter, and erring by defect in the representation of our Blessed Lord.

We reserve to the *Dictionary of Sects and Heresies* the questions of the sects and heresies with which these pseudo-Clementines are connected, of the other names by which they were known,

or of the other works used in the compilation of the Recognitions. [See SIMONIANS, EBIONITES, ELCHESAITES in that *Dictionary*.]

RECONCILIATION. When it is said that God is reconciled to man, it never can be meant that any change can take place in Him who is eternally one and the same. His attributes are not separable one from the other, but they are blended together in one Supreme Perfection. "His whole nature is as one great impulse to what is best" [Magee on the *Atonement*, i. 28]; and it is without variation or self-contradiction. Man is the variable element. When Adam was first made he was thoroughly acceptable to God; God pronounced His creation to be very good. But sin came into the world, and death by sin, and all was altered. Man was no longer acceptable to God, though the Divine Creator remained unaltered. It then became necessary that the quality of acceptableness should once more be restored to him by renewal of the likeness in which he was originally created, or he must remain for ever an outcast from all spiritual communion with the Unchangeable. It is this superinducing of the Divine likeness over the Cain-like brand of sin, this smoothing of the substance of the lake that it might once more reflect the pure face of heaven, that constitutes man's reconciliation with God. In a human and anthropopathic sense, indeed, the Divine Being may be said to be reconciled, to have his wrath appeased, and so to be changed in his regard to man, but this can only be the language of accommodation. As men, we understand what reconciliation is after some period of offence, and not knowing in our blindness how to speak of God as He is, we apply the same kind of language to Him, when we speak of His being reconciled to us and changed from a state of wrath to a condition of loving regard. "Caphar," literally to overlay, is the word that usually represents Atonement, with which "reconciliation" is closely connected in idea. The same word καταλλαγὴ expresses both. [Rom. v. 11.] In the work of reconciliation that which is overlaid is sin; that which overlays it is the blood of Christ [ATONEMENT], which is the very life, and was typified by the blood of bulls and goats that overlaid the covering of the mercy-seat or ἱλαστήριον, and whatever else required to be sanctified with the blood of the atonement. Without blood there was no remission of sin, which symbolized at the same time the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world; and the holy life of Christ, which by overlaying with its purity the heart of faith, reconciles it to God by cancelling its antagonism.

Bearing these Hebrew and sacrificial analogies in mind, we may next investigate the "usus loquendi" of the New Testament writers in speaking of man's reconciliation with God. Διαλλάσσειν, though it occurs only once in the New Testament, is a crucial word, as shewing the sense in which Scripture intends that its terms should be understood when speaking of the sinner being reconciled to God, and not *vice versa* God reconciled to the sinner. The verb is used in the LXX., ἐν τίνι διαλλαγήσεται τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ [1 Sam. xxix. 10], "How shall he ingratiate himself?" make himself acceptable after a state of antagonism—the reciprocal or Hithpahel form being used, יתרצה. So in the New Testament, "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother HATH AUGHT AGAINST THEE, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first BE RECONCILED [διαλλάγηθι] to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift" [Matt. v. 23, 24]. The offender is here said to be reconciled. Confession of sin has wrought a thorough change, and the transgressor who before was hardened and impracticable, has by the return of a better spirit become gracious and loving, and the antagonism of the offended party, which is the cardinal point, is resolved in love. At-oned antagonism, therefore, total and absolute, is the idea involved. The effects of separation from God's holiness, humanly speaking, can only be expressed as a state of wrath, the judicial visitation of God's displeasure upon sin—for the effect in both cases is the same; exclusion from the Divine Presence of sin and evil, which cannot possibly exist before Him Whose eyes are too pure to behold iniquity, is as the necessary consequence of the universal law of truth, and is just as exterminating in its action as a judicial visitation of burning wrath would be. We anthropomorphize in our theology when we speak of the eye or the feet or the right arm of the Deity, for God is Spirit; so also we speak of the Deity in a human way when we ascribe to him mutation from a state of favourable regard to the opposite condition of wrath, or *vice versa*. The punishment of sin and disobedience is as certain when it overtakes the sinner by the action of a general law, as it would be when inflicted by a judicial visitation of wrath. But the eternal law, that without holiness no man shall see the Lord, is constant and equable in its action; and exclusion from the Divine Presence, from whatever cause, is as the blackness of darkness and as the bitterness of despair that is eternal, in the true biblical sense of that term. The just retribution upon sin is certain, whether we trace it back to the Divine wrath or to the inevitable action of Divine law.

Sin, in this point of view, receives its penal award by necessary consequence, and the antagonism of man's corrupt will with the will of God is that which has to be reconciled. The word so generally used by St. Paul καταλάσσειν, and its derivatives, completely expresses this bringing over to the same side of that which was before opposed and contrary; ἀλλάσσειν is simply to change, καταλλάσσειν is to change with respect to some one or something else; it has a reciprocal sense, as in the exchange of money where silver and gold may be supposed to change hands. The word also has a conversive power; thus the "casting away" of the Jews "is the reconciling of the world," whereby the ancient antagonism is resolved, and they "who were not the people" of God have by conversion become His people. At some time God's ancient people will be His once more by conversion to the faith of the Cross,

when Christ shall have brought all to God, and God shall be all in all; then cometh the end, and the receiving of them shall be as life from the dead [Rom. xi. 15]. This reconciliation, however, is not owing to any moral or spiritual change in those who receive it. "While we were yet sinners Christ died for the ungodly" [Rom. v. 6, 8]. The perfect obedience of Christ, His holy life and death, in complete accordance with God's will as a power, is more than co-extensive with Adam's disobedience; the one made us all personally sinners in direct antagonism with the holiness of God, the other makes us personally righteous, in a relative sense indeed, though by union with Christ there is no longer that hopeless inability to live according to the will of God, which is the eternal law of holiness, justice, and truth. The whole matter is briefly set forth in a single verse, where the Apostle says [Rom. v. 10], "For if when we were enemies we were reconciled (*κατηλλάγημεν*) to God by the death of His Son, much more being reconciled (*καταλλαγέντες*) we shall be saved by His life." We were enemies and in a state of antagonism, but God Himself found the means of resolving it, by the holy obedience of His Son through life and to the death of the Cross; and being in Christ made acceptable, "we shall be saved by His life:" by the inward spirit of the life-blood that He shed for us, whereby He now lives in the glory of the Father, and whereby He communicates Himself to each believing soul through the Spirit. [See also Eph. ii. 13-18.] It is thus that by Christ we have received "reconciliation" [Rom. v. 11], or "at-one-ment," *καταλλαγήν*; and reconciliation is seen to be synonymous with justification by a comparison of ver. 10 with 9, *πολλῷ μᾶλλον καταλλαγέντες* in the one case being the echo of *πολλῷ μᾶλλον δικαιωθέντες* in the other.

The antagonism, then, between the perfect holiness of God and the sinfulness of man has been harmonized. The human element of weakness has been "overlaid" by the righteousness of God in Christ. Union with Christ through faith is thenceforth no mere speculative notion, it is a substantial reality. The believer is spiritually one with his Lord, as he is one with Adam in the nature of his being; bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh; and there is no longer any condemnation for them that are in Christ Jesus by a living and daily working faith. "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature;" but in this new creation, as in the first formation of nature, "all things are of God, Who hath reconciled us to Himself by Christ Jesus;" "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them;" the *καταλλαγὴ* or exchange of relation is complete, "for He hath made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him" [2 Cor. v. 17-21]. By this marvellous scheme, which "angels desire to look into" [1 Pet. i. 12], God "is both just and the justifier of him who is of the faith of Jesus" [Rom. iii. 26].

And by the blood of reconciliation, Christ is the "end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth in Him" [Rom. x. 4], *i.e.* the fulfilment of every significant type of the law; He is the victim whose blood alone can purge away sin, and the sacrificant priest, entering into the Holy of Holies with the blood of expiation. "By His own blood He entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us" [Heb. ix. 12]. That blood applied to the soul is the very life [ATONEMENT. BLOOD]; the very principle of reconciliation overlaying the foulness of sin, and "purging the conscience from dead works to serve the living God" [Heb. ix. 14]. Thus, as He is the Truth and the Life, so also He is the "living way" which He hath consecrated for us, whereby we have "boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus."

Lastly, this reconciliation affects not only every individual believing soul, but the whole of creation in some hidden mysterious way, of which for the present we know but little; we seeing but through a glass darkly.

By reason of man's apostasy from God, a curse glanced aslope from him upon the earth from which he was taken, "cursed be the ground for thy sake;" and the whole creation groaned and travailed in pain together until the day of Christ [Rom. viii. 19, 22]; but now since the "manifestation of the sons of God," the sentence has in part been reversed; and as evil traversed the whole face of creation at the Fall, so the creature partakes in the universal reconciliation brought about by Christ. The brute creation has a more merciful Master. The earth which before was nigh unto cursing [Heb. vi. 8], is now the Lord's and the fulness thereof; for her Lord is the Word made Flesh. This reconciliation of the lower creation was typified in the Law, like every other part of redemption. The Sabbath was a day of rest not only to man but to his beast; and the Sabbatical rest of the tilth in the seventh year foreshadowed the day of earth's redemption from the curse of Adam. Thus it is said of the Temple, "The place itself that was partaker with them of the adversity that did happen to the nation, did afterward communicate in the benefits sent from the Lord" [2 Macc. v. 20]. In this point of view the Christian scheme is a state of transition to that "dispensation of the fulness of time," when all things shall be gathered "together in one in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth" [Eph. i. 10]; where the term "gather together in one in Christ" is shewn to be synonymous with "reconcile" by the parallel text [Col. i. 20], "and having made peace by the blood of the Cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself by Him; whether they be things in earth or things in heaven;" and thus "God was in Christ reconciling the world (*κόσμον*) to Himself" [2 Cor. v. 19]. [Pearson on the *Creed*, art. ix. Magee on the *Atonement*, vol. i. notes 20, 21, 28.]

REDEMPTION. [Ἀπολύτρωσις.] The ransom of sinners from the consequences of sin by the humiliation, sufferings, and death of Christ, Who is hence called our Redeemer.[1]

[1] In the Mediæval English Litany the word "redemptor" is translated "again-buyer," as "resurrectio" is

[1.] The idea of "redemption" is, therefore, that of buying back again from a condition of slavery. That condition has come upon mankind universally by original sin, and is perpetuated by actual sin. For both original and actual sin entail ties of obedience to the tempter: "Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?" [Rom. vi. 16.] It is from such a bondage that Christ has redeemed, and is redeeming, sinners, REGENERATION from original sin and pardon of actual sin being each accorded on account of the Ransom which He has paid.

[2.] Hence the idea of redemption contains also that of claim to the service of the redeemed on the part of their Redeemer. "Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness" [Rom. vi. 18]. "He that is called, being free, is the servant of Christ. Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men" [1 Cor. vii. 22]. The Redeemer has not only redeemed us to freedom by His Ransom, but has also bought us for His own service, that bondage which is "perfect freedom." [ATONEMENT. SATISFACTION.]

REGALE. I. In French canon law the right which the kings of France had to enjoy the revenues of all bishoprics during their vacancy, and also to present to their prebends and all other their dignities without cure of souls. Such presentations might be made whether the dignity were vacant both *de jure* and *de facto* as by death; or only either *de jure*, as if the incumbent were convicted of a crime, or had accepted another dignity, or *de facto*, as if the Regale should open after the presentation of an incumbent, but before he had taken possession. The Regale lasted till a new admission to the bishopric was fully completed by the taking the oath of allegiance; when a mandate was issued by the Chambre des Comptes to the Commissary of the Regale to restore the revenues.

This right had one or two singular privileges: it opened not only on a vacancy, but also when a bishop was made a cardinal, and lasted till he repeated the oath of allegiance: it lasted thirty years as regarded patronage, so that if the king should leave a dignity vacant and the new bishop fill it up, the king might appoint a fresh incumbent at any time within this date: it was absolutely in the king's discretion, and subject to no other constitutions whatever.

The Regale was at different times deprived of much of its original extent: certain bishoprics as those of Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné claimed entire exemption; and though a decision of Parliament pronounced at one time that the right extended over the whole kingdom, this was afterwards quashed, and the question remained undecided. Abbeys which were formerly subject to the Regale were discharged, and an attempt to replace them under it quite failed. Finally, all right to the revenues was resigned by Louis XIII. and that of patronage only retained. [*Commentaire de M. Dupuy, sur le Traité des libertes de M. Pithou*, i. p. 146.]

II. In general history, Regale is the power of the sovereign in Church matters. In countries within the obedience of Rome this power is usually defined in a Concordat between the sovereign and the Pope [see CONCORDAT]: in independent churches the Regale becomes the Royal Supremacy. [SUPREMACY, ROYAL.]

REGENERATION [παλιγγενεσία]. The spiritual new-begetting by which the original sin inherited through natural conception [Psa. li. 5; 2 Pet. i. 4] is counteracted.

The only occasion on which this word was used by our Lord was when He told His Apostles "That ye which have followed Me in the regeneration [ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ], when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" [Matt. xix. 28]. Elsewhere it is used by St. Paul, who writes that "according to His mercy He saved us by the washing of regeneration [διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας] and renewing of the Holy Ghost" [Tit. iii. 5]. Its equivalent is twice used by St. Peter, first when he says God the Father, "according to His abundant mercy hath begotten us again [ἀναγεννήσας] unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" [1 Pet. i. 3]; and secondly, when he exhorts Christians to love one another, because they have purified their souls, "Being begotten again [ἀναγεγεννημένοι] not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God, Which liveth and abideth for ever" [1 Pet. i. 23]. The idea of a spiritual begetting, without mention of it as a second begetting, is found in John i. 13, iii. 3 (where, however, the ἄνωθεν has the same force, "again"), 1 John iii. 9, iv. 7, v. 1, 4, 18; 1 Cor. iv. 15, and Phil. 10. Wherever the term is used, except in the first case quoted, it is perfectly consistent with the idea that the spiritual new-begetting is contemporaneous with the Christianization of the person or persons referred to: in Titus iii. 5, it is distinctly associated with the use of water and the work of the Holy Ghost: and in John iii. 3-5, our Lord says, with equal clearness, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except one be begotten from above (ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν) . . . except one be begotten of water and of the Spirit (ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος) . . . he cannot see . . . he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

The sense of most of these passages has been somewhat obscured in the English Version of the New Testament by substituting the idea of being born for that of being begotten, but it is clear that they all refer to the act by which God establishes between Himself and men a new relation of spiritual paternity. It is equally clear that the establishment of this new relation of paternity is associated by our Blessed Lord and by St. Paul with the act of Baptism.

It is shewn by Bishop Bethell that although in a few rare cases the term Regeneration was used in ancient days for the idea of a transition

rendered by "again-rising" in the Mediæval English Creed.

from a state of sin to a state of holiness in the case of a person who had fallen into sin *after* Baptism, yet the general and only usual sense of the word is that of such a transition *in* and *by the act of* Baptism. "In those few passages of the ancient Christian writers where it bears another signification, it is used apparently in a figurative manner, to express such a change as seemed to bear some analogy in magnitude and importance to the change effected in Baptism." [Bethell *on Regeneration*, p. 7, fifth ed.]

In the Prayer Book the words "new-birth," "regeneration," "born again," and "born anew" are invariably used with reference to what is popularly known as "Baptismal regeneration."

The loose sense in which the English equivalent of the scriptural word παλιγγενεσία has been used, as if it were equivalent to that conviction of sin and sense of pardon which has been named *conversion*, is entirely unauthorized by Holy Scripture, and is barely justifiable by a few exceptional cases in the elder literature of Christianity. It is, practically, a new application of the word invented by Calvin, who maintained that only elect Christians are regenerated [Calvinism. Election], and adopted by that school of English divines which exalted the value of conversion at the expense of the Sacrament instituted by Christ. [Baptism.]

RELIGION, NATURAL. The term "Natural Religion" has become less prominent in recent theological controversy than it was in the last century, chiefly from two causes: first, because it has been felt that the extent of meaning which the term was then made to bear was arbitrary and inaccurate; and further, because among the advocates of Christianity there has been less perfect agreement as to the value of a system of natural religion, or even as to the possibility of its existence.

The definition of natural religion is simple enough—the sum of knowledge of things superhuman which is discoverable to the human mind by its ordinary faculties, and the ordinary methods of scientific investigation. The natural way to inquire how much knowledge is thus discoverable would be by an appeal to history—how much has, without supernatural assistance, been discovered by man. But the eighteenth century theologians, both orthodox and infidel, in general preferred an analytical method: deducting from the popular religion as much as is confessed to be derived from a real or pretended revelation, the residuum represents the body of doctrine of natural religion. The doctrines, for instance, of the Holy Trinity and the Resurrection are peculiar to Christianity, and, true or false, are confessedly derived from its founders: the existence, perhaps the unity, of God, and the immortality of the human soul, had been believed before the proclamation of Christianity, and (what had more influence on the nomenclature) were then believed by some who rejected it; and therefore, it was assumed, these truths were discoverable and demonstrable by the unassisted reason. The assumption, arbitrary as it was, passed muster because of the general popularity of this half dogmatic scheme. The profounder scepticism of Hume was an inconsiderable power, in comparison with an often shallow deism: and it is the latter against which the great Christian apologists directed their works. Butler's *Analogy* starts avowedly from the assumption of the existence of a God, as something unquestioned and unquestionable: and though this is far from reducing his work to a mere argument *ex concesso*, yet it deprives it of what we consider essential to the completeness of a system of natural religion, a statement of the proof of this its fundamental doctrine.

In one passage of the introduction, however, Butler has given, in an allusive way, his reasons for thinking this doctrine not only true, but clear beyond the need of demonstration. "It has," he says, "been often proved with accumulated evidence; from this argument of analogy and final causes; from abstract reasonings; from the most ancient tradition and testimony; and from the general consent of mankind" These arguments would, in the present state of men's minds, be hardly admitted as conclusive, or at least as unquestionably so: yet their past reputation deserves at least that their cogency should be examined in some detail.

The first of Butler's arguments is, unfortunately, rather obscurely worded. From the coupling of "analogy" and "final causes" one may suppose he means the analogy between the phenomena of the world and those which are the result of (human) design: the adaptation of means to ends, in nature as in art, the argument, in short, of Paley's often-quoted watch. We see some things existing, and discharging certain functions, and we know that men made them: we see other things existing and discharging functions, which it is beyond the power of men to make; we infer that they have a superhuman maker, to whose design they owe the success of their various functions.

This is a sort of analogy, but not one of the most convincing kind; its effect goes little further than to establish what Butler has said just before, "there is no presumption against this prior to the proof of it." Design is one way, and the most familiar, in which means producing ends, *i.e.* causes and effects tending to perpetuate themselves and each other, are found in our experience: natural selection is another. It is a question, and by no means an easy one, which accounts more perfectly for a larger number of the phenomena of nature.

"From abstract reasonings" hardly any recent school in metaphysics would allow us to derive much certainty. Looking from without on the tendency of the dominant metaphysical schools, one would rather pronounce that the drift of abstract reasonings was towards either scepticism or pantheism than towards theism. Such arguments as are founded on the necessary conceptions of the mind are either incompetent to prove anything—psychological facts, not theological premisses; or, if they do give any information

as to real existence, at any rate the mind that testifies by its own properties to the existence of Infinite can hardly do so, except by sharing its essence. If, indeed, we do assume a Creator of the human intellect, and assume further that its faculties are as He made them, it may be probable that they will convey true information as to His own nature; but thus theism is a postulate of rational dogmatism, not a deduction from it.

"The most ancient tradition and testimony" could hardly be adduced in the present day as confidently as it is by Butler. We have no uncontroverted direct evidence as to what was the earliest religion, and indirect or *à priori* evidence can hardly be thought to point to any very profound or exalted theism. Hardly any one would admit the historical character of the Book of Genesis on *purely* critical evidence; any one who accepts it, does so as an integral part of the revelation to which it belongs, which he considers sufficiently attested *as a whole;* and that the attestations of the oldest part should be least apparent is, he will think, no more than natural. The historical evidences of a religion are all-important, but to talk of its pre-historic evidence is self-contradictory. And, if the Hebrew history of the origin of religion be, critically speaking, unproved, it can hardly be thought unfair to assume that every other such history known to exist is improbable.

Still, "the general consent of mankind" is a thing that, if real, needs accounting for. Grant that mere ancient tradition is worthless; still, if all or nearly all ancient traditions, though independent, agree in one point, their converging testimony is important. But in what sense is it true, that all branches of the human race have, in their original condition, acknowledged a God? Not in the sense in which it is desired to prove that a God exists; to say that all nations have acknowledged an almighty, eternal, omnipresent Creator and Governor of the world would be manifestly absurd. And if this cannot be maintained, the fact that all or nearly all nations have acknowledged some personal power or powers superior to man becomes much less significant. There are many witnesses, but they do not testify to the same facts. The universal existence of theism could hardly be accounted for, except by supposing that the common ancestors of mankind had, at one time, a direct perception of God; but the universal existence of some form of *either* theism, polytheism, or fetichism can hardly be thought to prove more than a tendency in the human mind. How far this tendency does lead to belief in a God, and how far it is trustworthy, are the two problems on which the existence of a system of natural religion depends.

Setting aside any records of possible authenticity of a primitive *revelation*, the earliest natural religion which we find in history is Sabaism, which may be called the highest form of fetichism. Using the term in a wide sense, it may be said to have been the earliest religion of both the Aryan and Semitic races; both worship the heavens and the earth, the sun, moon, and stars, the fire and waters, and other powers of nature; while the worship of each varies so much, in its ceremonies and temper, and in the choice of special objects of devotion, that it is plain that the two are practically independent, and so are spontaneous developments of the human mind, not the invention of one school or family.

Nor is it impossible to determine *à priori* the process by which fetichism is developed. If we admit, as most psychologists tell us, that our notions of both substance and causation are derived from the consciousness of our own personality and volitions; that these are the only cases in which we know certainly that there is any real substratum, distinct from successive or contemporary phenomena, any real origination distinct from invariable sequence;—it is easy to see how, when people first observed *things* appearing to exist, and events following *one another*, they supposed the being to have consciousness, and the cause to will its effect, because it was so with the only beings and causes of which they had direct consciousness. Now this is exactly the spirit of fetichism, to regard every important *thing* as a *person, i.e.* a conscious subject capable of volition. The difference between it and theism, or even polytheism, is well illustrated by the instance of the watch; a savage, when he sees a watch, thinks it is alive; he is not led to infer an intelligent watchmaker.

The fact of *worship* of the fetich, in addition to its personification, is not harder to account for. It depends on the two allied causes of terror and wonder. A lion is fetich to a negro: why? because the lion can eat him. If he wears a necklace of lion's teeth, perhaps he will get some of the lion's strength, and the other lions will be afraid to meddle with one who shares their nature. If he has occasion to kill a lion, he will do it respectfully, and speak well of the dead; then perhaps the dead lion's cubs will not feel bound to take vengeance, as if a negro were murdered, the dead man's sons would.

And again, the lion does not talk to me. I understand the ways of my fellow savages, but not his: I quarrel with them on definite grounds; I sometimes win and sometimes lose. But between me and him is an ἀσπονδος καὶ ἀκηρυκτὸς πόλεμος, no one knows why, nor from how long a date. Then my fellow-savages are no better than myself, but the lion is so in some undeniable respects; he is comely in going, strongest among beasts, and turneth not away from any. So the lion is fetich—a mighty, terrible, mysterious, admirable power.

As means of self-defence are improved, and minds grow more refined, the second motive of worship will have more extensive influence than the first, awe than fear. To this stage belongs elemental worship, already called the highest type of fetichism, and the one from which, historically, polytheism has, for the most part, been derived. The transition from one to the other is not very definite; even older or coarser fetiches, as Soma and perhaps Iacchus, co-exist with the thoroughly humanized, or at least personified, gods of the

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Greek and Hindu pantheon. And idolatry may be regarded as a sort of compromise between the two; the idol is an object which the vulgar can reverence as fetich, the wise contemplate as a symbol of the spirit whose works declare him. The Magian fire-worship is a more refined means to the same end; light is at once a work and a symbol of the good God, perhaps a sacrament of his presence.

But though polytheism be not always separate from fetichism in fact, one can trace the distinction in idea. The Spartans who propitiated the earthquake were *pro tanto* fetich-worshippers. Herodotus himself, who thought that Poseidon caused earthquakes, was a polytheist; he, or the stage of thought he represents, had made the effort of abstraction that separates persons from things.

This separation of the material work from the spiritual agent, has the immediate effect of exalting men's ideas of the latter. How wise is the man who works skilfully in metals at the fire! then how much wiser must he be, who brought from heaven the fire of which he makes use! How beautiful is my beloved! how much more beautiful must be the moon or morning goddess, how happy and glorious the sun-god, her one worthy lover!

And thus it is natural for men to look upon the gods as in every way better than themselves. Hitherto they have been revered only or chiefly as more powerful; it was bad policy to offend them, but it was not necessarily a sin or an injustice. Menelaus reviles Zeus for a supposed wrong, in the same terms as he does Antilochus, and no one seemed shocked; nay, no harm comes of it. But when once it is known that the gods are wiser and better than we, they have a claim, and offer a motive, for childlike trust in their goodness, even if we receive evil from their hand.

Moreover, whatever be the origin of man's moral sentiments, they have by this time a tendency to associate themselves with his religious belief. They have become vigorous and prominent, and are becoming increasingly pure. In this, the best and highest part (as we now feel it to be) of our nature, the gods must doubtless excel us, and by how much? Surely "not by measure" at all: we must attribute to them nothing short of perfect righteousness. Such is the practical theology of Plato, leaving the obscure question, whether polytheism, monotheism, or something between this and pantheism, be the less unfair designation of his speculative opinions. And it is the want of a higher moral standard, not of the belief that the gods must conform to the highest, that prevented the same point being reached earlier.

But when we have got to morally perfect gods, what need is there of the complication we find among them? We have doubtless by this time rejected the popular mythology; its lives and filiations of the gods are carnal, often immoral. Their names and numbers may have a mystical truth, or may be such as we ought to accept as "regulative representations" of the real divine nature; but we have no evidence that they are more, no positive proof that they are so much. So with their outward forms. It is our mission in life to keep under the body, to rejoice when we are freed from it; it becomes the gods to be wholly incorporeal. And why need we a separate god for every element? The elements have ceased to be the objects of our worship, why should they be the chief object of the gods' care? We think more of Zeus being father of gods and men than of his gathering the thunder-clouds; if he can fill that great office, why cannot he do all the lesser works—of God, we begin now to call them, not works of the lesser gods? Thus the philosophical desire of simplification, the principle of parsimony in hypothesis, comes in to aid the new-born devotional feeling. In place of vague feelings of reverence for something above us, for those whose names we have been taught to speak below our breath, we have one Almighty Father, out of Whose very nature proceeds the obligation to love and fear Him, because of His works for us and around us which we see, and to trust in Him that the works of His which we do not see are good like the rest.

Meanwhile, if the doctrine of the being of God has been growing, that of the immortality of the soul has been developing. Unlike the other, it may be said that this is a primitive and universal belief of mankind. At first, no doubt, the view taken is materialistic enough; "the spirit does but mean the breath," but it is conceived to continue to exist after the man has ceased to breathe. And in proportion as men learn that the physical notion is false, they advance in capacity for a more spiritual notion, which silently substitutes itself for the other. The Homeric notion of death is for a man's soul to go to Hades, while *he* is eaten by dogs; it is a less change from this to the view that *he* goes to the other world, while his body is eaten of worms, than from fetich-worship to monotheism. Perhaps Homer's belief, such as it is, in the immortality of the soul, rests only on the difficulty of imagining absolute annihilation, but this difficulty is one which the progress of science rather increases than diminishes, and the progress of refinement of thought makes the doubt of the opinion unwelcome. Moreover, the growing theistic doctrine both gives and receives strength from this. The just government of man by God becomes more credible, if we believe that men still live under God's government, when they have ceased to live under our sight. And our own moral aspirations, our own infinite hopes, cease to be meaningless if, and only if, there be a just God, who, in the unseen world, supplies them with an adequate object.

The above is an attempt to examine how, as a matter of fact, the two central doctrines of natural religion have originated and obtained belief; whether the reasoning on which they rest be logically convincing is a further question. Religion is primarily a matter of practice, and it is sufficient for a religious system that it supplies

motives enough to secure practical adherence, whether it be open to speculative objections or not.

RELIGION, REVEALED. If the foregoing account of the origin of the belief in a God, in the highest sense of the term, and of the practical acceptance of religion and its obligations, be admitted as accurate, the question arises, Why has a pure theism never been a popular or practically influential system, if it be derivable from the common characteristics of the human mind? The intellectual necessity of a revelation depends on the uncertainty or inadequacy of the knowledge attainable without it, and therefore it is appropriate, in approaching the question of an alleged revelation, to examine the weakness as well as the strength of natural religion.

And for this it is not necessary that we should point out positive errors or fallacies in the process by which its doctrines have been established. It may be that such exist: it may be that the arguments, though not absolutely convincing, are sufficient to establish a reasonable probability and practical conviction. But even if intellectually sufficient, we must take account of *motives* for belief, as well as *reasons* for it: and as motives, we shall find these grounds less adequate than they deserve to be.

For by this time we have reached a stern and definite moral standard and moral law, have formed a judgment on the questions, By whom is it imposed, and how is it to be enforced? But this law men fall short of: the best and wisest, since their comprehension of the law is the strictest, are most sensible of all men, that all, and that they themselves, cannot but fall short of it. Nay, all but the best and wisest rebel against the law, almost on principle: it is possible to honour the law, but it is possible also to honour transgression. Even short of this deliberate rebellion, it is a source of weakness and uncertainty to feel the will in conflict with the law. One of the two must be right: which? If we are right and the law wrong, we are flung back on atheism, with or without a shocking picture of an almighty tyrant, whose will can neither be performed nor resisted. But most men shrink from this pitch of self-assertion—though Aristippus did not, going, at least, to the extent of denying the existence of the law. But if the law exist, and is in the right, what is to become of us who break it? Some practical hope and comfort, no doubt, may be found in the notion of ἐπιείκεια, the trust that God will not be extreme to mark what is done amiss, but will remember whereof we are made. This may be enough to encourage a man of settled virtue; but not to attract a man who gives at least half his will to rebellion. Mildness in the Judge may make Him excuse one or two slight negligences in a course of obedience, or partial failures in a steady and generally successful struggle: but it gives no hope to any one whose will is undecided; no assurance, at least, that an effort at obedience will be accepted, if sincere, though unsuccessful.

And moreover, this trust or hypothesis, even if successful as a practical motive, is clearly untenable as a logical one. Equity only comes in when law is imperfect. How can this compromise with evil, this tolerance of the breach of His laws, be worthy of Him Who hath done all things well, Who made everything very good, and gave all things a law which shall not be broken?

At this point then arises the question, is there a possibility of atonement for wilful sin? Not that the question is a new one, except in being thus distinctly stated. Most if not all traditional religions furnished some ceremonial atonement, which "sanctified to the purifying of the flesh" from some kind of pollution; and in this conception of pollution there was generally a moral idea involved. But the moral idea was obscure: a man who had, *e.g.*, slain another, especially a near kinsman, was an object of horror rather than of disapprobation. His neighbours would not endure to let him mix among them as before; even if the slaughter was just or accidental, this might diminish the guilt of his act, but not the horror.

This confusion of thought in the earliest notions of atonement, makes it less likely than it might otherwise be, that they are derived in all cases from a primitive revelation. If the first notion of *sin* be one not in all cases coinciding with *guilt*, it becomes natural, as the moral feelings rise in purity, to look for a means whereby the guiltless may evade the consequences of their sins. Apollo and Athena rightly forgive Orestes: therefore it is just, though it is still necessary that they should buy off the Eumenides. As the conception of the Divine law improves, and it is seen to coincide with absolute justice, the ceremonial purification is assumed, more or less avowedly, to be a Divine ordinance provided for the good only: vengeance on the sinner, and exemption from it for the unfortunate who have fallen into a state that looks like sin, are thus combined in an equitable though rather complicated system. If the complication be not noticed as an objection, the tendency to monotheism may be strengthened: Apollo the redeemer, and the Eumenides the ministers of vengeance, are alike employed by Zeus, the just arbiter of both mercy and wrath. But if *à priori* reasoning be carried to its natural limit, the tendency is either to dualism, or to the modified dualism that, in later times, appears in Calvinism and kindred systems. Either the powers of vengeance are absolutely evil, and God delivers men out of their hand if he can; or the powers of vengeance are really divine, and man, if he is to be delivered, must be delivered out of the hand of God. In either case, the conception of deity suffers: either God is not almighty, or, even though we may call Him All-good, there is something which we desire as good, and believe most firmly to be good, which He does not supply but opposes.

Thus, with a system of pure theism, supposing that this has been reached by any process, the conception of atonement becomes untenable. It postulates a practical polytheism: it is, moreover, (assuming that the pure religion has been naturally developed from a traditional one) associated with avowed polytheism. We could believe,

strange as it might be, that it would cleanse the conscience to wash the body in water or in blood, if we had reason to think that our ancestors were commanded to do so, as a condition of forgiveness by the true God: but if all their purifications were performed in the name of false gods, what likelihood is there that they will be effectual? what chance is there, that their principle embodies a genuine revelation, when all their details are interwoven with a spurious or diabolical one?

If then sin is unavoidable, what possible way remains to cure it? In contrition, confession, and amendment there is a natural fitness: any satisfaction for sin must include these, but they do not constitute satisfaction. Plato's last word to the sinner is, in substance, "Seek an atonement *if* one may be found: if not, despair and die." [Plato, *Laws*, ix. p. 854, c.]

It is thus that natural religion begins to be weak as soon as it has begun to be pure. When the human soul has begun to be a law to itself, the law written in the heart asserts its character *as* a law: it is holy and just and good, it is spiritual while the man is carnal. With the traditional morality of Paganism, it was possible for a man to be self-satisfied: its standard was the usual level of human virtue, a standard above the average, perhaps, since men oftener sink below their normal state than rise above it, but one which all or most could feel to be within their reach. But theism, and the high moral feelings that are its cause and effect, destroy this harmony. The immortal God says "Thou shalt," and the immortal man answers either "I cannot" or "I will not." In the former case, he is thrown back on the question, "Why cannot I, if God made me to do His will? Either He made me not, or He made me in vain: He has failed of His purpose, He is not almighty, *i.e.* He is not God." In the latter, the step to denying God is simpler still: "I will not, and Thou canst not compel my will." In either case, theism as a religion gives way. It must either be changed into dualism, or refined away into what is, at best, a hypothetical philosophy. The theist has believed "There is a God, Who is my Lord:" he is now forced to choose between the two doctrines, "There is a God Who has power over me: His enemies have power over me too," and "There is or may be a God: but His will is a law to me, not in the political sense but in the physical: what is done is thereby known to be decreed, if there is, after all, any one who decrees it." Or lastly, he may deny a God altogther; which is perhaps not the least rational course. For the grounds by which the belief was historically reached are not, to the mature intellect, convincing in themselves. The belief only survives, because the hypothesis, however suggested, has hitherto seemed to be verified, by its suiting and accounting for the facts of human nature. This it now apparently fails to do: we are led to a choice between two hypotheses, two practically, for the difference between the dogmatic denial and the practical omission of a God may be disregarded. Either we adopt dualism, or pantheism (of which positivism is only another form), not dogmatically perhaps, but tentatively, as the hypothesis to which the facts seem to point, so far as yet examined.

It is hardly worth saying, and not worth proving, that Pantheism and Positivism are even more impotent then Theism as moral systems. Neither of them can recognise the existence of sin; and, therefore, though either can supply motives *for* virtue, neither can give an efficient motive *against* temptation. The one tells us that the sinner, as a part of the universe, is divine, and in real, though obscured, harmony with the other parts: the other, that the sin is a fact, a disagreeable one no doubt, but resulting from other facts in the ordinary way, and to be recognised, accounted for, and made the best of, like any other fact. And dualism is little better: at most it shares the strength as well as the weakness of theism. If good and evil be twins, it is a motive of faith or love, not of reason, that decides us to attach ourselves to good and not to evil: and the worst that could be said of theism was, that it left faith and love alone, to defend themselves as they best might against passion and temptation, without support from reason.

Neither can utilitarianism, or any non-religious system, supplement any form of dogma by affording an efficient moral law. *Any* religion, polytheist, dualist, monotheist, or pantheist, supplies the conception of *obligation:* which, whatever be the correct analysis or the true source of the conception, certainly includes the existence of *some* law external to self. But utilitarianism makes self the source as well as the record of the law: and then it seems impossible to deny that a man has a *right*, as Butler expresses it, "to make himself as miserable as he pleases:" as he *does* please, in a case of prevailing temptation.

If then natural religion be unsuccessful in maintaining its ground, either as a theory or as a law, either against argument or against temptation; if the systems alternative to theism be at least equally unsuccessful—almost as arbitrary viewed as hypotheses, far more impotent as moral principles: has historical theism—revealed religion, and emphatically Christianity — a better right to acceptance, or a better chance of success?

For the former of these questions, it may be necessary to examine the whole question of the Christian evidences, before deciding absolutely in the affirmative. This, however, is too wide a question to be included as a πάρεργον here: it will be enough to establish the *à priori* credibility of a revelation, as a necessary and sufficient proof of God's existence and support to His law; and the special fitness of the revelation actually given for that purpose. Natural religion fails, [1] because its existence can be accounted for from causes not involving its truth; and [2] because it suggests difficulties which it cannot solve. Revealed religion does not fail similarly, [1] because its existence is a fact *not* explained by natural causes; and [2] because, though it suggests at least as many difficulties as the other,

it accounts, as the other does not, for the existence of difficulties.

For a natural religion has no right to contain mysteries. If man has by searching found out God, what limit can be placed to the search he may make into Him? His Providence is like a newly discovered continent: we may not have circumnavigated it yet, but if our seamanship improves a little we shall. A difficulty may exist, but not an antinomy: there may be points in God's nature or actions that we do not understand, but none that are essentially beyond our reach.

In the scheme of revelation, we know nothing of God but what He has told us, either when first He made us or since. We, therefore, have no ground for hope that we can, by our own effort, find out anything further about Him. He who has *discovered* that God is may easily find what He is: he to whom God has revealed Himself can only wait for the time when, not by our study but by His mere permission, "we shall see Him as He is." It may be that in that day we shall perceive some of the present mysteries to be not only true, but intelligible: it is no more than natural, that while we know in part, our knowledge should fall short of comprehension. If we are acquainted with part, but not the whole of the divine nature or purposes, it is credible that the known part may require something of the unknown to balance it and fit it for our understanding. We are sure that our actual knowledge, however limited, is absolutely true, and that no further enlightenment can contradict it. It may illustrate it: but we can wait for such illustration; we know enough for our immediate necessities, if we know as much as we have to take into account in action. For example, it concerns us to know that God created us, if we are to behave as becomes His creatures; we can believe in the Creation without knowing, at least in this life, why He created when He did, and not before.

Accordingly, as revelation was extended, it increased the number of mysteries. It gave, as one may say, two half-told truths for every half-truth of which it told the other half. Natural religion made its progress by simplification, by the elimination of needless hypotheses. An invented reformation or republication of it would continue the process; a revealed one may, conceivably, in appearance reverse it. St. John had no motive to invent the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, as a means for purifying men's conceptions of God; Mahomet had such a motive for contradicting it.

Natural religion can hardly be said to have proved the love of God for man. Of His goodness, in a sense short of this, it did testify; He was known as not only a just, but a beneficent ruler. But to do good is a limited thing—to love is infinite. And natural religion never said to the believer "all things are yours." It hardly justified the belief in a *special* providence. Revelation, on the contrary, and emphatically Christianity, establishes that God has done certain acts solely and directly for the benefit of men, of each and every man (at least) who believes them; and this, monstrous as it seems, at the greatest sacrifice to Himself.

It is superfluous to say how the need of an atonement, which was the final and crucial failure of natural religion, is supplied by Christianity. While the natural difficulties of the doctrine are not solved—are perhaps complicated by the more emphatic introduction of the notion of substitution, of vicarious suffering and obedience—we have seen that we have no right to expect a solution of all. And, at any rate, the moral grandeur of the machinery is on a scale commensurate with its efficacy. We have at least escaped from the charge of frivolity. And the tendency to dualism, which appeared to follow from the most successful attempt at rationalizing the idea, is counteracted by the doctrine of the Unity of the Divine Persons. [2 Cor. v. 18, 19.]

The duties enjoined by natural religion, moreover, become more attractive, and receive fresh motives and sanctions, from the Christian revelation; and its doctrines, even where not explained or not needing explanation, are better adapted to the apprehension of ordinary minds. For example, the love of God is assisted by the knowledge of the Person of Christ; the belief in a future life by the doctrines of the resurrection and judgment.

It may be added, as a partial explanation of the evident and important fact that natural theism never was, and can hardly be conceived to become, a popular religion, while Christianity is so actually and essentially, that the Christian scheme gives a test for judging whether the blessings promised in general terms by religion are appropriated by an individual. A blameless philosopher may reasonably feel assured, that he is serving God to the best of his power,—however conscious he may be of his own human weakness—he may, as above stated, trust that this habitual and progressive virtue will suffice, and either feel no want of an atonement, or be content to leave its nature unaccounted for. But a man who is conscious of sins of purpose no less than of infirmity has no right to determine for himself, on the testimony of his own heart alone, whether his sins have separated him from God's service. Yet without some assurance that they have not, he has no encouragement to persevere in it. And such an assurance is provided by the Christian sacraments, even according to the lower view of them; for, if not considered to be actual channels and instruments of grace, they must still be allowed to be authoritative testimonies to grace given. Where these exist, they prevent a man from being left uncertain whether his sins are forgiven, whether he is recognised by God as a son, and admitted to personal union with Him.

In this aspect, revealed religion may be regarded as the culmination of natural. The latter was adopted in view, partly of the actual evidence afforded by the universe, principally of the subjective wants of the human mind. The Christian revelation partly improves on it, in the for-

mer respect, by the doctrine of the Fall, which accounts for the world as it is appearing unworthy of its supposed divine origin. And still more decidedly, it succeeds better in satisfying the second requisite—in affording something that the human mind can believe, and will be the better for believing.

REMONSTRANTS. A name given to the Arminians of Holland, upon their presentation to the States in 1610 of a Remonstrance against the proceedings of the Calvinists. The Calvinists presented a Counter-Remonstrance, and were called Contra-Remonstrants.

In the controversy between Arminius and Gomar, the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion came into question. The Arminians asserted that it rests with the magistrate, although he is not theologically a judge in controversy, to determine what doctrine shall be preached in the churches of the States, and that at the same time he is bound to allow and protect other doctrine in private churches. The Calvinists maintained that the magistrate possesses only the power of the sword to enforce the determinations of the spiritualty.

About the time of the death of Arminius in 1609, the Calvinists, in several of their "classes," attempted, contrary to the orders of the States, to drive the Arminians from their churches, by ordering subscription to the Heidelberg Confession and Catechism. Several Arminian ministers therefore presented their "Remonstrance" to the States. In it they complain of the severe measures adopted by the clergy against those who could not receive the doctrine of predestination, and state their own belief regarding the points of the Quinquarticular controversy.

They pray that the States will procure them a hearing in a legitimate synod under the authority of the government. If this cannot be done, they pray for toleration, and for protection by the States from any measures which may be taken against them in consequence of this their Remonstrance. They declare that they make the Remonstrance, not to cause separation or contention, but only in self-defence, and for the sake of the truth; adding, lastly, that if they can obtain neither of their requests they are willing at the command of the States to resign their ministry. It was objected to these Remonstrants that in appealing to the civil power they were deserting the legitimate, that is the ecclesiastical, tribunal.

The States decreed that orders should be sent to the classes to observe peace; and, until further orders, not to press any minister in the disputed articles beyond the terms of the Remonstrance. Some classes resisting, members of the government were sent to them to enforce the decree.

In consequence of the contest which took place on the nomination of Vorstius to succeed Arminius in the professorship at Leyden, the States, in 1611, appointed a conference at the Hague. It was to be managed by six ministers on each side. Before the conference was opened the six Calvinists presented their Counter-Remonstrance, which states in six articles their belief as to the disputed points, denies that the Remonstrants can be tolerated as ministers of the Reformed Church, and urges that they ought to be subjected to ecclesiastical censure. The conference was a lengthy one; and its proceedings, published under the title "Collatio Hagiensis," were much quoted in the further controversy, and at the Synod of Dort.

The States declared for neither party, but enjoined toleration. The Calvinistic party however, being countenanced by the Stadtholder Prince Maurice, to whom the Arminian leaders Grotius and Barneveldt as republicans were obnoxious, harassed their opponents in the consistories, and proceeded to suspend and deprive them. Another conference in smaller numbers was held in 1613 at Delft; and in the same year, through the influence of Barneveldt, an edict was issued by the States enjoining toleration. The "Contra-Remonstrants," as the more numerous party, now called for a general synod; and the Orange or Stadtholder faction knew that it would be no small gain to have their political opponents condemned as heretics.

The Synod of Dort assembled in 1618. Calvinism was declared to be the doctrine of the Reformed Church. The Remonstrants were banished from the United Provinces. The States were overawed; Grotius was imprisoned; Barneveldt tried and executed. But on the death of Maurice in 1625, the Remonstrants were allowed to return home; and although the Presbyterian Synod of Dort was apparently the triumph of Calvinism, yet from that time Calvinism began to decline. [Limborch, *Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum de Prædestinatione*, at the end of his *Theologia Christiana*.]

RENOVATION. Renovation is a step in the scale of salvation that arises, but is distinct, from regeneration. The latter removes the child of Adam from a state of wrath and places him in a state of grace; renovation then takes up the work, and whereas even the most faithful of God's servants errs daily in the sight of Him Who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, daily renewal in God's grace is requisite to guide the steadiest steps in the way of life. Renovation therefore is the complement of baptism; and the way in which this indispensable work is set forth in Scripture marks its sacramental origin in very clear characters. For, with the exception of one place, renewal is everywhere expressed by some derivative of the verb *ἀνακαινίζω* or *ἀνακαινόω*, carrying the mind back at once to the cognate verb *ἐγκαινίζω*, to dedicate, as the Temple of old was dedicated once for all to God's service; after which solemn initiation its ordinary services were acts of daily dedication to God. Without laying too much stress however on this analogy, it may be stated confidently that the way in which renovation is set forth in Scripture marks its sacramental origin in very clear characters. Thus St. Paul reminds Titus that "not by works of righteousness that we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost;" where the

original marks an inseparable connection, διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος Ἁγίου [iii. 5]. Similarly, in Heb. vi. 5, the difficulty of that text disappears if we bear in mind this sacramental origin of renovation. "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened . . . if they should fall away, to renew them again [ἀνακαινίζειν] to repentance;" where St. Athanasius says [*Hom. in Matt.* xii. 31], "This passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews does not shut out sinners from repentance, but it testifies that the baptism of the Church Catholic is single, and never a duplicate act; wherefore the Apostle exhorts to repentance, but shews that there is only one renewal by baptism and not two; he does not affirm that it is impossible to repent, but that it is not competent for us to renew any (by baptism) under a pretext of repentance. The difference is vast. He who repents, ceases indeed from his sin, but he retains the scars of sin; while he who is baptized puts off the old man, and is renewed as having been regenerated by the grace of the Spirit." The same connection may be traced in Col. iii. 10, where "putting off the old man with his deeds, and putting on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him," marks at the same time the sacramental connection of renewal, and its continuous character, as leading the faithful recipient step by step to a greater conformity with the likeness of God in Christ, which is destined at length to issue in the full restoration of that likeness in heaven. Elsewhere renovation is made an act of daily duty, which regeneration cannot be, as when St. Paul exhorts the Romans to make good the dedication of themselves in soul and body to God; "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God" [whereby they had been graffed in to the Body of Christ], "that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service, and be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God" [Rom. xii. 1, 2]. In like manner the hardships and trials of the Christian warfare are contrasted with the far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory that shall be revealed in Christ's people as the final cause of those sufferings, "for though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day" [2 Cor. iv. 16],[1] a mode of speaking again that cannot possibly apply to regeneration. The single passage in which renewal is expressed in the original by ἀνανεοῦσθαι [Eph. iv. 23], is scarcely to be distinguished from the use of the cognate verb in Col. iii. 10; the two Epistles in great measure echoing each other's words and sentiments; "that ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and that ye put on the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." The Apostle then proceeds to give practical directions how the Christian's daily walk in life should be regulated, so as to realize that renewal.

Human nature in a general sense was renewed by the holy living and dying of the Lord Jesus, the Incarnate Son of God [see Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* xxxvii. 22]; it is renewed in a spiritual sense now, it will be finally renewed hereafter in the spiritual body, admitted to the regeneration of heaven, when both body and soul will be invested with the glory that shall then be revealed. Man's recovery by renovation of all that was lost to him of the likeness of God in Adam is now made possible; and he receives in addition the hope of being made "as the angels of God in heaven," which is far better than the life of paradise [see Aug. *De Genesi ad. Lit. imperf.* 4, and vi. sec. 31, 35; also *De Pecc. Or. c. Pelag. et Cœlest.* sec. 45]. But the renovation of each individual soul dates from baptism, as St. Augustine shews in his commentary on the difficult text, 1 John iii. 9 [*De Pecc. mer. et rem.* ii. sec. 9]. All human infirmity, he says, is not removed in baptism, though renovation dates from the remission of sins, and in proportion as he who is now endued with the Spirit of wisdom becomes spiritually wise. This renewal is a matter of hope and of gradual progress, otherwise the Apostle would not have spoken of our renewal "day by day;" for they who are in the course of renewal are not yet renewed: and in proportion as they fall short of perfect renewal, they are yet under their old condition of infirmity, and children of this world [see *De Spir. et Lit.* sec. 59, on Ps. cii. 2]. But they are also the sons of God in direct ratio to the degree in which their renewal has been realized in holiness of life, and the degree in which they are spiritually wise and live according to the dictates of heavenly wisdom. We are baptized into the death of Christ, Who came for the express purpose of effecting our renewal in Him. "Desiderando eum et imitando eum renovamur" [*Enarr. in Ps.* xxxvii. 22].

The various references to the works of St. Augustine will enable the reader to find all further information requisite upon this article.

RE-ORDINATION. The repetition of the sacramental ordinance of ordination, provided it be certain that such ordination has been duly performed, has ever been held to be contrary to the true theory of sacraments, and has been forbidden by the Church under pain of severe penalties. The ground of this prohibition is well-expressed by Morinus, quoting the Council of Trent [*Sess.* xxiii. c. 4]: "In the Sacrament of Orders, as in Baptism and Confirmation, a character is conferred, which cannot be effaced or taken away." The historical evidence as to both the doctrine and practice of the Church is full and complete. The sixty-eighth Apostolical Canon condemned it, and pronounced sentence of deposition on the ordainer and the ordained. The third Council of Carthage [canon 52] forbade it along with re-baptization. St. Augustine [*Contra Parmen.* lib. ii. c. 13] and St. Gregory

[1] The eloquent observations of Augustine on this text may be compared in his *Enarr. in Ps.* xxxviii. 6.

the Great [*Epist.* lib. ii.; *Ep.* xlvi. *ad Jo. Episc. Ravennat.* t. ii. p. 608, ed. Bened.] both class it with re-baptism as unlawful, the latter observing that "as he who has once been baptized ought not to be baptized again, so he who has once been consecrated ought not to be consecrated again in the same order." On this head it will suffice to add the terse expression of Theodoret [*Histor. Relig.* c. 13] οὐ δυνατὸν δὶς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιτεθεῖναι χειροτονίαν.

So far the question is simple, both the doctrine and practice of the Church being clear and unvarying. But the further point, whether the ordinations of heretics and schismatics are to be held valid, and whether those who have received them are, on their reconciliation, to be received in their several orders, is one full of doubt and perplexity. Peter Lombard in beginning to discuss the point says, "Hanc quæstionem perplexam ac pene insolubilem faciunt Doctorum verba; qui plurimum dissentire videntur."

If we refer first to history we find that the practice of the Church varied considerably. The Council of Nice decreed that those presbyters and deacons who had been ordained by the schismatic Meletius, after he had been deposed by the Metropolitan of Alexandria, should be admitted to serve in the Church by re-ordination [*Ep. Synod. ap. Socrat.* lib. i. c. 9; *et Theodor.* lib. i. c. 9]. The sixty-eighth Apostolical Canon, while condemning the re-ordination of those once ordained in the Church, allows that of those who had only received heretical ordination. The second Council of Saragossa [A.D. 592] ratifies the baptism of the Arians, but condemns their ordinations. On the other hand, St. Augustine distinctly says that in the case of the Donatists, it was decreed that Donatus, the author of the schism, should be condemned, but that the rest, on their repentance, should be received in their own degrees "even if they had been ordained outside the Church" [*Ep.* 50, *ad Bonifac.*].

St. Thomas Aquinas [Pars. iii. qu. xxxviii. artic. 2], in answer to the question "Whether heretics, &c., cut off from the Church can confer orders?" decides that they can. They confer true sacraments, but with them they do not give grace, not because of inefficacy in the sacraments, but because of the sins of those who receive them contrary to the prohibition of the Church.

In later times the practice of the Roman Catholic Church has also been very contradictory. In the ninth century there were several cases of re-ordination of those who had received simoniacal ordination, or ordination from simoniacal persons. Thus the ordinations of Formosus were declared null by Stephen VI., and those ordained by him were re-ordained. John IX., on the contrary, held them valid, and Sergius III. again declared them invalid. But Morinus asserts that the question between these different Popes was one of fact and not of right. The modern Roman practice of re-ordaining those ordained in the Church of England, is not based on any decree of the Church resulting from an examination of the question, and moreover, according to Courayer, who quotes the Bull of Julius III. to Cardinal Pole, it has not been invariable.

Taking into consideration the conflicting opinions of the Fathers and Schoolmen, and the varying practice of the early Church, it does not seem right to conclude, notwithstanding the strong words used by St. Augustine, that re-ordination stands exactly on the same footing as re-baptism.

Morinus, after stating numerous opinions of the Schoolmen, and reviewing the historical evidence, lays down three axioms which may be accepted as a fair statement of the generally received theory. [1] The one quoted above as to the indelible character conferred in baptism, confirmation, and orders; [2] that Catholic ordinations are nowhere to be repeated; [3] that the ordinations of all heretics and schismatics, if performed according to the rite (forma) of the Church (the heretics who ordain having themselves been ordained according to that rite), are valid in respect of substance, and therefore not to be repeated: but they are unlawful, both the giver and receiver of them sinning heinously; and that in no case is it lawful for a Catholic to receive ordination from heretics or schismatics. He goes on to argue that ceremonies prescribed and added to the rite of ordination by the Church become essential parts of ordination, and that the omission of them renders the ordination null and void. The main argument that ordinations are valid if form and substance are preserved, agrees with St. Thomas and St. Augustine, and contradicts the theory on which opposite decrees are based, while the later proviso, that ceremonies prescribed by the Church become essential parts of ordination, is a principle unknown to the Church at the time that re-ordinations were allowed.

The custom of the Church of England forbids re-ordination in the case of those ordained within the Church, and asserts the indelibility of the ordination character. As to the point of form, the preface to the Ordinal excepts from the necessity of ordination those who have "had formerly episcopal consecration or ordination," meaning ordination in due form by one who is a bishop according to the ancient threefold order of the ministry, and whose own ordination is undoubted. [Bingham, *Antiq.* book iv. c. 7. Morinus, *de Sacr. Eccl. Ordin.* pars. iii. exercit. v. p. 74. Palmer *on the Church*, part vi. cap. vi. Courayer, *Valid. Angl. Ord.*, Oxf. 1844. Augustine, *Cont. Parmen.* lib. ii. c. 13; *Ep.* 50. *ad Bonifac. II.* 661, ed. Bened. Thomas Aquin. *Summ.* pars. iii. qu. xxxviii. artic. 2.]

REPENTANCE. The word repentance is represented in the Hebrew by תשובה, "return,"[1] and in the Greek by *μεταμελεία*, pœnitentia,[2] denoting the contritional, and *μετανοία*, resipiscentia, expressing the conversive power of repentance.

[1] The name Job has been referred to the cognate Arabic root أوب "converti ad Deum," which in the second conjugation is "laudare Deum."

[2] Quasi "punitentia;" or from "pœna," as "pœna teneri," the etymon given by Thomas Aquinas from Pseudo-Augustine, implying a permanent self-punishing and a castigation of the heart.

In its present acceptation it runs parallel with the term in the Old Testament, meaning a return to obedience and to the performance of God's will after a period of rebellion or neglect of duty;[1] fear for the terrible consequences of sin, and the love of God for His mercy and goodness, being the constraining causes; perfect love in the end "casting out fear." But a difference is perceptible in the New Testament use of the word. There it very generally bears reference to first acceptance of the faith of Christ. "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;" "bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance;" "repent and be baptized every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins;" "Him hath God exalted for to give repentance to Israel;" "God also to the Gentiles hath granted repentance to life;" "having commanded all men everywhere to repent;" "and testifying to the Greeks repentance towards God;" "if God peradventure will grant them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth." So far as the preparatory condition of baptism was concerned, Christian baptism in no respect differed from the baptism of John, who also baptized "with water unto repentance." Hence repentance is mentioned by St. Paul as the very foundation of all [Heb vi. 1], which could not be repeated, in a sacramental sense, as the very first round on the ladder of salvation; for since baptism could never be repeated, it was impossible, if any should fall away, to renew them again by baptismal repentance [Heb. vi. 6]. The word also occurs in a wider sense in the New Testament, though the instances are comparatively rare. In one of these St. Paul sets forth with a burning eloquence the distinctive features of a true contrition, "For, behold, this same thing, that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you, yea, what a clearing of yourselves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge!" [2 Cor. vii. 11]. In the first days of the Gospel heaven had visibly come down to earth; the holy lives of the first preachers of the Gospel, and the miracles that were wrought in attestation of its divine origin, insured holiness of life in its various members; the life of Paradise had been restored; or if any, as Simon Magus or Hymenæus and Alexander, accepted the faith in hypocrisy, or fell into grievous sin, they were cast out again from the Church, or delivered over to Satan, until such time as they should have shewn by a post-baptismal repentance true contrition for their sin [Acts viii. 21; 1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 20]. But as churches were established in the great centres of heathenism, the god-like character of apostolic faith became insensibly lowered; the enemy had sown tares broadcast in the Church: and St. John, in his address to the Churches of Asia, calls five out of the seven to repentance on account of their lapse from holiness and forgetfulness of their first love [Rev. ii. 5, 16, 22, ii. 3, 19]; the Churches of Smyrna, under Polycarp, and of Philadelphia being the two only exceptions. Repentance, therefore, which men think so high and rare an excellence, is after all the lowest of the Christian graces, and only admits the penitent to the ordinary privileges of Gospel life, or restores him to them when forfeited through sin. For the Christian's everyday walk a higher excellence is demanded, and a fuller development of that which in its first germ is *μετανοία*, a new mind.

That which was said by St. John to the backsliding Churches of Asia is still as the voice of Christ to the soul of sin: "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear My voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with Me" [Rev. iii. 20]; *i.e.* the memorial of Christ's dying love shall be restored to him, the long withholden guerdon of penitent faith.

The effect of unrepented sin being everlasting death is so truly terrible, that the Church from the earliest period prescribed certain courses of penitential discipline for offenders, "for the destruction[2] of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord" [1 Cor. v. 5]. What these were may be seen under the head Discipline, Ecclesiastical. Nearly all vestiges of them were swept away from the Reformed Churches in the sixteenth century; the abuses of the penitentiary by Indulgences, and the aggression of the Roman See upon the liberty of princes and people by Excommunication and Interdict, caused them to fall into desuetude, the grains of wheat being no longer discernible in the mountain of chaff that overlaid them. Our Church does not fail to regret the loss on the yearly recurring "Dies Cinerum;" this "aspiration, however, after the revival of an open penance which is utterly impossible, is apt to lead the thoughts away from the restoration of a discipline and penance which is both possible and desirable." [Blunt's *Ann. Book of Com. P., Commination S.*]

Since every day "in many things we offend all," it is a matter of closest interest that our views of the position and constituent elements of repentance in the order of grace should be clear and definite. Repentance is either internal or external. The first has reference to God alone, and involves that compunction of heart when "there ariseth a pensive and corrosive desire that we had done otherwise; a desire which suffereth us to forslow no time, to feel no quietness within ourselves, to take neither sleep nor food with contentment, never to give over supplications, confessions, and other penitent duties, till the light of God's reconciled favour shine in our darkened soul" [Hooker, bk. vi.]. It is of an external character when satisfaction is made to others for any wrong done; or, as of old, to the Church for scandal brought upon the common calling of Christians. The former is termed by Hooker the "virtue," the latter the "discipline" of repent-

[1] "All His speeches in Holy Scripture are almost nothing else but entreaties of men to prevent destruction by amendment of their wicked lives." [Hooker.]

[2] Εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός. Thus LXX. in 1 Kings xiii. 34 has εἰς ὄλεθρον for the Hebrew להשמיד, English version, "to cut it off." The term, therefore, as used by the Apostle means "for excommunication in the body."

ance. Both are essential elements of a true repentance.

The Roman differs from the Reformed view of the rise and progress of repentance within the soul in words, rather than in the psychological notion of it. The Roman theology teaches that repentance arising from the first weak stirrings of faith is the ATTRITION of a terror-stricken conscience; thence through the infusion of love becoming CONTRITION. Faith, fear, and love, therefore, are the three steps that lead to a valid repentance. Anglican theology teaches the same thing, combining however in one attrition and its congener as a more perfect contrition, while faith that is itself inseparable from love is as the third step of the Roman scheme. So the Augsburg Confession also says: "Constat autem pœnitentia proprie his duabus partibus; altera est contritio seu terrores incussi conscientiæ agnito peccato. Altera est fides, quæ concipitur ex evangelio, seu absolutione, et credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur conscientiam, et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera quæ sunt 'fructus pœnitentiæ'" [Art. xii.]. Melanchthon, the compiler of these articles, elsewhere explains the meaning of these "fruits meet for repentance." "Si quis volet addere tertiam (contritioni sc. et confessioni) videlicet dignos fructus pœnitentiæ, hoc est mutationem totius vitæ ac morum in melius, non refragabimur" [*Apol.* art. v.].

The love of God, again, in the Roman theory, pre-supposes faith: "Denique fides non est pars pœnitentiæ sed eam præcedit" [Bellarm. *De Pœn.* i. 19]. Möhler therefore is scarcely just when he says that repentance as a Protestant grace is wholly based on the "terrors of conscience."[1] Fear may quicken the first germ of serious thought in the one scheme as in the other, but the whole work of repentance is the effect of God's grace, and in time "perfect love casteth out fear" [1 John iv. 18]; which is the teaching of Roman as well as of Anglican theology. "Wherefore the well-spring of repentance is faith, first breeding fear and then love, which love causeth hope, hope resolution of attempt, 'I will go to my Father and say, I have sinned against heaven and against Thee;' that is to say, I will do what the duty of a convert requireth" [Hooker, bk. vi.]. The effect of a hearty repentance is a change of the perverse will, whereby it is released from the thraldom of sin, and enabled to move in lines parallel with the holy and good will of God. That will then becomes the penitent's law; but it is the "perfect law of liberty."

CONFESSION, ABSOLUTION and SATISFACTION, as constituent elements of an effectual repentance, were not set aside by the German Reformation, but much commended. Thus the Augsburg Confession [A.D. 1530], prepared by Melanchthon from the Schwalbach Articles [A.D. 1529], in its eleventh Article commends the practice of private absolution, and therefore of private confession, "quamquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum enumeratio, est enim impossibilis juxta Ps. xix. 12, 'delicta quis intelligit?'" [Art. xi.]; and in the fourth section of the appendix of articles taken from the Torgau Confession of the early part of the same year, it is added, "Confession is not abolished in our churches; for the Body of the Lord is not communicated to any, except they be first examined and absolved." Auricular confession is still retained by the Lutheran community as a regular part of Church order and discipline; for it was a practice commended by Luther; "Occulta autem confessio quæ modo celebratur, etsi probari ex Scripturis non potest, miro tamen modo placet, et utilis, immo necessaria, est; nec vellem eam non esse, imo gaudeo eam esse in ecclesia Christi" [*De Captiv. Bab. Opp.* ii. 292]. Elsewhere he finds fault with papal indulgences as an abrogation of penance, though a self-imposed penance be judged to be the best. "Wenn sie fromme Hirten wären, so würden sie vielmehr Strafen auflegen, und nach der Kirchen Exempel Gotte in seinem Strafgerichte zuvorkommen; . . . das allerbeste aber wäre, wenn wir uns selbst strafeten" [Luth. *c. Indulg. ad art.* v. *Assert.* 41]. Absolution also was never formally discharged from its position as a sacrament by the German Reformers. For the articles of the Smalkald League, drawn up by Luther in the year after the Augsburg Confession, say, "Nequaquam in ecclesia confessio et absolutio abolenda est;" and Melanchthon retained it as a sacramental rite: "In ecclesiis nostris plurimi sæpe in anno utuntur sacramentis, Absolutione et Cœna Domini" [*Apol.* art. iv.]; and, "Absolutio proprie dici potest sacramentum pœnitentiæ" [art. v.]; again, "Vere igitur sunt Sacramenta, Baptismus, Cœna Domini, Absolutio, quæ est Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ" [art. vii.]; and in the *Loc. Theol.*, "Numerantur hæc Sacramenta, Baptismus, Cœna Domini, Absolutio" [see Augusti, *Archäol.* ix. 28]; absolution always implying antecedent confession.

The Church of England rejects penitential absolution from the number of primary sacraments, as having no "visible sign or ceremony ordained of God" [Art. XXV.], but rather encourages the practice of private confession to some "discreet minister." Ridley expressed himself shortly before his death in terms very similar to those of Luther, as quoted above, with respect to private confession; "Confession unto the minister, which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation; and so I assure you I think unto this day" [*Letter to West; Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 30]. For more authorative declarations, see CONFESSION, § 5. Hooker considers that the general confession of our daily service is sufficient to cover all special acts of confession; and if daily service is only a name, yet his opinion holds good with respect to weekly service. "The Church of England hitherto hath thought it the safer way to refer men's hidden crimes unto God and them-

[1] "Was nun zuerst die Reue betrifft, so steht ihr Wesen weit höher, als was die Lutheraner 'conscientiæ terrores' nennen, über welche sich nur die rohesten Menschen nicht zu erheben vermögen" [*Symbolik*, sec. 33].

selves only" [bk. vi.], "severely admonishing" the guilty that they presume not to approach the Mystery of the Lord's Supper with an impenitent heart; and reserving a particular absolution for the confession of those who are to all appearance sick unto death. [Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* book vi. Chrysostom, *Homil.* 31, *in Ep. ad Hebr.; in Ps.* lix.; *De Pœn. et Conf.; De Incomp. Dei N. Hom.* v.; *De Lazaro.* Ephr. Syr. *Hom. Parœnet.* Möhler, *Symbolik*, sec. 32, 33. Baur, *Katholismus u. Prot.* iii., *Die Busse.* Butler's *Analogy, Appendix to*, c. ii. p. 1. Bingham's *Antiquities.* Augusti, *K. Archäolog.* Bishop Jer. Taylor *on Repentance.*]

REPRESENTATION. The theological use of this word by English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was, in the strict sense of its Latin original, that of "presenting over again" in reality; the subordinate idea of "portrayal" as in a picture, being little, if at all, in use by them. Thus when Bishop Pearson writes "by virtue of His Death, perpetually represented to His Father, 'He destroyeth him that hath the power of death,'" the word refers to our Lord's continual pleading of the sacrifice once offered. The word is not used in the English Bible, but the force of it may be deduced from that of the verb "to present," which is used in the sense of "to offer" [παραστῆσαι, Luke ii. 22; Rom. xii. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 2]; and also from the participle "present," and the adverb "presently;" the latter word always meaning "now," and not any future time.

It is of importance to remember this usage of the term "representation," as it is not unfrequently used with reference to the Eucharistic Sacrifice; and by losing sight of the sense in which the word was understood by former writers, modern readers have understood "representation" to mean a dramatic or pictorial imitation, rather than a real and actual making present, and offering over again, of that which is present by virtue of the once only offered sacrifice.

REPROBATION. The Calvinistic doctrine that a portion of mankind by the eternal counsel or decree of God has been predestined to eternal death. [Calvinism.]

The first objection against this doctrine is its entire want of scriptural proof: had it been a part of divine revelation, such a doctrine would not only, it may fairly be supposed, have been expressly stated, but would have been implied throughout Scripture, and have *coloured* (so to speak) its teaching generally. On the contrary, there is not merely an absence of any direct proof or statement of this doctrine in Scripture, but its teaching is clearly and expressly contradictory to it. The dogma is not only wanting, but what we *do* find in Scripture is inconsistent with it. Thus the condemnation of the wicked is *not* attributed to God's decree of reprobation, but to *their own* unwillingness to listen to God's call to repentance, to *their own* wilful perseverance in sin in spite of divine prohibition and warning. God has also positively declared Himself unwilling that the sinner should die, but rather that he should turn from his sin and be saved [Ezek. xviii. 32]. We know also that through divine grace, man has the will and the power to repent of sin, and to live in obedience to God's commandments. [Free-Will.]

Thus the doctrine of reprobation can only be described as a fearful perversion of the general teaching of Scripture; it really sets aside the professed object of Christ's atoning sacrifice [John xii. 32], and its universality, which Scripture expressly declares [Universal Redemption], and is inconsistent moreover with God's attributes of love and justice, either viewed separately, or as being harmoniously united in His dealings with His creatures.

RESERVATION. The practice of reserving one or both of the elements consecrated at the Holy Eucharist for future use, either in divine service or in the communion of the sick. Reservation for either purpose involves the doctrine of a "real," "objective," Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the consecrated elements.

The early use of this practice is shewn by the well-known account which Justin Martyr gives of the celebration of the Eucharist, in which he says that "a portion is sent by the deacons to those who are absent" [*Apol.* i. 67]. Eusebius quotes also an epistle from Irenæus to Victor, Bishop of Rome, in which he refers to the habit which bishops had of sending the Eucharist to one another at Easter [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 24]. The same historian quotes from Dionysius a narrative of the martyr Serapion sending a messenger for a priest when he was dying in prison, in which the writer says, "It was night, and the priest was sick, . . . but I gave the boy a morsel of the Eucharist, telling him to dip it in water, and drop it into the mouth of the old man" [*Ibid.* vi. 44]. This was in the reign of Decius, and so about A.D. 250. About the same year Cyprian wrote "cum quædam arcam suam in qua Domini sanctum fuit," &c. [*De Lapsis*, p. 132, of Fell's ed. 1682]. And Tertullian, A.D. 200: "Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes?" [*Ad Uxorem*, lib. ii. c. 5, p. 190, Rigault]. These shew the privilege granted to the faithful in private in times of persecution, and they must be allowed to presuppose a reservation in the Church. There can hardly have been a reservation in private if there had not existed a reservation in the Church from which the concession to private men might spring. The Clementine Constitutions also [viii. 13] order the deacons to carry into the Pastophoria what remains, and these constitutions are generally referred to the end of the second century.

Early in the fourth century [A.D. 325] we find the thirteenth of the Canons of the Council of Nicæa ordaining that none, even of the lapsed, shall be "deprived of the last and most necessary Viaticum [τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι], but the old canonical law shall be observed. . . . Let the bishop, upon examination, give the oblation to all who desire it at the hour of death." Taking into account the preceding evidence we can hardly refuse to

interpret this Nicene canon of the Viaticum so administered as well as of consecration in private. The evidence that next meets us greatly strengthens this conclusion. Optatus [about A.D. 368] speaks of the Donatist bishops being so horribly profane as to throw the Eucharist which they found in Catholic churches to the dogs. Chrysostom [A.D. 404] complains of the soldiers breaking into the sanctuary of his church, and spilling upon their clothes the Holy Blood of Christ [*Ep. ad Innocent.*]. It is not necessary to give later evidence as regards reservation for the sick.

Upon this evidence Bona [*Rerum Liturg.* ii. 17] and Morinus [*De Pœnit.* viii. 14] state that reservation in the Church was designed for communion of the sick, and that the modern custom of reservation for communion of the faithful in Church "extra sacrificium" was first introduced by the Mendicant friars, contrary to the Roman ritual itself, which lays down that reservation is for the sick. Catalani [*Pontificale Rom.* tit. xviii.; *De Benedic. Tabernaculi*, vol. ii. p. 444, ed. 1851] denies this, arguing that Fr. Berlendi [*In celeberrimo Opusculo, De Oblationibus ad Altare, Italice scripto*, p. 97, ed. secundæ] has shewn that in the fourth century the sacrifice was not offered daily at Rome; while St. Jerome [*Ep.* xxviii. *ad Lucinium Boet.* and *Ep.* l. *ad Pammachium*] witnesses that in his time the faithful of Rome communicated daily. If these premisses are established the communion must have been of the reserved Elements.

In the fourth century another undoubted purpose of reservation presents itself, that of communion in Lent, and especially on Good Friday. In the Greek Church consecration in Lent is allowed only on Saturdays, Sundays, and on the Feast of the Annunciation. In the Romish Church consecration is omitted only on Good Friday and Easter Eve. [Missa Præsanctificatorum.] The fifty-second canon of the Council in Trullo enjoined that on every day in the holy fast of Lent, excepting the days already named, such a liturgy of the presanctified shall be performed; and canon forty-nine of Laodicea forbids the offering of the Eucharist in Lent, except on the Sabbath and on the Sunday. Different dates, from A.D. 314 to A.D. 366, are assigned to the Council of Laodicea. Baronius and Leo Allatius adopt the date A.D. 314. Inasmuch as this Council was in general for restoring the failing discipline of the Church, it appears probable that reservation in Lent was a primitive custom, the observance of which was enforced by this canon against a growing habit of consecration. Beveridge, however, thinks otherwise, and attributes to this canon the institution of the Greek custom. It is in favour of his opinion that there seems to be no undoubted allusion to this custom of an earlier date. Leo Allatius thinks that the Missa Præsanctificatorum is intended by Socrates, when he says that at Alexandria they had, on Wednesdays and Fridays, all divine service except the consecration [Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 22], but this must be considered doubtful.

From Tertullian, Ambrose, and others, it appears that in the Latin Church the custom was to consecrate as well as to communicate about three in the afternoon all the days of Lent [Bingham, xv. 4, 12]. This militates strongly against the position of Berlendi named above. It is hardly possible to conceive daily consecration in Lent and reservation in the rest of the year.

Upon the whole, then, from this evidence it may be concluded that reservation for the sick is a primitive custom, that reservation in Lent is perhaps primitive, certainly of very early date, and with regard to Good Friday, that the consent of East and West must be held to proceed from a primitive custom of abstaining from consecration on that day. But these customs are customs of permission, not of obligation; for each independent church, as a steward of God's mysteries, has the power of adopting consecration or reservation as it may judge expedient.

From these conclusions we may pass to the other purposes of reservation, or permissible ends of reservation, when the principle is established.

1. The consecrated elements remaining that which they were made by consecration, and their presence being the sacramental presence of Christ, that adoration of Christ which is proper to the Eucharist is also to be continued. Hence piety appears to suggest that the reserved sacrament may be openly kept in the Church for the perpetual Eucharistic adoration of the faithful.

The earliest evidence on this point is that of the Clementine Constitutions before quoted. There is some doubt about the meaning of the word "Pastophoria."[1] But it can hardly be denied that the constitution speaks of bearing the elements into a secluded place, a chapel or sacrarium of reservation. But the pious feeling of the faithful soon led to the use of a Ciborium in the open Church, a Columba, or Turris, or Armarium at the foot of the Cross; the form being immaterial, the principle being the maintenance in public of the sacramental presence of the reservation for perpetual Eucharistic adoration, and as the centre of Christian unity. The examples of this custom begin about the middle of the fifth century, and are numerous in the sixth century.

2. In the next place, may the host be carried out of the Church for any other purpose than the communion of the sick? If (as we have said) the reserved sacrament retains the sacramental presence of Christ, its proper place appears to be in the congregation assembled in Christ's name, that is, ordinarily, in the Church. But if the congregation, *for purposes of worship*, leave the Church, it would appear that the sacramental presence, the centre of their unity, may piously be borne with them. It is fearful to think of the consecrated host carried in procession merely to add to the pomp of an emperor or a bishop; but our sense of this abuse does not prevent us

[1] "S. Hieronymus in caput xl. Ezechielis, sacrarium inquit, in quo jacet Corpus Christi qui verus est Ecclesiæ et animarum nostrarum Sponsus, proprie thalamum seu παστοφόριον appellari" [Catalani].

from conceiving, nor is it difficult to conceive, a body of Christian men in the procession of a litany holily and without superstition bearing with them the centre and symbol of their unity in Christ.[1]

Upon the whole, then, we may conclude that reservation for communion of the sick is a primitive custom, but not obligatory; it being in the power of the Church to consecrate instead, as occasion requires: and that the power of reserving being thus granted, other ends naturally and piously follow from it, which are at the discretion of the Church. [MISSA PRÆSANCTIFICATORUM. MISSA SICCA.]

RESERVATION OF BENEFICES. A privilege which the Pope assumes of reserving to himself the collation to any benefice on its becoming vacant, thus superseding its legitimate patron.

In this, as in purely spiritual things, the Papacy appears as the competitor or antagonist of the episcopate. In the earlier ages the bishops were the ordinary collators to all benefices. Their rights were narrowed by the growth of lay-patronage, which sprung up earlier in the East than in the West. But the chief infringements of their rights were by the Popes, whose claims were adverse, indeed, both to ecclesiastical and lay patrons, but were more successful against the former than against the latter.

The history of these encroachments begins with Gregory VII. [A.D. 1073], who asserts the power of the Holy See to create new abbeys, to divide rich bishoprics, and unite poor ones. But he lays no claim to a universal right of patronage. Hadrian IV. [A.D. 1154] appears first to have prayed, requested, and at last commanded the ordinaries to confer benefices by his recommendation. Alexander III. [A.D. 1159] not merely issued such mandates, but also sent officers to enforce their execution. He also compelled prebendaries to grant pensions to clerks of his nomination. Innocent III. [A.D. 1198] first asserted for the supreme pontiff the plenary power of disposing of all benefices, for the advantage of such persons as should have deserved well of the See of Rome. Clement IV. [A.D. 1265] reserved to himself all benefices of which the possessors died at Rome.[2] Clement V. [A.D. 1305] systematized the practice of holding benefices *in commendam*, dispensing with the canons against pluralities and non-residence. John XXII., his successor [A.D. 1316], not only extended the special reservation to whole dioceses, Aquileia, Milan, Ravenna, Genoa, and Pisa, but proclaimed the papal reservation of all benefices vacated by promotions through the grace of the Roman See, and of all bishoprics in Christendom.

Thus the claim of the Holy See to appoint to all benefices was worked out into the abuses of reservations, provisions, dispensations, annates, commendams, pluralities. The claim was originally based on the doctrine of Gregory the Great, "Quisquis eligit, præsentat, instituit, præferre tenetur indigno dignum, digno digniorem." For the prerogative might seem necessarily vested in the universal bishop, enabling him by his higher episcopal authority to place the worthiest man in every office or function of the Universal Church [Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Disciplina*, part ii. lib. i. cap. xxxvii. Milman, *Hist. Lat. Christ.*, xiii. 10, note, p. 312, vol. viii. ed. 1867]. And as an example of the better working of the system may be quoted the conduct of Benedict XII. [A.D. 1335], whose decretal, *Ad regimen*, embraces many reservations both old and new, but who was resolutely superior to the papal vice of nepotism; and of whom the continuators of Baronius justly observe, that he made these reservations for no other end than to give the benefices to the most worthy. But this is a rare example.

Against the system of reservations reforming councils were powerless. That of Vienne, for example [A.D. 1311], attempted in vain to deal with it. Immediately after, in 1313, Clement V. reserved the archbishopric of Canterbury, and in 1314 Walter Reynolds was translated from Worcester by papal provision.

Resistance was successful only when the powers of states were called into action. In France these papal abuses led to the PRAGMATIC SANCTION. In England they were met by the Statutes of Provisors.[3] Of these there is a series from 25 Ed. III., Stat. 6 [A.D. 1350], to 3 Hen. V., c. 4 [A.D. 1415]. The first of these is that which is known as the Statute of Provisors. By it in case the Pope collated to any archbishopric, bishopric, dignity, or benefice in disturbance of free elections, collations or presentations, the collation to such benefice was to escheat to the Crown for one turn. Provisors were to be arrested and brought in to answer; if convicted, to be imprisoned till they had paid fine to the king at his will, and made "gree to the party that should feel himself grieved" [Gibson, *Codex.* tit. iii. cap. i., where see the petitions against provisions]. The later statutes confirm and enforce this, and add penalties for cognate offences.

While the papal reservations were one of the

[1] For carrying the host in procession see A. Rocca, *Commentarius de S. S. Christi Corpore R. Pontificibus iter conficientibus præferendo*, Works, vol. i. p. 33; also Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, iii. 366. There can be little hesitation in pronouncing the interment of the reserved host with the dead a gross abuse and profanation [see Bingham, XV. iv. 20].

[2] This is stated with some bitterness by the Roman Catholic author of *The Pope and the Council*, "Meanwhile the Popes had another gate open for attaining rights of patronage. A great number of bishops and prelates were drawn to Rome and detained there by processes spun out interminably. They died off by shoals in that unhealthy city, the home of fevers, as Peter Damiani calls it, and now suddenly a new papal right was devised, of giving away all benefices vacated by the death or resignation of their occupants at Rome. Clement IV. announced it to the world in 1266, while at the same time broadly affirming the right of the Pope to give away all Church offices without distinction" [transl. 1869, p. 175].

[3] "Provisores dicuntur, qui vel Episcopatum vel Ecclesiasticam aliam dignitatem in Romana Curia sibi ambiebant de futuro, quod ex gratia expectativa nuncuparunt: quia usque dum vacaret, expectandum esset" [Spelman, *Gloss.*].

leading subjects in the concordats between different states and the see of Rome [CONCORDAT], the Council of Trent endeavoured to reform their abuses. The matter was certainly included, though not specified, in the first article of reformation proposed by the Emperor's ambassadors, which was, that the Pope would be content to make a just reformation of himself and the court of Rome. It was specified by the Spaniards, who spoke of divers abuses, and shewed that the fountain of them all was the court of Rome, which is not only corrupt in itself, but the cause of deformation in all churches; and particularly the usurpation of the episcopal authority by reservations, which if it were not restored, and the court deprived of that which they have taken from bishops, it would be impossible the abuses should be redressed [Sarpi's *Hist. by Brent*, pp. 513, 588]. In the twenty-fourth session, *De Reformatione*, it was decreed that no ecclesiastical person, though a cardinal, shall have more than one benefice; that candidates and presentees shall be examined, and not admitted unless found to be fit; that expectative graces for benefices shall not be granted hereafter, nor any other extending to benefices not yet vacant, and that mental reservations shall be prohibited. [*Decretum de Ref.*, sess. xxiv. c. xvii. xviii. xix.]

The rules regarding collations to benefices in the different states of Europe may be seen in the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the regulation of Roman Catholic subjects, A.D. 1816.

RESERVE. That which is now called "the doctrine of reserve" is an example of the mode in which truths which were once latent in the Catholic faith develope themselves into distinct articles of doctrine. That God had always exercised reserve in the communication of religious knowledge to mankind, and that the Saviour had not only done the same in His intercourse with the world, but also charged His Apostles to act upon the same principle, may be deduced from Holy Scripture. This had never been controverted, and therefore had never been termed a doctrine until about thirty years ago. In 1839, No. 80 of the *Tracts for the Times* appeared, of which Isaac Williams was the author. The title which this tract bore was, *On Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge*, and in it the principle of reserve which pervades all God's dealings was contrasted with the free circulation of the Scriptures, the education of children in all the doctrines of the Christian faith without provision for their leading holy lives at home, and the prevalent opinion that no sermon could be profitable in which the doctrine of the Atonement was not the prevailing theme. This was followed by Tract 87, in which the *Disciplina Arcani* of the ancient Church, and many passages from the Fathers, were produced as evidence of the antiquity and universality of this doctrine. A warm controversy arose, but, as it was not the theory of reserve so much as its practical application which aroused it, the excitement was soon allayed, and in a few years the controversy was scarcely ever heard of. The doctrine may rather be called the observation of God's dealings with men, of which the following particulars may be given.

I. *That God revealed Himself only gradually to the world.* The Father was first made known, afterwards the Son, and lastly, the Holy Ghost; and in the days which preceded the Mosaic dispensation it was not to all men, but to a faithful few, as to Noah, Abraham, and Lot, that He revealed Himself.

II. *That under the Mosaic dispensation the revelation of religious truth was veiled under the types and shadows of the Law.* The Jews generally regarded only the outward rites, but those who were taught of God saw something deeper than the external sign, and looked through it to the fulfilment which it was to receive under the Gospel dispensation. This was the secret of the Lord which was with them that feared Him. It was, for instance, of long life and an inheritance in Canaan that God spake openly, but there were those who could interpret them as signs of an unending life in heaven.

III. *In all God's providential acts it is the same.* He is a God that hideth Himself. He reveals Himself only as men have faith to receive Him, and the same dispensation in which He manifests Himself to one blinds yet more entirely the heart of another. If He were to reveal Himself openly and be rejected, the guilt of the sinner would be overwhelming, and therefore He hides Himself from men who are not prepared to receive Him.

IV. *When our Saviour was on earth the same principle was manifested in His intercourse with men.* His glory was hidden from the world and only revealed to the favoured disciples when He was transfigured before them. In the performance of His miracles He did not seek observation; and the devils He charged that they should not make Him known. He enjoined secrecy on some whom He had miraculously cured. He spoke unto His disciples as they were able to bear it, not telling them of His sufferings until He had first prepared them for the announcement. He spoke to the people in parables, but the explanation he reserved for His disciples, and He told them that if they would know the doctrine they must first do the will of God. After His resurrection, moreover, He did not manifest Himself unto the world, but unto witnesses chosen before of God. In all this there appears a studied concealment united to an earnest desire to reveal Himself. The reason of this was, that the full manifestation of Himself as the Son of God would have increased the guilt of those who received Him not, and therefore He concealed Himself from those who were without the moral qualifications which enabled them to receive them. Even to His disciples His words were as dark sayings, and many of them remained so until the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit were shed abroad in their hearts.

V. *This principle of reserve He enjoined upon His apostles, when he forbade them to cast pearls*

before swine, or give that which was holy unto dogs. We find, therefore, in the sermons of the Apostles, recorded in the Acts, a remarkable absence of the deepest and holiest truths of the Gospel. It was some simple fact that they insisted on, such as the Resurrection or the Messiahship of Christ. There was a difference between the sermons which they preached to the unbaptized and those that were designed to edify believers. And even to them the deepest mysteries of the Gospel were not all at once unfolded, but instruction was suited to the moral capacity of hearers for receiving it. There was milk for babes and strong meat for those of full stature. Heb. v. 12. [DISCIPLINA ARCANI. *Tracts for the Times*, 80, 87. Isaac Williams *on the Study of the Gospels*, part ii.]

RESERVED CASES. Great crimes reserved for the spiritual cognizance, first, of the Pope or his legate, secondly, of the ordinary.

The Council of Trent, in dealing with this question, stated the general principle that the absolution must needs be ineffectual which is pronounced by a priest to those over whom he has no ordinary or delegated jurisdiction; then that it is right that absolution for greater crimes should be given only to the higher order of priests; that accordingly the Pope, by virtue of his supreme authority, rightly reserves certain cases to himself; that bishops, "quando omnia quæ a Deo sunt constituta sunt," have a superior power, "supra reliquos inferiores sacerdotes," especially as regards those crimes which are punishable by excommunication; that this reservation is valid, not only "in externa politia," but also "coram Deo," there being, however, no reservation "in articulo mortis." Founded upon this decree is the canon against those who deny the power of reservation. [*Conc. Trid.*, sess. xiv.; *De Pœn. Dec.* c. vii. can. xi.]

I. The cases reserved to the Pope are twenty-five in number; and the catalogue of them is instructive. [1] Laying violent hands on clergy or monks; [2] hostile aggression on a cardinal; [3] or on a bishop; [4] simony and "confidentia[1] realis;" [5] arson, when the criminal has been publicly denounced; [6] spoliation of church goods; [7] falsifying papal letters; [8] communion of a clergyman with an excommunicate; [9] partaking in the crime for which a man is under papal excommunication; [10] compelling to celebrate divine offices in a place under interdict; [11] excommunicates remaining in church after warning; [12] administration by Religious of sacraments without leave of parish priest, and unlicensed absolving from canonical or synodical sentences; [13] supplying infidels with arms; [14] secular clergy inducing men to bind themselves to be interred in their churches; [15] without license giving absolution in reserved cases; [16] taking fee or reward for receiving into a religious society; [17] religious mendicants passing into another order, except the Carthusian, and the receiving them; [18] charging with heresy the affirmers of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin; [19] malicious delay of judgment in beneficiary matters; [20] Religious betaking themselves without license to infidel lands; [21] mangling the dead to carry their bones elsewhere for interment; [22] coining in France; [23] doing papal business by proxy; [24] inquisitors neglecting their duty through humanity; [25] buying justice or favour in the court of Rome.

These cases may be seen, as stated at length, with the authority for each, in Richard et Giraud, *Bibliothèque Sacrée*, art. *Cas Réservés*.

II. The cases reserved to ordinaries vary in some measure according to the customs of different dioceses. A specified list may be seen in Johnson's Canons, A.D. 1363, Constit. 5. [*Constitutions of Thoresby, Archbishop of York.*] Gross sins of violence, lust, blasphemy, perjury, sorcery, breach of lawful vows, falsifying documents, offences against the rules of holy orders or of the sacraments, are reserved.

The chief rules regarding reservations are the following:—No venial sin can be reserved, because confession of it is not compulsory. No sin whatever of a man "in articulo mortis" can be reserved. The sin must be consummated, not merely attempted, and a sin not merely of will, but of word or action. It must also be sufficiently proved. The terms of a permission to absolve in such cases are to be liberally construed. No argument is to be drawn from a comparison of sins as to what is reserved and what is not reserved. Under the ages of fourteen and twelve, for male and female, there is no reservation.

This reservation of cases, as matters of spiritual cognizance, is distinct from the earlier reference of causes to the appellate jurisdiction of Rome. No very high antiquity appears to be claimed for the power. The exercise of it is stated to be from the eleventh century, the Councils of Vienne [A.D. 1311] and of Arles [A.D. 1260] being quoted.

RESTITUTION is the making reparation or satisfaction to another for injuries done to him, and is reckoned an essential part of repentance by moral theologians of every school.

The Mosaic Law contained very particular and exact details in respect to the duty of restitution. If a man stole an ox, he was to restore fivefold, or a sheep, fourfold, but if the theft was found in the hands of the thief, he was to restore double [Exod. xxii. 1-4]. Restitution was also required in the case of other injuries, and the circumstances of different cases are specified as minutely as in the penitentials of the Christian Church.

The principle of restitution being part of the moral law of Moses, was adopted in the Christian Church. It was inculcated by our Lord [Matt. v. 23-26]. Zaccheus not only gave half his goods to the poor, but restored fourfold to any one whom he had formerly wronged. In Eph. iv. 28, St. Paul shews how the principle of restitution was to be extended. He who had once been a robber must not only cease from theft, but must labour with his hands that he might restore what he had

[1] Compare the "mental reservation" of benefices forbidden at Trent. [RESERVATION OF BENEFICES.]

wrongfully taken away, but in case those whom he had wronged could not be found, restitution should be made to the poor.

In the *Tridentine Catechism*, part ii. q. 73, it is taught that absolution cannot be given to men who do not promise to make restitution. There are seven kinds of persons besides the actual perpetrators of an injury of whom restitution must be required:—1. Those who commanded a wrong to be done. 2. Those who persuaded others to do it. 3. Those who consented to it. 4. Those who partook of the gains. 5. Those who did not prevent it when it was in their power to do so. 6. Those who knew of the deed when it was done and did not declare it, or pretended that they were ignorant of it. 7. Those who fostered or concealed the doer of the wrong [*Tridentine Catechism*, part iii. cap. 8]. Sons and wives inheriting ill-gotten gains are bound to make restitution. The duty of restitution also extends to the repair, as far as possible, of injuries inflicted on the souls of others by evil example, bad advice, &c.

Although the Church of England has put forth no authoritative statement on the subject of restitution, with the exception of the Homily on repentance, yet all divines have agreed that without this repentance cannot be sincere or acceptable to God. It is one of those moral questions in which the statements of the Churches of England and Rome essentially agree, although their modes of definition may differ; for that which, according to the English view, belongs to *amendment of life*, is, according to the Roman view, a part of *satisfaction*, which is but another term for amendment of life. In the book which Henry VIII. wrote against Luther, he charged him with misrepresenting the Church, by affirming that the people were not instructed in the necessity of reforming their manners. "This," said the king, "is a notorious calumny, for what priest was ever so ignorant as to enjoin penance for former miscarriage, and at the same time give an indulgence for repetition? What priest, when he gives absolution, does not suggest those words of our blessed Saviour, 'Go, and sin no more?' Who does not put his penitent in mind of St. Paul's exhortation, 'As ye have yielded your members servants unto iniquity, even so now yield your members servants unto holiness?' What confessor is unacquainted with St. Gregory's description of repentance? 'To repent,' says this Father, 'is to lament our faults and not repeat them, for he that returns to the commission of what he is sorry for, either knows nothing of repentance or else dissembles in his compunction.'" [Taylor's *Holy Living*, c. iii. sect. 4. *Method of Devotion for Sick and Dying Persons*, by Dr. W. Assheton, A.D. 1706. *Visitatio Infirmorum*, Cope and Stretton, p. 614.]

RESTORATION OF THE CREATURE. [Spirit. New Creation.]

RESURRECTION OF CHRIST. Very early in the course of our Lord's ministry the Jews asked Him for a "sign" by which to vindicate His authoritative act in clearing the temple, and our Lord gave them, in mystical language that of His resurrection, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" [John ii. 19], words which the Evangelist says "He spake of the temple of His Body." Later on in His ministry, when a similar demand was made by "certain of the Scribes and Pharisees," "He answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas: for as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" [Matt. xii. 39, 40]. To His disciples He spoke with greater plainness, ending the prediction of His Passion with the words "and the third day He shall rise again" [Matt. xvi. 21, xx. 19; Mark viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34; Luke xviii. 33]. The disciples "understood not that saying," "questioning one with another what the rising from the dead should mean" [Mark ix. 10, 32]; and the understanding of the words seems only to have come to them when recalled by the angel to the memory of those who went to the empty tomb [Luke xxiv. 7, 8]. But our Lord seems to have made the idea of His Resurrection familiar to them and to the Jews as if it were the foundation stone of doctrine respecting His work, and the crowning evidence respecting His person. So familiar had it become to the Jews that the saying as to the temple was brought against Him by His accusers [Matt. xxvi. 61]; and after His Crucifixion the Sanhedrim made His words, "After three days I will rise again," their plea for the placing of a Roman guard over the sepulchre [Matt. xxvii. 63-66].

The event which our Lord thus predicted was one of a surprising character, and one which could only be believed on very strong evidence: and yet its actual accomplishment was at once established as a fact which rested on evidence that could not be confuted; a fact acknowledged by those who had set the watch and sealed the stone, publicly declared without fear of contradiction by St. Peter, within two months' time, in the streets of the city where Christ had been conspicuously put to death; made the great subject of Apostolic preaching when they went forth among Jews and Gentiles "preaching Jesus and the resurrection from the dead;" and declared by St. Paul to be so completely the corner stone of Christian doctrine that he could say, "If Christ be not risen then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain" [1 Cor. xv. 14]. Such an unfaltering and unreserved declaration of our Lord's resurrection, as an actual fact, shews that the proof of it was of a character that made it incontrovertible, and a short recapitulation of the evidence as it has come down to us—there may have been much more extant in Apostolic times—may not be without its value in days when assertions are made that are, in reality, of a most unhistorical kind, calling in question the truth so universally confessed in all ages by the Church.

This *evidence of our Lord's Resurrection* begins with the fact of His burial. In respect to this the unbelief of a large portion of the Sanhedrim

in the mission of Jesus led them to take steps which formed a remarkable and most important link in the chain of proof. They made an official representation to the Roman governor that Jesus having predicted His resurrection they feared His disciples might steal away His dead body with the view of proving by its absence that His words had come true. "Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while He was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night, and steal Him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead: so the last error shall be worse than the first" [Matt. xxvii. 63, 64]. Pilate acceded to their request, giving them a "watch" or guard of four soldiers, and bade them "make it as sure as ye can. So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch." Before doing this they would certainly make sure that the body of Jesus was actually in the sepulchre and, having done so, this evidence of its deposit there was confirmed by the seal of the Sanhedrim affixed to the stone with which the mouth of the tomb was closed. In the morning, however, some of the Roman soldiers who had formed the watch came and told the chief priests of the appearance of the angel, the rolling away of the stone, and the resurrection to life of Him Whose death and burial had been so authoritatively evidenced by the Roman governor and by themselves. They had no doubt as to the truthfulness of the soldiers' story, but at once assembled the Sanhedrim again, and having "taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers, saying, Say ye, His disciples came by night, and stole Him away while we slept;" and because such misconduct on the part of Roman soldiers was punishable with death they added, "And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you" [Matt. xxviii. 11-14]. The soldiers took the money and did as they were taught, and the story was "commonly reported" among the Jews. And yet few could have believed a story which was so full of the grossest improbabilities. "The fabrication was an idle tale, because it is impossible to imagine that while four soldiers were slumbering at their post, a stone that was too heavy for the united strength of three women to move, should have been rolled aside without rousing the sleeping guard; and that the dead body should have been removed from the sepulchre by a party of the disciples, with so little sound of voice or foot as not to betray the act. It was idle, for the disciples had forsaken the Lord and fled, and a deed, that required no common amount of courage and daring, was ascribed to men who were so broken in spirit and lost to hope, that when they began to rally after the resurrection of the Lord, and to meet together, still it was with 'closed doors, for fear of the Jews.' It was hardly in this spirit that they could have gone forth at the dead of night, through a city thronged with paschal devotees, and braved the danger of a certain collision with four armed and reckless soldiers, whom they knew to be faithfully watching over their trust. It was idle, again, because from the dawn of day the attention of a whole population must have been turned upon these few men by the marvellous story; and what hope could they have had of effectually concealing the stolen body, or of guarding against its production in evidence of their deed? It was idle, again, because the Roman governor, Pilate, could not fail to hear of an event that had been discussed by a special meeting of the Sanhedrim, and had become a matter of public notoriety in a city filled with his agents and emissaries. The very statement whereby the Jews attempted to account for the grave despoiled of its tenant, if it had been less a fiction, would have involved the necessity of a public inquiry and a public example. The four soldiers would have been amenable to punishment for their remissness, and the disciples for their daring crime against the majesty of the Roman laws. Whether or no the rulers persuaded the Roman governor and secured the soldiery we know not; but we do know, that the disciples were never taxed with the offence by Pilate; they never attempted to secrete themselves, nor to escape home to the rocky shores of the Lake of Gennesareth. They remained for a week at least, where guilty men would never have been found, at Jerusalem. But it is needless to multiply reasons to shew the infatuation and want of common forethought in the Jewish council, when they put their money into the hands, and this self-convicting falsehood into the mouths, of the Roman soldiers; truly it was an 'open triumph' that they were giving to the Christian cause" [Harvey's *Creeds*, p. 352].

The heathen soldiers seem to have been eye-witnesses of the Resurrection; or if, in their terror at the sight of the angel, they failed to see the revived body of Jesus passing from the sepulchre, the supernatural circumstances and the empty sepulchre convinced them beyond doubt of the fact. But whether or not they saw the risen body of Jesus, it was soon made visible to some of His disciples. At day-dawn on Easter morning Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James, Salome, Joanna, "and other women that were with them" [Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiv. 1, 10], went to the sepulchre for the purpose of embalming the Holy Body of their Lord, not knowing all the details of His hurried burial, nor of the Sanhedrim seal and the Roman guard. On their way they ask who is to move away the heavy stone for them: but they find it already moved, and an angel announces to them that He Whom they seek is not there but risen. "Come, see the place where the Lord lay." And when they entered in they "found not the body of the Lord Jesus."[1] This visit of the holy women to the tomb was shortly followed by that of St. Peter and St. John, who also went within,

[1] Some consider that there were two separate companies of women, who each brought spices, the one led by Mary Magdalen, the other by Joanna the wife of Herod's steward. [See Greswell's *Harm. Evangel.* 393, and *Dissert.* iii. 257.]

and found that the body of Jesus was gone, but that the linen cloths which had been wrapped about it were laid there in an orderly manner, doubtless by the angels who had taken the place of the Roman guard.

So far the evidence, to the disciples at least, was chiefly of a negative kind: they saw the empty sepulchre, and were told that Jesus had risen. But positive evidence was given within a very short time afterwards by the appearance of the risen Jesus Himself; and this evidence was repeated over and over again during the space of forty days; ten such appearances before His ascension being recorded.

The first of all His disciples who actually saw the risen Jesus was Mary Magdalen, to whom He spoke, but whom He forbad to touch Him [Mark xvi. 9-11; John xx. 11-18]. On the same day He was seen, and entertained by the two disciples at Emmaus [Mark xvi. 12; Luke xxiv. 13], appearing also to Simon [Luke xxiv. 34], and to ten of the eleven remaining apostles [1 Cor. xv. 5], to whom collectively He proved that He was not a spirit, but the same Jesus Whom they had known so long. "Behold My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself: handle Me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have. And when He had thus spoken He shewed them His hands and His feet;" and for more effectual confirmation of His bodily reality, took from their hands "a piece of broiled fish and of an honeycomb, and did eat before them" [Luke xxiv. 36-43; John xx. 19, 20]. On the octave of that first Easter Day our Lord again appeared among the apostles, when St. Thomas, who had not been with the other ten before, was now present; and a fresh confirmation of the reality was given to take away the incredulity of that apostle, "Reach hither thy finger, and behold My hands; and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into My side; and be not faithless, but believing" [John xx. 26, 27]. A sixth time Jesus appeared to the eleven on "the mountain in Galilee where He had appointed them" to meet Him [Matt. xxviii. 16]. A seventh time He was seen by "above five hundred brethren at once;" then by St. James [1 Cor. xv. 6, 7]; a ninth time by seven of the apostles at the Sea of Tiberias [John xxi. 1, 2], "the third time" to them in one collected body; and lastly by all the apostles again, when He ascended up to heaven in their sight [Luke xxiv. 50].

During the succession of interviews with His apostles and other disciples, our Lord condescended to give them proofs, that there was a perfect identity between His human nature before and after His resurrection. This was a fact so wonderful and so seemingly improbable to those who had as yet no clear understanding what the resurrection of the body meant that the apostles were only led to a perfect conviction of it by a gradual re-assertion of our Lord's Manhood and Godhead. He was made known to them first by the recognition of His love. His sheep know His voice, and He calleth them by their name. So in the garden He said, "Mary," and in the upper chamber, "Peace be unto you." He revealed Himself in the breaking of bread as the same Jesus Who had given them the tokens of His love on the eve of the Passover, saying, "This is My Body," "This is My Blood." He convinced them, still probably doubting the reality of what they saw—because His glorified body passed in and out uncontrolled by the laws of ordinary corporeal substance,—that He was not merely the spirit of Jesus, but the very Man in body and soul Who had been nailed to the Cross, and had cried, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit." And by the evidence of a wondrous miracle in which He displayed His providential power over the natural world, they were taught that the perfect Man was still the perfect God. In all this it was shewn that He Who had risen the third day from the dead, was in person, and power, and love, the very Jesus Who had been taken down from the Cross and laid in the cave of the rock, He Who came down from heaven, was Incarnate, and made Man; and by such evidence, as well, perhaps, as by much more which is unrecorded, "He shewed Himself alive after His passion" to His apostles "by many infallible proofs" [Acts i. 3], so that they could go forth to the world with the fullest confidence in the truth of His resurrection, and act on His words, "Ye are witnesses of these things" [Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 8, ii. 32, iii. 15, x. 40, 41]. They could henceforth declare not only the love of One Who had died, but the power of One Who had risen again.

For that Resurrection was, in fact, a triumphant victory over death, which had hitherto been conquering men ever since the Fall. Christ had within Him an inalienable principle of life, so that "it was not possible that He should be holden of death" [Acts ii. 24]. He willed that His holy body should be separated from His soul, but it neither was nor could be any more separated from His Divine nature, and when by His descent into hell He had begun His victory in the world of spirits, then the will of His Godhead united body and soul together again; and His reappearance among men assured them of the truth contained in His own words, "I have power to lay down" My life, "and I have power to take it again" [John x. 18]. When therefore He said, "Because I live," His words are such as those of the Evangelist, "In Him was life" [John i. 4], and they were meant to convey the truth which He taught at other times when He said, "I am the resurrection and the life" [John xi. 25]; "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself" [John v. 26]. And as often as He alluded to the resurrection of the faithful dead, He named it as a consequence flowing from the life which is inherent in Himself. When therefore it is said that God the Father raised Christ from the dead [Gal. i. 1], it is not to be understood as an act of the First Person of the Blessed Trinity apart from our Lord's divine nature: but as one in which there was a perfect co-operation, so that the Lord's own words, "Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up"

[John ii. 19], were equally fulfilled, when He raised that Temple in which "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" [Col. ii. 9] by the will and act of that Godhead.

This complete evidence of our Lord's resurrection was then given to His Apostles, and through them to the Church, *first*, as a confirmation of His previous mission, so that there might be no doubt whatever that this was in reality He Who had redeemed Israel in the true, spiritual sense of REDEMPTION [Luke xxiv. 21]; *secondly*, as a proof of His continued existence and care, so that they might believe and trust in a still living Lord, even when He was removed out of their sight; *thirdly*, that the proof of His inherent Life, and the example of His resurrection, might be a pledge for His communication of that Life to others, and for the entire fulfilment of that hope of a future resurrection which the elder saints had perseveringly though vaguely entertained.

RESURRECTION OF THE BODY. Like other important doctrines, this was imperfectly known under the Mosaic dispensation, but intimated with greater or less clearness by the prophets and in the later period of Jewish history before the coming of Christ. Without referring to the well-known passage of Job [xix. 22-27], the meaning of which is doubtful, though it was interpreted as in the English Version by one of the Apostolical Fathers [St. Clement, *Epist.* i. sec. 26], we read in Isaiah [xxvi. 19], "Thy dead men shall live, together with My dead body shall they arise; . . . the earth shall cast out the dead;" and in Ezekiel's vision of the valley which was full of bones, "Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, Thou knowest. . . . So I prophesied, as He commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army" [xxxvii. 3, 10]. Hosea says, "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death I will be thy plagues; O grave I will be thy destruction" [xiii. 14]; and Daniel more clearly, "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" [xii. 2]. In the Apocrypha, the doctrine of the resurrection as an article of Jewish belief is plainly declared [2 Macc. vii. 9]; and in our Lord's days the sister of Lazarus uttered a well-known and generally acknowledged truth, "I know that my brother shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day" [John xi. 24].

But the doctrine of the Resurrection, though at our Lord's Advent held by the Pharisees, was not universally received; it was denied by the sect of the Sadducees. They proposed a question to our Lord [Matt. xxii.], that of a woman who had married seven husbands, inquiring whose wife she should be of the seven on rising from the dead. Our Lord replied by stating that in the Resurrection the righteous shall not marry, nor be given in marriage, but be as the angels; and also by shewing that the doctrine of the Resurrection was in a certain sense intimated in the Law, where God is said to be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, since He could not be the God of those who were no longer in existence after death. Our Lord might perhaps allude to the Rabbinical saying, "They have no part in the world to come who say the Law is not from heaven, or that the Resurrection cannot be proved from the Law." [Schoettgen, *in loc.*] But His words, though clearly implying that the patriarchs are still in existence, fall far short of shewing that their *bodies* will at last be raised from the dust.

The doctrine of the Resurrection of the body, before our Lord's coming, Who brought life and immortality to light, was rather an opinion held by Jewish sects than an article of assured faith. Besides even the prophet Daniel only speaks of "some" awaking from the dust of the earth: a passage not universally interpreted by Jewish writers as referring to the future resurrection of the dead.[1] Even the Pharisees did not believe that all the dead would be raised, but only the bodies of the righteous. They also held the belief of a transmigration of souls.[2] [Wisd. viii. 20; John ix. 2.] Josephus speaks of the righteous entering into "another body," an expression which will bear at least a sound meaning [Acts xxiii. 6].

In our Lord's teaching we find a distinct revelation of this doctrine. Thus He says, "all that are in the graves shall hear His voice and come forth; they that have done good to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation" [John v. 28, 29]. After the Crucifixion, an apostle was chosen in place of Judas to bear witness of Christ's Resurrection [Acts i. 22, 23]; and the Apostles began their ministry by preaching "through Jesus the resurrection from the dead." [Acts iv. 2; see also 1 Thess. iv. 14.] The new doctrine was opposed and blasphemed by Pagan unbelievers. When St. Paul preached at Athens, on hearing of the resurrection of the dead, "some mocked" [Acts xvii. 32]; and on his pleading in defence of the Gospel before the Jews and Agrippa, the doctrine of the resurrection was the great objection to his teaching [Acts xxvi. 8]. All the early Fathers maintain and defend this doctrine—St. Clement of Rome,[3] St. Justin,[4] Tatian,[5] St. Athenagoras,[6] Tertullian,[7] Minucius Felix,[8] and Origen.[9] Even

[1] See Cor. à Lap. *in loc.*, who, according to the general teaching of the Fathers, considers that the future resurrection of the dead is here predicted. He says, "Omnes dormientes qui sunt multi et pœne innumeri resurgent, sive tota multitudo dormientium quæ plurima est resurget. Sensus est, omnes qui mortui sunt resurgent. Sic '*multi*' capitur pro '*omnes*.' [Rom. v. 19; Matt. xxvi. 28.] . . . Quod vero Rabbini aliqui putant Judæos ab Antiocho oppressos hic vocari mortuos, eorumque liberationem vocari resurrectionem insulsum est; nec enim Judæi tunc resurrexerunt ad vitam æternam, quod tamen de mortuis hisce dicitur."

[2] Thus Josephus, who was a Pharisee and held the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, says, "All souls are incorruptible, but the souls of good men only will enter into other bodies, while the souls of bad men are tormented with everlasting punishment." [*Jewish Wars*, bk. ii. c. 8.]

[3] *Epist.* i. sec. 24.

[4] *Apol.* i. sec 19.

[5] *Ad Græcos*, sec. 6.

[6] Περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν.

[7] *De Resurr. carnis.*

[8] *Octavius*, c. 34.

[9] *Cont. Celsum*, lib. v.

in the fifth century, St. Augustine says that the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body was the greatest stumbling-block to the conversion of the heathen.[1] The same testimony is given by the sufferings of the martyrs: their relics were dispersed or thrown into rivers, to prevent, as the heathen supposed, the possibility of a resurrection. Also from inscriptions in the catacombs, which were called cemeteries or sleeping-places: portions reserved for certain families, being called cubicula (bedrooms); well-known symbols of the resurrection being everywhere sculptured, as Jonah cast forth from the whale's belly, the phœnix rising from its ashes, Lazarus from the grave: and from the fact that the departed Christian was turned with his face towards the east, that he might at once behold and arise to meet the Lord at His coming. If any statement, indeed, can be regarded as certain and unquestionable, it is the unanimous belief of the early Christians in the resurrection of the body—proved alike from their own distinct and oft-repeated statements, and from the scoffs of heathen unbelievers, who treated the doctrine as an old woman's fable (aniles fabulas) worthy only of contempt and derision.

But the very important question has been asked both in ancient and modern times, What is *meant* by the resurrection of the body? does the body, after its dissolution in the dust, arise with every portion reproduced or restored as in its earthly state? If so, the doctrine is beset with innumerable and apparently insuperable difficulties. The *same* body which was committed to the grave, as Holy Scripture teaches or implies, is raised, but the important inquiry is—What is necessary to constitute identity or sameness? The human body may be described as a floating mass of particles which are undergoing perpetual change: not one portion of matter which formed the body of a child belongs to him when arrived at mature age. There is unceasing alteration, the passing away of old particles and the accretion of new, and yet most mysteriously the identity of the body remains; it is certain that the body of a child, on his becoming man, continues the same body, though the particles of which it has been composed have been repeatedly changed. Identity, therefore, cannot depend upon this floating mass of particles of which the body is composed, but on something which is unchangeable and indestructible. A modern writer who has examined the subject with great ability supposes, that it consists in a germ or stamen which preserves the identity of the body through all its stages of existence. "By the word *germ* or *stamen*," the writer says, "I understand a certain principle of future being which was lodged in the human body at its primary formation; which has 'grown with its growth' through all the intermediate changes of life; which constitutes perpetual sameness, and which shall form the rudiments of our future bodies. That it shall remain for ever as a radical and immoveable principle; and shall either collect matter around it, which collected matter shall adhere for ever, or contain within itself all those particles which are necessary to constitute those bodies which we shall perpetually possess.

"On its magnitude and dimensions I will not presume even to risk a thought; and the recess of its residence which, while included in the present vehicle, is perhaps of such a nature as will not admit of investigation. It may be diffused throughout the present body by an innate expansive power which it possesses, and by the shock of death it may be capable of such contraction as to render it impervious to attack, and invulnerable by all assaults. During its repose in the grave it will no doubt be preserved from incorporating with the identity of other bodies, and from putting forth any operations except such as are peculiar to its state.

"We see this principle of sameness perfectly preserved in every species of grain which is around us; and we can have no kind of conception that a germ of future wheat can by any possible process become a constituent part of a grain of rye or of barley. This strange commixture would break down the order which God has established in the empire of nature, and finally tend to banish sameness from the world. The identity of grain must therefore be preserved, and if the identity of grain must be preserved, why should we suppose that the germ of future life (in which consists the identity of the body, and which is now lodged within its confines) should be swallowed up in diversity sooner than that of a simple grain with which St. Paul has compared it? The same power which has preserved, and does preserve the one, can, without doubt, preserve the other also. The order and harmony of all nature require it. In the case of grain, events have fully demonstrated it; and the veracity of God is engaged to ensure to us the certainty of its preservation in man. And the evidence is of equal validity in both cases so far as the progress of time will identify the correspondent analogy."[2]

In the Gospel it is expressly stated in a passage already quoted, that the bodies of all the dead will be raised, but we are not told whether or not every portion of the body sown in corruption will be restored or reproduced, nor if this be necessary to constitute personal identity. The teaching of St. Paul must be especially investigated, as being the only inspired writer who has illustrated the subject [1 Cor. xv.]. The question bearing on the point in dispute is asked and answered, "How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?" The Apostle replies by an illustration from the vegetable world, "That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but mere grain, as of wheat or of other grain, to each of which God gives a body of its own kind." The Apostle here expressly says that the resurrection body is *not* the same as the earthly body sown in corruption: which he confirms by stating that the body sown is a natural body, and

[1] "In nulla re tam vehementer, tam pertinaciter, tam obnixe et contentiose, fidei Christianæ contradicitur quam de resurrectione carnis." [*Enarr. in Psalmos.*]

[2] *Essay on the Identity and General Resurrection of the Human Body*, by S. Drew, p. 239-240, ed. 1809.

Resurrection of the Body

the body raised is a spiritual body, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption—and thus we must be changed. The resurrection body springs from the body sown in the earth. just as a plant springs from its seed, which, apparently dying, puts forth new powers and rises into perfect and fully matured life. But though it be true that the resurrection body is not the same as the body sown in corruption; yet, viewed from another point, it is undoubtedly true, according to St. Paul's illustration, that it *is* the same body. The seed is *really* identical with the plant that springs from it; it is the plant itself, though in an undeveloped state. Hence the Apostle says, the body is sown in corruption and raised in incorruption—the same body, but transfigured, glorified, and changed into a spiritual body. Thus it appears certain from St. Paul's illustrations that it is not necessary to personal identity that the body in its present or earthly state should be reproduced: the earthly body may, in a certain sense, be said to perish at death[1] ("if our house of this tabernacle were dissolved," *καταλυθῇ*, 2 Cor. v. 1), or rather reappears with a true identity in a spiritual and glorified body, which in substance must be identical with our earthly body, as is clearly implied by the Apostle's illustration of the seed and the plant.

On considering the teaching of the early Church, we find two different opinions on the resurrection—a gross and sensuous one, which some thought was necessarily implied by the doctrine, and a more spiritual explanation founded on the teaching of St. Paul. Thus Justin Martyr, in the fragments of his lost work on the Resurrection, speaks of God collecting together the decomposed members of the flesh, and uniting them again to the body as in their former state.[2] Tatian, his disciple, says, "Though my flesh be destroyed by fire, the world receives the vapourized matter (*ἐξατμισθεῖσαν τὴν ὕλην*), and though I be drowned in rivers and in seas, or torn in pieces by beasts, I am laid up in the treasury of a rich Lord."[3] Athenagoras mentions, as a common objection of the heathen to the Resurrection, the practice of cannibalism (the body of one man thus becoming a part of the substance of another), to which he replies by asserting that human flesh eaten by man is not turned into the substance of the eater[4]—a statement manifestly incorrect. We find similar language on the resurrection body in Minucius Felix[5] and the Apostolical Constitutions.[6]

Another view of the Resurrection was held by some of the Fathers, chiefly founded on the teaching of St. Paul. Tertullian maintained against Gnostic and other heretics the resurrection of the body or the flesh.[7] In his treatise against Marcion,[8] he fully admits the obvious inferences from St. Paul's teaching: thus he says, "We do not claim the kingdom of God for the flesh but for the substance thereof, it will be no longer [the former] flesh and blood, but the body which God has given it." St. Gregory Nyssen maintains, according to St. Paul's teaching, that the resurrection body will not be formed by a re-collection of dissolved elements (*συνδρομὴ στοιχείων*), and that such an opinion is represented by the Apostle as foolish, "thou fool" [1 Cor. xv. 36]; he says that the resurrection body is not the same as the mortal body, nor yet wholly different from it; that one, in St. Paul's words, is the seed, and the other the plant that springs from it in new form and beauty.[9] St. Basil terms the resurrection of the body a "creation,"[10] comparing the body in corruption to the chrysalis, and the glorified body to the beautiful insect springing from it.[11] The teaching of Origen on the subject is uncertain: sometimes he wholly denies the resurrection, and yet in other passages maintains the doctrine of St. Paul, that as the plant from the seed so the same body will rise in glory and immortality: his followers, like the Gnostic and Manichæan heretics, rejected in every sense the doctrine, and were anathematized by the fifth General Council.[12]

A few words may be added on the nature of the resurrection body as brought before us in Scripture and by the Fathers. St. Paul tells us that it will be fashioned like unto Christ's glorious body [Phil. iii. 21], and St. John, "that when Christ shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is" [1 John iii. 2]. In the account of our Lord's transfigured body, "His face did shine as the sun, and His raiment was white as the light" [Matt. xvii. 2], or as St. Mark says "as no fuller on earth can whiten them" [ix. 3]. And when St. John saw the glorified humanity of the Redeemer, he "fell at His feet as dead" [Rev. i. 17].

St. Augustine describes the qualities of the resurrection body; its impassibility, as being no longer in a mortal condition liable to earthly wants and sufferings;[13] its brightness according

[1] Thus St. Paul speaks of God destroying "the belly and meats" [1 Cor. vi. 13].

[2] *Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἀναλυθέντα τὰ μέλη τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐ δυνήσεται πάλιν συνάγων ποιῆσαι τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ πρότερον γεγονότι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σώματι*; [sec. 6].

[3] *Ad Græcos*, sec. 6.

[4] *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*, sec. 8.

[5] *Octavius*, c. 34.

[6] Lib. v. c. 7.

[7] See Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, where his views are fully given, p. 268, &c., 1826.

[8] Lib. v. c. 9, 10.

[9] After saying that the seed in the ground is not lost or destroyed, but, preserving its identity, becomes a plant widely differing from itself in size, appearance and beauty (*ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ μένων στάχυς γίνεται . . .*), he goes on: *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις ἐναφεῖσα τῷ θανατῷ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἰδιώματα ὅσα διὰ τῆς ἐμπαθοῦς διαθέσεως ἐκτήσατο, τὴν ἀτιμίαν λέγω, τὴν φθορὰν, τὴν ἀσθένειαν, τὴν κατὰ τῆς ἡλικίας διαφορὰν, ἑαυτὴν οὐκ ἀφίησιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰς στάχυν τινὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν μεθίσταται, καὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐν παντὶ τελειότητα, καὶ τὸ μηκέτι τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῆς οἰκονομεῖσθαι τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἰδιώμασιν, ἀλλ' εἰς πνευματικήν τινὰ καὶ ἀπαθῆ μεταβῆναι κατάστασιν.* [*De Anima et Resurrectione.*]

[10] Tom. iii. Epist. 8. [Gaume.]

[11] *Hexæmeron*, lib. viii. sec. 8.

[12] See Huet, *Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. 2; St. Epiphanius, *Adver. Origen. Hæres.* 44 *sive* 64; St. Augustine, *De Hæres.* 43.

[13] "Illud omnino incorruptibile, omnino immortale, omnino ad movendum agile et facile erit" [*Sermo* 242, c. 7].

to the merits of the redeemed;[1] and its agility divested of the characteristics of the present body[2] (sine onere et pondere), there will also be, he teaches, a mutual knowledge of each other by the saints: not merely as of acquaintances, friends, or relatives; but, as by divine intuition, all the redeemed will recognise each other.[3]

St. Thomas Aquinas maintains [see 1 Cor. xv. 41] that Martyrs, Virgins, and Doctors, being of pre-eminent sanctity, will be distinguished from other saints, by an aureola or crown of glory.[4] He has other interesting speculations on this subject, as, *e.g.*, that the righteous, whether dying in infancy, youth, or old age, will all rise at the age of perfect youth.[5] It may rather be supposed, since among the saints it can only be in outward appearance, that it will be at the time, whether of youth or age, at which they died: but of such matters we can only speak cautiously and doubtfully. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be." [Body, Spiritual. New Creation.]

REVEALED RELIGION. [Religion, Revealed.]

REVELATION. In the New Testament dialect the term ἀποκάλυψις has the fixed signification, "divine communication," "Revelation." In the LXX. the word is found, although seldom [*e.g.* 1 Sam. xx. 30; Ecclus. xi. 27]; but nowhere does it occur in the sense of "divine communication." St. Jerome, moreover, notices that, in the sense of *Revelation*, the word ἀποκάλυψις "a nullo sapientum sæculi apud Græcos usurpatum."[6]

The Bible is the record of Revelation; and, as such, has been composed under the Inspiration of the Divine Spirit. Holy Scripture contains certain matters which are, strictly speaking, *Revelations: i.e.* matters which, from their supernatural character, or the circumstances of the writer who records them, could not have been known to him without a special communication from heaven. Other statements of the Bible, however, are not of this nature. The historical incidents, *e.g.*, recorded in both Old and New Testaments were such as must frequently have been well known to the sacred writers either from their own observation, or from sources which were at their command—*cf.* 1 Kings xiv. 4, 5; 2 Kings iv. 27; St. Luke i. 2; 1 St. John i. 1-3. Accordingly *Revelation* is carefully to be distinguished from *Inspiration* [see art. on Inspiration], and may be defined, A direct communication from God to man, either of such knowledge as man could not of himself attain to; or of information which, although it might have been attained in the ordinary way, was not, in point of fact, from whatever cause, known to the person who received the Revelation. As Inspiration is the result of the actuating energy of the Holy Spirit, so Revelation is to be ascribed to the Divine Logos, the Eternal Word, the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity. "No man," taught Christ Himself, "knoweth Who the Son is, but the Father; and Who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him"—ᾧ ἂν βούληται ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι—[St. Luke x. 22]. St. Paul declares as to his own knowledge of the Christian faith: "I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ" [Gal. i. 12]. St. Peter teaches generally respecting the Prophets that it was "the Spirit of Christ which was in them" [1 St. Pet. i. 11]; and the first words of the one prophetical book of the New Testament are "The *Revelation* of Jesus Christ" [Rev. i. 1]. The *Revelations* of the Divine Word are communicated to man through the channel of Scripture inspired by the Holy Ghost. Our Lord has described this function of the Spirit: "He shall glorify Me: for He shall receive of Mine, and shall shew it unto you" [St. John xvi. 13, 14]. Hence it is that the agencies of the two Divine Persons are sometimes spoken of in conjunction. St. Paul writes: "How that by Revelation He made known unto me the mystery . . . which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto His holy Apostles and Prophets *by the Spirit*" [Eph. iii. 3-5; *cf.* 1 Cor. ii. 10]. The complete doctrine, indeed, of Scripture inspired by the Holy Ghost being the appointed channel through which are conveyed to man the *Revelations* of the Divine Word—is thus expressed by St. Justin Martyr: "Think not that the words which you hear the Prophet speaking in his own person were uttered by himself, when filled with the Spirit, but by the Divine Word Who moved him."[7] And the principle which the texts of Scripture quoted above disclose is thus lucidly expressed by St. Athanasius: οὐ γὰρ ἐκτός ἐστι τοῦ Λόγου τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ ὂν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐστιν· ὥστε τὰ χαρίσματα ἐν τῇ Τριάδι δίδοσθαι.[8]

RITUAL. Divine worship, which is the necessary accompaniment of a belief in the existence of God, may be divided into two parts: [1] internal worship, consisting of the feelings of love, admiration, confidence, and submission to the Deity as a superior Being; and [2] external worship or the manifestation of those feelings by outward signs, such as, prayer, prostrations, genuflexions, &c. The latter is expressed by the term "ritual," which has therefore been defined as "the external body of words and action by which worship is expressed and exhibited before God and man."

The necessity of ritual, whether of a more or

[1] "Videtis quia promissa est corporibus sanctorum claritas et diversa species claritatis quia diversa sunt merita claritatis" [*Sermo* 242, sec. 8].

[2] "Credere enim debemus corpora talia nos habituros, ut ubi volumus, quando voluerimus, ibi simus. Ubi volueris, eris, sed a Deo non recedes. Ubi volueris, eris, sed quocunque venis Deum tuum habebis" [*Ibid.* c. 3, 8].

[3] "Omnes noscetis. Qui ibi erunt non adeo se agnoscent quia facies videbunt: majori notitia ubi erit invicem agnitio. Sic videbunt omnes sed multo excellentius, quomodo hic solent videre Prophetæ. Divine videbunt quando Dei pleni erunt" [*Ibid.* 243, sec. 6]. Other opinions or theories on the resurrection body will be found in St. Augustine's latest work, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxii. c. 13-17.

[4] Aquin. III. *Suppl. qu.* 95, *De Dotibus Beatorum.*

[5] *Ibid. qu.* 81, *De Qualitate Resurgentium.*

[6] Hieron. *Comm. in Ep. ad Gal.* lib. i. c. 1.

[7] Justin M. *Apol.* i. c. 36.

[8] Athan. *Ep.* iii. *ad Serap.* c. 5.

less elaborate kind, may be supported [1] *on historical grounds*, from its universality both in point of time and in point of area. Its traces may be found among the earliest records of worship in the inspired account of primeval man, and in the earliest histories and traditions of the ancient nations of the world. Every form of religion on the face of the globe, whether true or false, Christianity, Mahommedanism, Buddhism, and the different forms of idolatry, have each had a ritual of their own. [2] *On internal grounds.* From the twofold constitution of man as body and spirit. As long as the body is an essential element of man, so long will ritual be a necessary feature in his worship. Nature herself teaches us that prostration of the body is a mark of respect, that lifting the eyes or hands is a sign of supplication, that an offering or sacrifice is a recognition of inferiority, that smiting the breast is a token of sorrow; and a natural meaning will be found to underlie many other actions which at first sight may appear entirely arbitrary and conventional. One other explanation of ritual has been attempted on purely physical grounds. According to it, incense was first introduced to dissipate bad odours; tapers for the purpose of affording light; action and gesture were naturally required to emphasize certain words; and a symbolical meaning became subsequently devised by the learned leisure or fancy of ecclesiastics. This view has been worked out at length by Claude de Vert in his *Explication littérale et historique des Cérémonies de l'Eglise.* But while some have been led to ignore the real meaning of ritual, and to defend it on the lower ground of utility, others have denounced it on higher but false premisses. God, they say, requires only the internal worship of the heart. Whatever was the case before Christianity, the Jewish system of external observances, and by inference all worship of a similar kind, was abolished by our Lord when He said, "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth" [John iv. 23, 24], and all attempts to re-introduce a system of ritual are a violation of the genius and intention of the Founder of Christianity. This was the basis of the teaching of George Fox [A.D. 1647]. It is the doctrine of the Quakers that a portion of divine reason or wisdom is implanted in every man's soul, and that by consulting and following the dictates of this internal word or operation of the Holy Spirit they will arrive at eternal life, to which a formal religion would be rather an impediment than an assistance. Look, they urge, at the disciples in the New Testament. They spoke as the Spirit moved them [Acts iv. 8]. They had neither temple, nor altar, nor incense, nor ceremonial. But it must be retorted that the circumstances by which these primitive Christians were surrounded rendered this impossible; and that, again, the genuineness of inspiration was attested in their case by the miraculous gifts by which it was accompanied, and against the misuse of which St. Paul found it necessary to warn the Church of the Corinthians [1 Cor. xii., xiv.]. When Christ ordered His disciples to worship Him in spirit and in truth, it could not be to the exclusion of those outward rites which He Himself was about to institute, Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. The widow's offering [Luke xxi. 2, 3], the bended knee in prayer [Luke xxii. 41], the smiting of the breast [Luke xviii. 13], have His sanction or approbation: and on one occasion when He had enumerated a variety of ceremonial observances, He added, "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone" [Luke xi. 42]. Whence it appears that the real object of His animadversion was a permanent external worship from which the heart and affections were absent, the worship of a people who could draw nigh unto Him with their mouth and honour Him with their lips, while their heart was far from Him [Matt. xv. 8].

General objects of ritual. Ritual may be defended, and has been employed, on three several grounds. [1.] *For organization.* There are families and tribes among the Eastern nations, whose ties of kindred are strengthened by the common observance at stated periods of domestic or national rites of worship. [2.] *For educational purposes.* To an Israelite his ritual was a constant monument of the past history of his nation, and of the miracles of God's overshadowing providence. When Jordan was passed twelve men were ordered by Joshua to take up as many stones from the river's bed, "that this may be a sign among you, that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones? then ye shall answer them that the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord; when it passed over Jordan, the waters of Jordan were cut off, and these stones shall be for a memorial unto the Children of Israel for ever" [Josh. iv. 6, 7]; and on the same principle, the feast of the Passover and the presentation of the first-born reminded them of their escape from Egypt [Exod. xii. 26, 27]; the Feast of Weeks, of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai; the Feast of Tabernacles, of their dwelling in booths in the wilderness [Lev. xxiii. 39-44]. [3.] *To do honour to God.* If the taunt of Persius is repeated,—

"Dicite, pontifices, in templo quid facit aurum?"

the answer is, it is there as an outward mark of respect to God, and as a sensible witness of it before the eyes of men. The divine will, so far as it is revealed on this subject, nowhere seems disinclined to accept such homage. The ceremonial divinely instituted on Mount Sinai, and the future worship of the redeemed foreshadowed in the Apocalypse, are in favour of it. David's sentiment that he would not offer unto the Lord his God of that which did cost him nothing [2 Sam. xxiv. 24], as well as the conduct of the woman who broke an alabaster box of ointment worth three hundred pence over Christ's head [Mark xiv. 3], are alike recorded for our admiration. The pretext has

often been advanced, "Might this not have been sold for much and given to the poor?" [John xii. 5], but experience does not bear out the inference that those who are loudest in their declamation about the costliness of God's service, are the most liberal in their alms to the poor.

Special objects of Christian ritual. Besides the above general grounds on which all ritual is capable of defence, there are the following special objects for its employment under the Christian dispensation. Both the eye and the ear being the medium of gaining information, a visible ceremonial is to the one what oral instruction is to the other: [1.] a mode of imparting the historic truths of religion. As the Israelites were reminded by their ceremonial law of their past history, so Christians have their attention called to the divine origin of their religion by the various festivals of the Christian Church and their attendant ceremonies. Their need is indeed increased, rather than diminished, inasmuch as such feasts as Easter and Whitsunday commemorate events of far more world-wide importance than the Passover and the Feast of Weeks. [2.] It is a constant witness to doctrinal truth. The immersion at baptism is a symbol of the "death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness." The minute ceremonial of the Holy Eucharist attests the real Presence of Christ; the sign of the cross, the mysteries of the Holy Trinity. [3.] It is an outward witness in some cases to moral as well as to doctrinal truths. The corruption of human nature and the necessity of purity are shewn in a figure at baptism: the duties and privileges of wedded life, by matrimony. [4.] The sense of a common brotherhood is kept alive among mankind. Before the altar all are equally privileged; social distinctions are swept away, and the common form of worship is one of the strongest protests against that alienation of classes which worldly circumstances are apt to produce.

Antiquity of ritual. This high estimate of the important functions which ceremonial was designed to fulfil, seems supported by the references to it which will be found in Holy Scripture. There it will be discovered, firstly, to have existed in different forms from the very earliest ages, and, secondly, always to have met with the Divine approval, even where it was not based with all its minutiæ on the injunctions of Almighty God Himself. The institution of the Sabbath and its hallowing as a day of rest is coeval with the creation itself, and its observance was to be a perpetual witness to the creation of the universe by the one true God, amid the polytheistic inventions of a later day [Gen. ii. 3]. Cain and Abel made offerings to God of the first-fruits of their land and cattle [Gen. iv. 3, 4]. Public worship is a recognised institution [Gen. iv. 26]. Noah distinguishes between clean and unclean animals [Gen. vii. 2], and makes an offering of the former to the Lord [Gen. viii. 20]. As we pass from the antediluvian to the patriarchal era the references to a ceremonial worship become more numerous and distinct. The rite of circumcision is ordained and becomes binding on every male [Gen. xvii. 10,11]: a formal mode of benediction obtains, accompanied by laying on of hands [Gen. xviii. 1-4, xlviii. 9-20], the sacred character of burial is recognised [Gen. xxiii. 19]; bowing the head is the expression of a devout worship [Gen. xxiv. 26, 48]: altars are built, and a ceremonial washing and change of dress is observed [Gen. xxxv. 2-7]. The dedication of a pillar is effected by pouring on oil [Gen. xxviii. 18]: vows are solemnly taken before God [Gen. xxviii. 20]; and if the Book of Job is to be referred to this early date, sacrifices and burnt-offerings appear to have been presented continually [Job i. 5]. The patriarchal regime [B.C. 1996-1491] gives place in time to the Mosaic dispensation, where, instead of scanty allusions in isolated texts, we find a complete system of most elaborate ritual provided for the Jewish nation by God Himself. It was, moreover, presented to them under circumstances of the greatest awe and solemnity. God vouchsafed a personal interview to Moses for the purpose. His appearance was terrible [Exod. xxiv. 10]: the interview lasted forty days and forty nights [Exod. xxiv. 18]; and though the reader must be referred to other sources for a detailed description of the ceremonial code, yet it may be here remarked that the smallest details received a Divine imprimatur; details as to ordinary offerings [Lev. i.-vii.], extraordinary sacrifices [Lev. viii.-xvi.], holiness of persons generally, of priests in particular, of places, of things, of persons, of days [Lev. *passim*]. Two men, Bezaleel and Aholiab, are specially endowed with divine wisdom in workmanship to execute the sacred work, and to fashion the tabernacle with its vessels and ornaments according to the revealed design [Exod. xxxi. 1-6]; and the various institutions are closed with a promise on God's part to be continually with His people and to defend them, while His will is in all respects carefully carried out [Exod. xxix. 42-46]. Nor was this direct bestowal of a divine superintendence confined to this particular era of Old Testament history. At the time when the Temple was to be built [B.C. 1015], David adds in his parting charge to his son and successor, after an elaborate description of the pattern of the proposed house and of its fittings, "All this the Lord made me understand in writing by His hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern" [1 Chron. xxviii. 11-19]; and during the actual progress of the work it is said, "Now these are the things wherein Solomon was instructed for the building of the house of God" [2 Chron. iii. 3]. While at its completion God's approbation is conveyed thus: "I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication that thou hast made before Me, I have hallowed this house which thou hast built to put My Name there for ever, and Mine eyes and Mine heart shall be there perpetually" [1 Kings ix. 3]. Yet the object of all this care was not a perpetual institution, but a transitory preparation for the world-embracing dispensation of Christianity, which God in the fulness of time intended to unfold. This fugitive character of the Jewish ritual was evident from the typical character of

its c nine the dignit pecially of its sacrifices and its p ii. 6, & nce and h was seen to be the case by the [illegible] and prophets, whose allusions are frequent to the impossibility of their being acceptable in themselves [Psa. xl. 8, 9], and to the time coming when not among the Jews only, but throughout the whole world, incense and a pure offering should be presented to the Lord [Mal. i. 11]. The law was the schoolmaster to educate the world for Christ [Gal. iii. 24]; and Christ being its end and object [Rom. x. 4], it was to disappear when He became incarnate.

But here the question arises whether at the Christian era all ritual and symbolism were intended to be for ever swept away, and a purely spiritual worship substituted in their place, or whether another and a higher ritual was to supersede the Jewish, full of a deeper significance and possessed of a more real value, because it was no longer the shadow of good things to come [Heb. x. 1], but the pledge and witness of their having arrived. The latter position will be supported by reference [1] to Holy Scripture itself and [2] to primitive Christianity.

Testimony of Holy Scripture. Apart from all *à priori* considerations, and apart from the absence of any passage which "totidem verbis" abrogates the future use of ceremonial observances, the following texts seem to convey positive evidence to the contrary. During the forty days which intervened between the Resurrection and Ascension our Lord had constant intercourse with His Apostles, and spoke to them of things pertaining to the kingdom of God [Acts i. 3], revealing to them, it may be inferred, details of the Church's future polity and worship, which had been unnecessary while He was still with them in the flesh. Very shortly afterward the first converts are depicted as continuing steadfastly together in the Apostles' doctrine (τῇ διδάχῃ) and fellowship (τῇ κοινωνίᾳ), and in the breaking of bread (τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου) and in prayer (ταῖς προσευχαῖς), all which expressions imply a settled discipline and mode of worship. The Epistles throughout, though they do not originate, imply the previous existence of a similar state of things. Let all things be done decently and in order [1 Cor. xiv. 40] is St. Paul's general maxim to the Church of Corinth. Its members are praised for keeping the various ordinances already delivered to them [1 Cor. xi. 2]. The weekly offertory is especially recommended to their attention [1 Cor. xvi. 2]. Timothy is exhorted to see that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks (εὐχαριστίας) be made for all men [1 Tim. ii. 1]. Regimen and polity as well as doctrine are matters of perpetual spiritual import, and in both apostolic precedent is to be strictly adhered to; and if the early Christians wished to find a pattern on which to model their services they would turn to the account of worship as it exists in heaven, and as it was revealed to the last of the Apostles. There, in the midst of the throne, as the object of adoration, stood a Lamb as it had been slain; before it kneel the four mysterious beings and the four and twenty elders, who have harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints [Rev. v. 8]. In an attitude of prostration, they sing the new song, "Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests; and we shall reign on the earth" [Rev. v. 9, 10]. Around these, though at a greater distance, is a larger company of worshippers: "And I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts, and the elders, and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing" [Rev. v. 11, 12]. Moreover, the elders are clothed with white raiment, having crowns of gold on their heads; and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, suspended over a sea of glass like unto crystal [Rev. iv. 4, 5]. The meaning of many passages in the Revelation may be doubtful, but there never could be any mistake as who was meant by the Lamb, or what was the character of the adoration offered to Him; and the chief act of worship on earth, the Holy Eucharist, was made as closely as possible to resemble this adoration of the Lamb in Heaven.

Admitting, then, the existence of a divinely authorized form of Christian worship, we can detect in the three phases of ritual as they were successively developed—the patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian—a threefold purpose and unfolding of God's truth. The first was to testify of the existence of God as the one supreme Creator of the universe: the second to reveal Him still further, not only as the Creator but also as the Lawgiver of His people, "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices: but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey My voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be My people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you" [Jer. vii. 22, 23]. The third was to bear witness to a further development of God's providence in the sacrifice and mediation of Jesus Christ; for one of its main objects was to be a perpetual witness of His death till He should come again [1 Cor. xi. 26]. The practical object of these changes was on a corresponding scale of development. The patriarchal ritual, where the priestly and sacrificial duties were performed by the head of the clan or family, was a bond of social union. The Jewish ritual, with the Levitical priesthood and extended and formularized ceremonial, was a bond of national union. The Christian ritual, superseding all that betokened a merely national relationship, became a symbol of universal brotherhood.

Original simplicity of ritual. The objectors to ritual are wont to draw an invidious comparison between the gorgeousness of the later and the simplicity of the earlier Christian ritual. Mosheim [A.D. 1694-1755] remarks, that Christ only ordained two ceremonies, Baptism and Holy

Communion. This is true, as far as explicit statements in the Gospels are concerned; but it may be fairly asked in return, Had the Apostles no divine authority for accompanying the gift of the Holy Ghost in Confirmation with the outward form of laying on of hands? [Acts viii. 17.] Was St. Paul unauthorized in associating a similar formality with the admission into holy orders? [1 Tim. v. 22] or St. James when he directed the sick to call for the elders of the Church to anoint him with oil? [James v. 14.]

There is, however, a passage referring to the Holy Communion in St. Gregory's writings [A.D. 590-604], which has been much insisted on. "We therefore repeat the Lord's Prayer soon afterwards, because it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the host at that prayer only; and it seemed to me very inconvenient to repeat over the oblation a prayer which a scholastic had composed, and to omit the traditional words of which our Lord Himself had been the author." But Cardinal Bona [tom. i. p. 75], Le Brun [tom. ii. p. 82], and Maskell [*Preface to Ancient Liturgy of Church of England*, p. xx.], agree in interpreting the words to mean, that the Holy Eucharist was never celebrated without the Lord's Prayer, and not that the Lord's Prayer was the only one used in Apostolic times. In fact, the latter view would be quite inconsistent with the glimpses which we obtain of Christian worship in the earliest times; as for example in the often-quoted passage of Justin Martyr. [Liturgy.]

Later on we find allusions to distinctive vestments for the clergy to wear during the performance of divine service. The Emperor Constantine gave a gold embroidered vestment to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem [c. A.D. 330], for the administration of baptism. Other robes are mentioned by Athanasius[1] [A.D. 325-373], by Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople[2] [A.D. 397-403], and from the Council of Laodicea [can. 22 and 23, A.D. 361] they appear to have acquired sufficient importance to become the subject of conciliar enactments. From these and similar facts we are inclined to accept the suggestion of Renaudot, "Christ's words to His Apostles, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' contain the precept for celebrating the Eucharist according to the commandment of Christ, but they do not express the form in which it should be celebrated. But no Christian doubts that the Apostles were instructed on this point by our Lord, as well as in all other points which pertained to the constitution of the Christian religion" [Renaudot, *Dissert.* p. 2]; and the conclusions of a German ritualist, "On mature reflection, I am satisfied that the Apostles by no means performed the divine liturgy with such brevity, at least as a general rule, as some have confidently asserted. The faithful, whether converts from among the Jews or Gentiles, were accustomed to ceremonies and prayers in their sacrifices; and can we suppose that the Apostles would neglect to employ the like, tending so greatly, as these must do, to the decency of the service, and to promote the reverence and fervour of the worshipper" [Krazer, *de liturgiis*, i. 1-3].

Modern ingenuity has, however, suggested several more possible origins for ritual. Mosheim says that it was introduced, partly [1] to rebut the charge of atheism which was brought by the heathen against persons who exhibited none of the external paraphernalia of religion; [2] that it may have been to conciliate the Jews, who, having been accustomed to an elaborate ceremonial, would be more likely to be won over to a religion which presented a similar external appearance: hence the adoption into the Christian vocabulary of such words as priest, sacrifice, altar, &c.; [3] that in the third century Platonic and Pythagorean theories became incorporated into Christianity, and that the new ideas thence derived on the subject of spirits and demons were the cause of the different exorcisms and benedictions, and of the mortifications, and penances and excommunications; and that finally in the fourth century these rites had so multiplied that even St. Augustine complained of them [*Epist.* 55, *ad Januar.*], although it is evident that St. Augustine's complaint was levelled at the unauthorized introduction of observances by individuals or congregations, not at any which had received the full sanction of the councils or the usages of the Universal Church. But allowing a greater simplicity to have existed in the first few centuries, there are two causes which now exist no longer, but which amply explain such a fact. [1.] *The non-committal of the early liturgies to writing*, and the consequent absence of any ceremonial "directorium." In the early persecutions copies of the Scriptures were frequently given up to the heathen, for fear of torture or death, but no mention is made of any liturgical books. St. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea [A.D. 370-379], asks "Whence do we draw the custom of blessing the water at baptism, and the oil for the chrism, and, moreover, the candidate himself? from what writings? is it not from a silent and mystic tradition?" [*De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27], and the fact that the earliest known liturgies of Asia Minor, Africa, Italy, and Gaul, retain so many common elements of ritual, although they were not committed to writing for several centuries, is a strong circumstantial proof of their descent from a common Apostolic origin and authority. [2.] *The fear of persecution.* For many years it was a perilous thing to be detected in public worship. Christians met at early hours and in caves, where an ornate ritual was, by the circumstances of the case, impossible; but after the conversion of Constantine [A.D. 324] it assumed its natural beauty and proportions. One further theory to account for the origin of ritual was invented in the earlier part of the fourth century. The Manichæans, who themselves denounced all symbolism, and disregarded the Christian festivals, taunted the orthodox with borrowing their rites from Paganism; a view which is met by St. Augustine, who had himself been a "hearer" of the sect

[1] Athan. *Apol.* ii. p. 778.
[2] Chrys. *Hom.* lxxxii. *in Matt.* p. 705.

for nine years, in his epistle *Contra Faustum*, xxxii. 6, &c.

Modes of Celebrating Divine Service. All divine service may be regarded in the light of a sacrifice offered by man to God, in a more general sense than that which the word bears when it is employed to describe the service at the altar. Its use is derived from the carnal sacrifices of bulls and goats under the Jewish system, the symbolical application of which to the offering of prayer and praise was not unfamiliar to the Psalmist: "Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice" [Psa. cxli. 2]. Commenting on this Psalm, St. Hilary says, "The sacrifice of Christians is their prayers, for we upon whom the ends of the world are come do not sacrifice to God with blood or burnt-offerings" [Hilar. *in Psa.* cxli. p. 330], and Eusebius [A.D. 265-338] calls the prayers of Christians "rational and unbloody sacrifices to God" [*De Laud. Constant. Orat.* p. 659]. Bearing this in mind, we shall be able to determine the real position of the officiating minister. Except when he is addressing the congregation from the pulpit, or catechizing or instructing the young, he is either [1] the temporal deputy of His Divine Master, or [2] the minister offering in the name and on behalf of the people. In the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, he stands primarily as the earthly representative of the great High Priest, who is the real Consecrator, but also as the spokesman of the assembled people who have met "as a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ" [1 Pet. ii. 5]. On the other hand, in the recitation of the daily services and the conduct of the minor offices of intercession or praise, he is primarily the deputy on behalf of the people, acting as the patriarch Job, who, while his sons were feasting, rose up early in the morning and offered burnt-offerings according to the number of them all; "for Job said it may be my sons have sinned and cursed God in their hearts. Thus did Job continually" [Job. i. 5]. Those present join in the minister's offering, expressing their assent either by secret concurrence with the petitions which the priest offers in a loud voice for himself and for them all, or by openly joining him, and uniting their voices with his in an audible tone.

Choral Service. This public service has, from the earliest times, assumed a musical character. Music is not only a natural way of expressing the human feelings of joy, or hope, or fear, but there is also an appropriateness in associating a fixed method of expression with our addresses to Almighty God, and the voices of large congregations are most powerful and united when pitched in a certain key. We find, accordingly, that music has always assumed a prominent place in the ritual arrangements of divine worship. This was especially the case with the Jews. When David brought up the ark of God out of the house of Abinadab, "he and all Israel played before God with all their might, and with singing, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets" [1 Chron. xiii. 8]; and when the ark reached its final resting-place in Jerusalem, men were especially appointed from among the Levites for the office of singers, who were to enjoy the privilege of remaining in the chambers free, for they were employed in that work day and night [1 Chron. ix. 33]. Subsequently this choir is enumerated by name, and divided into classes, as skilled in instrumental music, in cymbals, psalteries, and harps, or in vocal music, in which Chenaniah, the chief of the Levites, had the office of precentor [1 Chron. xv. 16-22]; and this arrangement became permanent after Solomon had completed his temple. He is said to have set singers also before the Lord, that by their voices they might make sweet melody, and daily sing praises in their song [Ecclus. xlvii. 9]; and the solemnity of the dedication was increased when these singers, "all of them of Asaph, of Heman, and Jeduthun, with their sons and their brethren, being arrayed in white linen, having cymbals, and psalteries, and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets; and it came to pass as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord, and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets, and cymbals, and instruments of music, and praised the Lord saying, For He is good; for His mercy endureth for ever: that then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the Lord; so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God" [2 Chron. v. 12-14]. Now, there is no express abolition of this choral element of divine worship in the New Testament, nor are there any words which might be interpreted to mean that for the future it would be either a less important feature or less acceptable to God. On the contrary, immediately after the first institution of the Holy Eucharist, our Lord and His Apostles sang a hymn before they went out into the Mount of Olives [Matt. xxvi. 30]. Twice St. Paul bids those whom he addresses to speak in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their heart to the Lord [Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16]; and in the Book of Revelation the worship of the redeemed is represented as choral, for "they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth" [Rev. xiv. 3]. The glimpses which we obtain of Christian history in primitive times fully bear out this view. Pliny the younger, Governor of Bithynia [A.D. 104], writing to the Emperor Trajan for instructions how to deal with the Christians in his province, thus incidentally describes their habits, "They meet together before dawn on certain days, and sing a hymn to Christ God" [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 32]. Justin Martyr [A.D. 150] describes the Christian service as consisting of solemn rites and hymns [*Apol.* i. 13]. Lucian [A.D. 120-200] in one of his Dia-

logues, describing his visit to one of the religious assemblies of Christians, says, that he heard there a prayer which began with the Father, and which ended with a hymn of many names [πολυώνυμον ὠδην, Luc. *Philopatris*, p. 1128]. Later on hymn singing became much more in vogue. St. Chrysostom [A.D. 397-403] relied on it as his chief weapon for counteracting the Arian heresy; incorporating and popularizing orthodox doctrines in hymns for general use. By this time, too, ecclesiastical music had been systematically arranged by St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan [A.D. 374], and "Cantus Ambrosianus" became a synonym for church song, until it gave way to the elaborate notation which still bears the name of its celebrated author, St. Gregory [A.D. 590-604]. A technical account of the Ambrosian and Gregorian schools of music will not be attempted here,[1] but among the several ritual alterations to which they gave rise, the following are worthy of notice:—

The introduction of choral assistants to the people, in the form of a distinct body of singers. At the present day "psalmistæ" are reckoned among the five minor orders of the Church of Rome, but the first reference to them as a separate class from the congregation dates from the Council of Laodicea [A.D. 361]. They are also mentioned in the Apostolical Constitutions [iii. 2] and in the Apostolical Canons [can. 69], which are probably compilations of rules and practices established in various churches and at different times, down to the close of the fifth century; also by St. Jerome [*de Septem ordin. Eccles.* tom. iv. p. 81] and by many subsequent writers. Their duty consisted in leading and assisting the devotions of the people; the only evidence to the contrary is the fifteenth canon of the Council of Laodicea, which forbids any others to sing in the church except only the canonical singers, a regulation which is generally interpreted as a temporary provision to remedy a defective style of singing [Bingham, *Antiq.* bk. iii. cap. 7]. They were formally admitted into their office, without any imposition of hands, by the parish priest, with these words, "See that thou believe in thy heart what thou sayest with thy mouth, and approve in thy works what thou believest in thy heart."[2]

The introduction of responsive services and a double choir. The custom of singing both psalms and hymns in alternate verses, "antiphono cantu," and the division of the choir into two parts for that purpose, may have been originally introduced for the sake of resting the voice, or more probably of producing a better musical effect. St. Ambrose [A.D. 374-397] seems to view the arrangement in the latter light, when he says, "From the responsories of the psalms, and the singing of men, women, virgins, and children, there results an harmonious noise like the waves of the sea" [*Hexæm.* lib. iii. cap. 5]. It was a custom of purely Eastern origin, where it has been traced back by some authors as far as Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch [A.D. 115]: and though this is extremely uncertain, the following passage from Socrates, an ecclesiastical historian of the earlier part of the fifth century, is sufficiently beautiful to be worth quotation: "Now let us record when the hymns that are sung interchangeably in the church, commonly called anthems, had their origin. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in Syria, the third bishop in succession from Peter the Apostle, who was conversant, and had great familiarity, with the Apostles, saw a vision of angels, who extolled the blessed Trinity with hymns that were sung interchangeably, and delivered unto the church of Antioch the order and manner of singing expressed in the vision Thereupon it came to pass that every church received the same tradition" [Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 8]. Another account [Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 24] says that Flavian and Diodorus first brought in the way of singing David's psalms alternately into the church of Antioch in the reign of Constantius [A.D. 306-337]; but whether this was its first introduction or merely a revival of an earlier practice, it thenceforward spread so rapidly that St. Basil [A.D. 329-379] alludes to it as, in his time, the received custom of all the East [Ep. 63, *ad Neocæsar.*]. Towards the close of the fourth century it was introduced into the cathedral at Milan by St. Ambrose, and thence into the Western Church generally. The orthodox were suffering at that time from the persecution of the Arian Empress Justina, and the services of the faithful among the Milanese had to be held secretly by night, St. Augustine expressly relating how he heard antiphonal chanting, under those circumstances, for the first time [August. *Confess.* lib. ix. cap. 7]. Then, as singing became more elaborate, we find special service books compiled for the use of choirs, such as the "responsoriale," the "antiphonarium," and the "graduale," which contained those portions of the services to which they respectively appertained, and to be sung antiphonally. "Psalmi responsorii" are also mentioned [Greg. Turon. *de Vitis Patrum*, cap. 8], which some suppose to be so called because they answer to the lessons after which they were immediately sung, but others because they were sung in alternate verses by the choir, one half answering the other. Some too have supposed the same meaning to underlie our modern word "anthem," regarding it not as an altered form of antiphon (ἀντιφωνη), but of "antihymnus" (ἄνθυμνος), a responsive hymn.

Variations of ancient days. As saints' days and festivals multiplied they began to be celebrated with different degrees of solemnity. Some were called "doubles," others "semi-doubles." Festivals which were neither doubles nor semi-doubles were called simples. Week-days on which no festival occurs were called "feriæ." Of doubles, which were so called because the antiphon is repeated entire both before and after the psalms of the day, some are of the first class, others of the second class, some are greater doubles, others common doubles.

[1] This will be found in the Ritual Introduction to Blunt's *Annotated Prayer Book*, part ii.

[2] The tenth canon of the fourth Council of Carthage [A.D. 399] runs thus: "Psalmista, id est, cantor potest, absque scientia episcopi, sola jussione presbyteri officium suscipere cantandi, dicente sibi presbytero; vide ut quod ore cantas corde credas, et quod corde credis operibus comprobes."

Semi-doubles were so called because only part of the antiphon is said before each psalm. Very intricate rules exist for the precedence and coincidence of festivals, of the different degrees for which the reader is referred to the directions which will be found in the preface of the Roman Missal, and in the different service books of the Mediæval Church.

As early as A.D. 492, Gelasius had arranged prayers, collects, and prefaces, in a Sacramentary which bears his name; and as services and ceremonial usages continued to multiply, the following separate service books were compiled: *the Missal*, or office for the mass; *the Breviary*, comprising the daily offices and canonical hours of the Church; *the Rituale*, or *Manuale*, containing the minor sacramental and other offices; *the Pontificale*, containing the various ceremonies and consecrations which can only be episcopally performed.

Besides these the following smaller service books were also in use: *Legenda*, a book containing the lessons to be read at morning service; *Antiphonarium*, a book containing invitatories, responsories, verses, collects, &c., to be said or sung by priest and people alternately; *Graduale*, a book containing the offices for sprinkling holy water, the gradalia and symbols to be sung at the offertory and the mass; *Psalterium*, the book of psalms; *Troparium*, book of sequences; *Ordinale*, a book of rules and orders to direct the right manner of saying and performing the service; *Processionale*, containing the ordering of processions; *Hymnarium*, comprising the hymns in verse which from the time of St. Ambrose were chanted in the canonical hours; *Collectarium*, containing the collects and the capitula or short lessons recited in the offices; *Homilarium*, *Passionarium*, *Martyrologium*, containing a homily on the gospel for the day, and an account of the martyrdom of the saints for each distinct festival. In the eleventh century the Breviary was compiled out of these various service books, the lessons, anthems, responsories, and hymns being collected into one volume. For the sake of convenience it was afterwards published in two or four volumes corresponding to the seasons of the year, and its Anglican form acquired the name of *Portiforium*.

We now pass on to the different kinds of masses, with their titles and leading features. They were *Missa solemnis* or *Missa alta*;—high mass, in which the celebrant was attended by deacon, subdeacon and acolytes, and full ritual was carried out with lights, music, and incense. *Missa publica* or *communis*;—so called in contradistinction to private masses held in monasteries or retreats. *Missa privata*, *bassa*, or *plana*;—low mass in which, as opposed to high mass, the priest was accompanied by one attendant, and at which, as opposed to missa publica, only the celebrating priest communicated. *Missa solitaria*;—when the priest performed the Divine service and consecrated not only privately, but without any attendant minister. *Missa votiva*;—votive masses for special objects public and private. *Missa Præsanctificatorum*;—a mass allowed in the Greek Church during Lent, but limited in the Latin Church to Good Friday, in which the prayer of consecration was omitted, and the priest communicated from the elements which had been consecrated on the previous day. [Missa Præsanctificatorum.] *Missa sicca*;—a repetition of the communion service without consecration and without communion. This form of service was mainly for use at sea, and thence acquired the name of *Missa nautica*. It must not be confounded with our occasional ante-communion office, which stops short at the close of the prayer for the Church militant before the anaphora commences. [Missa Sicca.]

Processions also formed a very prominent feature in the ritual of the Mediæval Church. Their institution is commonly attributed to Mamercus, Bishop of Lyons [A.D. 450-470], but St. Basil's allusion to them [*Ep.* 63, *Ad Neocæsar.* p. 97] affords some ground for believing that they were known in the East at least a century earlier. [Litany. Rogations.] The object of such processions was sometimes thanksgiving, sometimes to avert some general calamity, sometimes to supplicate the Divine blessing for the fruits of the earth. They were always conducted with great pomp and solemnity; with silver crosses [Palladius, *Vita Chrysos.* c. 15, p. 27], banners, incense, and in later days with exposed relics and the reserved host [Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* p. 339]. The rules for their arrangement were contained in a service book called the *Processionale*, which comprised complete directions for the processions, either on ordinary or extraordinary occasions, whether in the Church or from one part of a building to another, or out of doors in the fields. The following statute of the collegiate church of St. Mary Ottery, Devon, bears quaint testimony to the great importance which was attached to the orderly performance of such processions:—"Also we order that each canon in residence and each vicar shall have a processionale for himself, lest in walking and singing they should come into collision or disorderly cross each other's path, and let these processionalia remain in their possession and their successors' for ever" [Oliver's *Monast. Exon.* p. 270]. In some churches marks were made in the stone or tile floor to indicate the position of each official person while the procession was being arranged.

In our modern English usage both the musical and ritual modifications of mediæval customs are very great, but the principles of Catholic worship though modified still remain. The service is still intended to be musically conducted throughout: the rubrical term "saying" being an ecclesiastical or technical expression for utterance in a plain tune and distinct voice without those elaborate inflexions and intonations which are generally understood by "singing;" while "reading" is a general term including both those methods. In our cathedrals, which are theoretically the model for parish services generally, the old principles of choral worship, of choral assistants to the people, and of the double division of the choir into "Decani" and "Cantoris" are fully carried

out; and this same intention of securing the musical efficiency of the service is shewn by the ninety-first Canon [A.D. 1603], which says that the parish clerk shall not only be "of honest conversation, and sufficient for his reading and writing, but also for his competent skill in singing if it may be."

Variety of uses in the early Church. At the era of the Reformation some simplification of existing rituals had become most desirable, and the Book of Common Prayer was compiled as the general service book of the National Church of England, in lieu of the various and constantly diverging uses of different provinces or dioceses. No doubt variety was in many respects preferable to a hard line of uniformity, but the principle had been carried too far. Originally each bishop had the power to form his own liturgy, and to regulate its attendant ritual, provided that the essential features of Christian worship were retained, and that nothing commanded in Scripture or derived from Apostolic times was omitted. Instances of this are numerous. St. Basil [A.D. 329-379] composed a liturgy for the Church of Cæsarea, which received the sanction of its bishop, Eusebius [Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 20]. Maiuma, a village in Palestine and in the diocese of Gaza, was erected into a separate see [c. A.D. 350], and as soon as this event took place, it was no longer bound to use the same liturgy and ritual as the episcopal city with which it was previously connected [Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 3]. By degrees, however, the liberty enjoyed by separate dioceses was curtailed, and the different bishops in a province became compelled to conform to the liturgy of their metropolitan. Many provincial councils contain canons to this effect: the earliest extant being the fifteenth canon of the Council of Vannes in Brittany [A.D. 465], which ordered "that one and the same custom in celebrating Divine service, and the same order of psalmody, should be kept in all churches in the province of Tours; that as they held one faith and confession of the Holy Trinity, so they should keep to one rule of Divine offices, lest if they varied in their observations, that variation should be interpreted as a disagreement in some point or other." In the Council of Agde [A.D. 506] the thirtieth canon was as follows: "That one and the same order should be equally observed in all churches of the province in all parts of divine service." Eleven years later the Council of Epone passed a resolution [can. xxvii.] that in celebrating divine offices the provincial bishop should observe the same order as was used by his metropolitan. In the same year the Council of Girona made a similar rule for the Spanish province of Tarragona, which lasted till A.D. 633, when the fourth Council of Toledo extended the order for uniformity from the separate provinces to the whole of Spain [can. ii.]. Thus for the first three centuries each separate diocese had the right of appointing its own service and ritual. In the fifth century the area of uniformity was extended, and the liturgy and customs of the metropolitical church became the standard for the whole province; and in the seventh century, when separate kingdoms became enrolled in the Western Church, the provincial uses gave way to national liturgies whose area was co-extensive with the boundaries of their respective territories. This right of each national church to frame its own liturgy was expressly recognised by Pope Gregory I. St. Augustine had landed in England [A.D. 596], bringing with him, no doubt, the Roman liturgy, but he found traces of another liturgy, probably of Gallican origin, already in use. A few years later, among other questions which he submitted to the Pope's decision, was one as to the service which ought to be used in the English Church, the Roman and British liturgies not being the same. Gregory's answer was, that Augustine might himself select whichever he thought most suitable to the wants of the people, provided that nothing was introduced contrary to the teaching of the Catholic Church, and that regard was had to the circumstances and prejudices of the country and to the glory of God [Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. xxvii. 60]. The same liberal principle was maintained by St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury [A.D. 1093-1109]. In answer to some complaints which had been addressed to him about a want of uniformity in non-essentials, he wrote thus: "You complain because the sacraments are not celebrated everywhere in the same way, but in different manners in different places. It would be a good and desirable thing if they could be celebrated exactly in the same way throughout the universal Church. But since many differences exist which do not affect the substance or virtue of, or faith in, the sacraments, and since they cannot all be reduced to one prescribed form, I consider that they ought rather to be quietly acquiesced in than noisily condemned. We have received it as a tradition from the holy Fathers, that if the bond of love is retained in the Catholic faith, differences of custom do no harm; and if the question is raised as to what is the origin of such customs, I imagine it to be nothing else than the diversities of human minds."[1] The same principle is affirmed in the thirty-fourth Article of Religion, "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly alike, for at all times they have been divers and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. . . . Every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying." It was on this principle that Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria, Rome, Gaul, Spain, &c., "in earlier days each possessed their separate liturgies, and that the English Church in the sixteenth century claimed the right to put forward the Prayer Book as a common liturgy and compendium of divine offices for use throughout the English branch of the Catholic Church. Up to A.D. 1549 great

[1] Anselm, *Opera, Ad Waleranni querelas responsio*, p. 130.

variety existed. The primitive right of each diocese to possess its own liturgy and ritual was still exercised, and had a tendency to increase rather than to diminish: hence the Uses of Lincoln, Salisbury, Hereford, Bangor, and York, which are mentioned in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer. References are also found to other uses which are now known only by name. Such was the Use of St. Paul's[1] (missa secundum usum ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli Londiniarum). An Exeter Use is also mentioned in the statutes drawn up by Bishop Grandisson for the collegiate Church of Ottery St. Mary. Two earlier, but unsuccessful, attempts had been made to introduce a uniformity of worship through England. The Council of Cloveshoe [A.D. 747] recommended the adoption of the Roman liturgy to all the English dioceses, but its recommendation was never more than partially carried out; and in A.D. 1085, the Sarum Breviary and Missal were compiled by St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, and obtained a very wide circulation beyond the immediate diocese of Sarum, but were never universally accepted to the exclusion of previously existing uses.

It was, in a great measure, to remedy the inconveniences resulting from this variety that the First Book of Common Prayer, compiled by a Committee of Convocation (first appointed A.D. 1542), was issued in the second year of King Edward VI. [A.D. 1549]. This book, after receiving various additions and alterations in A.D. 1552, 1560, 1604, 1662, is still the guide of the English Church in all matters connected with the performance of divine service and ritual. Our present Prayer Book must not, however, be looked upon as a complete manual on this subject. We are expressly directed back in the opening rubric to the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. for information on the accessories of ritual, and light is thrown on this and other points by reference [1] to the missals and service books of the pre-Reformation Church, [2] to the Inventories of A.D. 1552, [3] to the pre-Reformation Canons, which are declared by Act of Parliament [25 Hen. VIII. c. 19; 1 Eliz. c. 1] to be still binding, except in so far as they are [*a*] inconsistent with the royal prerogative, [*b*] contrary to the common law of the realm, [*c*] formally repealed by express statutes, or [*d*] incompatible with the provisions of the existing Prayer Book. These authorities are further illustrated by the Elizabethan Injunctions [A.D. 1559], the Advertisements of A.D. 1564, the Jacobean canons [A.D. 1603], and the Caroline canons of A.D. 1640. [LITURGIES. ADORATION.]

ROGATIONS. The three days before the Feast of our Lord's Ascension are called by this name, as being days of special supplication for God's mercy in preserving "to our use the kindly fruits of the earth," and in delivering us from the scourges of war, famine, and pestilence. The week is called in the Anglo-Saxon *gangwuca*, and the days *gang dægas;* the old form of the name, "gang days," still lingering in the north of England.

The institution of this time of abstinence and prayer is traced to Mamertus, or Mamercus, Bishop of Vienne, about the middle of the fifth century: many early writers concurring in the association of his name with them [Greg. Turon. *Hist.* ii. c. 34; Sidon. Apoll. i. c. 7, et alii, quoted by Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* iii. 515, ed. 1737]. They originated when the diocese of Vienne was in great distress and affliction from earthquake and fire and the inroads of wild beasts, on account of which the bishop caused the three days before Ascension to be observed with special solemnity, with prayer and fasting; litanies of supplication being said in procession. [LITANY.] There seems, however, to have been some similar observance before this date in the churches of Gaul; and at all events the practice speedily became a fixed one, and extended to other countries, though it was not recognised at Rome until the pontificate of Leo III. [A.D. 800.] It is mentioned by the first Council of Orleans [A.D. 511]; and St. Cæsarius of Arles, in the same century, speaks of the Rogation-days as "holy and spiritual, full of healing virtue to our souls." Nevertheless, there was considerable opposition, though not to the Rogations themselves, yet to their observance during the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost—a time which was one continued festival in the early Church, and during which all fasting and kneeling at prayers were prohibited.[2] This is a rule which the Eastern Church observes to this day, and therefore keeps no such season as Rogation-tide, even the fasts of Wednesday and Friday being dropped during the fifty days. The Gotho-Hispanic Church solved the difficulty by ordering the Rogations to be kept on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday *after* Pentecost, and also on the Kalends of November [*Conc. Gerund.* c. ii. iii.; Labbe, iv. p. 1568]. The fifth and sixth Councils of Toledo also appointed the Ides of December for a Rogation fast [Labbe, v. p. 1735].

The Sarum Missal contains collect, epistle, and gospel for these days, and both Bishop Cosin and the Commission of 1689 proposed the restoration of this feature to our own Prayer Book. Bishop Cosin also proposed the adoption of proper psalms.

The principal ceremony connected with the Rogation days was that of "Perambulations," or "Beating the bounds" of parishes, a practice which dates from very ancient times. It was usual to sing the Litany, or a portion of it, with the 103rd and 104th Psalms, in procession. Archbishop Winchelsea's Constitutions, which are enforced by 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, order the parish to provide, at its own charge, "vexilla pro rogationibus." The Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth [A.D. 1559] bid "the curate and the substantial men

[1] Maskell's *Liturgy of Church of England*, preface, p. lxii.

[2] See Tertull. *De Coron. Milit.* c. iii.: "Die Dominico, jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus." Also St. Epiphan. *Exposit. Fid.* n. xxii.: δίχα μόνης τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὅλης τῶν πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς οὔτε γονυκλισίαι γίνονται οὔτε νηστεία προστέτακται.

of the parish walk about the parishes as they are accustomed." The curate is to admonish the people at different stations, to give thanks to God, and the 103rd Psalm is to be said. There is a Homily in three parts for the days of Rogation week, and it appears from various bishops' articles of visitation that it was usual to have the Litany, with one portion of this homily, on each day. There is also, as a sequel to this homily, an "Exhortation to be spoken to such parishes where they use their perambulations in Rogation week, for the oversight of the bounds and limits of their town."

ROMANISM. This word, by its formation, denotes the peculiarities, or what by those who use it are thought to be the peculiarities, in matters of faith, practice, and Church government, of the churches within the obedience of the See of Rome. Properly, therefore, Romanism is the deviation of the Latin Churches from the standard of Catholicity.

1. Inasmuch as there is no acknowledged declartion of the "Quod ubique," &c. other than the Nicene Creed, which is not sufficiently detailed for the present purpose, it would require a lengthened examination of all separate doctrines and practices to ascertain what Romanism, in this strict sense, really implies. Such an examination would be a full controversial treatise on theology. But it will be easily seen that by general use the word is referred (in a limited meaning) to the papal power and to those doctrines and practices by which that power is upheld. Thus the celibacy of the clergy and the system of indulgences are known to be supports of the Papal power, and so are considered to be parts of Romanism. But matters of a purely theological import are less and less included in the term. In this respect the way is at least preparing for a better understanding with the Romish Church. For example, the Tridentine doctrine of Justification is not thought to be so far from the truth, and the Lutheran doctrine so near the truth, as was thought not very many years ago. Again, the article which was made the crucial article at the Reformation, viz. Transubstantiation, is the very article in which an early agreement seems to be most probable. For, on the one hand, the materialistic interpretation current among the Schoolmen, and commonly accepted in the fifteenth century, is repudiated, the Council of Trent having authoritatively denied certain teaching which involved that interpretation [see Pusey, *Eirenicon*, p. 24]; so that the *substance* which the Church of England affirms to remain appears to be identical with the *accidents* which the Church of Rome affirms to remain: and, on the other hand, the Church of England is freeing itself from the Zuinglianism and Hoadlyism which had infected it, and is able to judge more calmly and fairly of the doctrine it had condemned. It appears consequently that the Greek, the Roman, the Anglican Churches are drawing nearer to each other in a common declaration of a transubstantiation not physical and carnal, but sacramental and mystical.[1]

It follows, then, that what was formerly the very test of Romish doctrine must now be eliminated from our conception of Romanism. And while theoretically it is true that Romanism is the deviation of the Romish Church from the standard of Catholicity, our conception of the character of that deviation is much altered; and we may practically narrow the definition to this that Romanism is the system of Church government which makes the Pope the one head and centre of Christendom, with those doctrines and practices which are erroneously maintained as subsidiary to that headship. Those adjuncts and buttresses of Popery have already been named under the title PAPACY.

The foregoing distinction between the purely dogmatic and the ecclesiastical systems of Rome was clearly drawn by Coleridge in 1830 [*Church and State*, p. 158]. He declared his full conviction, after a careful reading of the *Summa Theologiæ* of Aquinas, and a comparison of the system with the statements of Arnold and Bossuet, that the rites and doctrines, the agenda and credenda, of Roman Catholics, could we separate them from the adulterating ingredients combined with, and the use made of, them by the sacerdotal Mamelukes of the Romish monarchy for the support of the Papacy and papal hierarchy, would neither have brought about, nor have sufficed to justify, the convulsive separation under Leo X.

[2.] The Puritan or ultra-Protestant conception of Romanism, as formed in utter error and maintained in defiance of all history, needs but few words. Ultra-Protestantism assumes the Scriptures to be the sole rule of faith and practice, and each man's own judgment to be supreme in deciding what Scripture teaches. It calls the authority of the Church and the recognition of traditions Romanism. It assumes the Pope to be Antichrist, and calls every hierarchy Romanism. Everything that is above the Puritanic platform, although found in the Eastern Church and in the Primitive Church as well as the Western Church, is Romanism.

[3.] Again, Romanism may be used to describe the character of Latin Christianity as distinguished from Teutonic Christianity. Historians notice "that throughout the world, wherever the Teutonic is the groundwork of the language, the Reformation either is, or, as in Southern Germany, has been, dominant; wherever Latin, Latin Christianity has retained its ascendancy" [Milman, *Hist. of L. Chr.* introd. p. 10]. "Latin Christianity is distinguished by a firm adherence to legal form, the strong assertion of, and strict subordination to, authority." It has a stricter sacerdotalism, more direction to the conscience, and in its subjects more implicit obedience, greater trustfulness,[2] less

[1] That this persuasion is not confined to a few theologians thought to form a peculiar school, is made evident by the notice of the point in the *Times'* review of Blunt's *History of the Reformation*, February 27th and March 1st, 1869.

[2] This character of Romanism is observed in another aspect than a strictly religious aspect. One of the most eminent physicians in London told the writer that he found it easier to deal with a disease when the patient

Rule of Faith

of private judgment, less of freedom, an inferior sense of personal responsibility, and (perhaps it must be added) a less keen sense of truth. In accordance, also, with the national character, there is in Latin Christianity a fuller ritual, a statelier ceremonial, greater warmth in the expression of devotion. In all this there is doubtless a general consonancy with the genius of the Latin-languaged races, as compared with the Teutonic, but a part at least is much less dependent on national character than is the remainder. And the stricter sacerdotalism of the Romish Church, maintained by a celibate clergy subject to a foreign spiritual head, would impress a distinct character on its faithful adherents, Teutons though they might be.

This system and character connects itself with the foregoing interpretations of Romanism, and it leads to the thought that, rejecting the fanatical abhorrence of "sacerdotalism" shewn by the ultra-Protestant, we must allow also that degree of sacerdotalism to be in excess which requires to be supported by means unwarranted by Scripture and by the early Church; that the degree of sacerdotalism designed by our Lord for His Church is that which is consistent with the independence of national churches and the social union of the priesthood with the laity. Believing this to be the true order of Christ's Church, and to exist in principle, however imperfectly realized, in national Episcopal churches of Teutonic Christianity, we shall be prepared to accept the verdict of the historian, that "this faith, with a less perfectly organized outward system, has exercised a more profound moral control, through the sense of strictly personal responsibility."

RULE OF FAITH. The rule of faith, *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας* [Irenæus], Regula Fidei [Tertullian], is based upon, if not originally one with, the baptismal formula prescribed by the Saviour; "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" [Matt. xxviii. 19, 20]. This baptismal form was the basis of a superstructure which was to comprise the substance of oral instruction communicated by the Lord to His Apostles, either during the days of His earthly ministry, or in that period of highest privilege, when, for forty days after the Resurrection, He carried on their instruction, "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." The earliest work of the Apostles would naturally be to embody these heads in a short form of words, that might serve as Christian instruction to new converts before their baptism, a "rule of faith;" *καθολικὴ διδασκαλία*;[1] as a traditional body of doctrine, *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*, "Prædicatio Apostolica;" *ἐξήγησις ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος*,[2] to be filled out in due time by the inspired writings of the New Testament; and as a world-wide test of brotherhood, a "contesseratio" or countersign, whereby in all countries they who held the truth in sincerity might be known from heretical corrupters of the faith; "a mark whereby to discern Christian men from infidels and Jews" [Hooker, v. 42]. Possibly the Roman or Apostles' Creed, as being the simplest form, and indicating no particular heresy, may have been very nearly that which the Apostles gave to the Church; but each church had its own inherent authority to enlarge the definitions of the rule of faith in any direction that might be demanded in refutation of error. The addition of the term *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ* inserted by the Nicene Council, was only an example of the process that had been going on from the beginning, whereby the creeds of the East, the same in framework with those of the Western Churches, diverged at length so widely from the verbal arrangement of the latter. [Creeds.]

Hence this rule of faith is described in the earliest writings that mention it as a traditional body of doctrine, descending from the Apostles, and even from the Lord Himself. Thus Irenæus says [I. ii. Camb. ed.], "The Church, scattered though it be throughout the whole world to the very extremities thereof, hath received from the Apostles and their disciples faith in one God, *τὴν πίστιν τὴν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, κ.τ.λ.*;" and then follow the several terms of the Creed, but as "disjecta membra," the Church as yet being careful not to expose her sacred symbol in its integrity to the gaze and imitation of heresy. "The Church," he adds, "having received this body of doctrine, *τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα*, carefully guards it, as dwelling in one house; her faith is in accordance with it, and her preaching and instruction and tradition are in harmony with it, as though they were uttered with one mouth." This form, he says elsewhere [III. iv. 1], was committed to memory. "To which prescription those many barbarous nations assent who believe in Christ, having the saving doctrine, 'salutem,' written on their hearts by the Spirit, not on parchment with ink; and diligently guarding the ancient tradition, they believe 'in one God maker of heaven and earth,' &c.; the rudest nations being thereby preserved from the blasphemous ravings of heresy."[3] Similarly, Tertullian [*Præscr. Hær.* 12, 13, 14], "Let us inquire then in our own body, and of our own people, and from our own record, 'in nostro et a nostris et de nostro,' and only so far as any question may arise, without prejudice to the rule of faith, 'salva regula fidei.' Now this is the rule of faith wherein we express our belief that there

was a Roman Catholic than when a Protestant; a statement which suggests much.

[1] Irenæus speaks of the "canon of truth which the believer hath received by baptism" [I. i. 20, Cambr. ed.]. Athanasius says "the sum and substance of our faith is contained in the words of Baptism." Augustine terms the baptismal formula "regula fidei" [*Enchir.* 15].

[2] It has been observed that the course of Justin Martyr's first Apology follows generally the order of the Apostles' Creed [Harvey, *Hist. and Theol. of the Three Creeds*, 40].

[3] It is disappointing that his close follower, Hippolytus, here diverges; and in speaking of the form of faith preserved by the Church, he exhibits it with a bearing on the teaching of philosophy, rather than as formularized by the Church [Phil. x. 32].

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is one only God, and no other Creator of the world;" and he gives the several clauses of the Creed in their true order, though amplified by a brief running commentary, as they have a bearing on the heresies with which he is dealing. "This rule," he then says, "instituted, as will be shewn, by Christ, admits of no question amongst ourselves, except such as are forced upon us by heresy. . . . To know nothing in opposition to this rule is to know everything." Elsewhere [*De Virg. Vel.* i.] he says: "The rule of faith is altogether one, it alone is invariable and unalterable, 'immobilis et irreformabilis;' namely of faith in one God, Creator of the world," &c. And in his treatise against Praxeas [ii.], after running through the several clauses of the creed, he declares "that it descended from the beginning of the Gospel" [ab initio evangelii decucurrisse]. Origen in like manner, after opening the subject of his work, περὶ ἀρχῶν [i. 4], gives a running commentary on the articles of the creed, having judged it necessary to set out the "unwavering line and sure rule," certam lineam manifestamque regulam, (ἀπλανὴ στάθμην δῆλον τε κανόνα); . . . "let the preaching of the Church," he says, "delivered by the Apostles in orderly succession, and abiding in the Churches to the present day, be maintained, which in no point differs from the ecclesiastical and apostolical tradition. . . . Now these are the special points that have been clearly handed down by the Apostolical preaching;" and then, as in other instances, follows a gloss on the various articles of the Creed. Clement of Alexandria refers to no other than the Baptismal Rule of Faith when he says, "As it concerns the honourable to be false in nothing, and to retract no promise, however others may transgress their covenants, so it behoves us in no respect to transgress the ecclesiastical rule, κανόνα: we indeed observe it in everything, but heretics transgress that profession, ὁμολογίαν, which is undertaken with respect to the weightiest matters" [*Strom.* vii. 15].

The Council of Antioch in its synodical epistle to Paul of Samosata [A.D. 269] begins by stating that the bishops present first compared their creed, τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐδείξαμεν; and adds "it hath seemed good to us to set forth in writing the faith, ἔγγραφον τὴν πίστιν, which we have received from the beginning; and hold as delivered and preserved in the Holy Catholic Church to this day, transmitted from the blessed Apostles;" and then follows an exposition of the clauses of the Creed so far as they bore upon the heresy of Paul [Harvey's *Eccl. Angl. Vindex Cath.* i. 97]. The use of the creed as a baptismal profession of faith is exhibited in the Apostolical Constitutions [vii. 41]. The inference, therefore, to be drawn is clear and good, that the Rule of Faith has descended from the beginning; for where any early indication of it is given in ecclesiastical writings, it is invariably mentioned as a primeval tradition that had descended to the time of the several writers, unchanged in substance, from the Apostles. [Walch, *Bibl. Symb. Vet.* Bingham, *Eccl. Ant.* X. iii. iv. Harvey, *Hist. and Theol. of Creeds.*]

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SABAOTH. The term Sabaoth is the plural of "sabá," a military host; it has nothing in common with Sabbath, which is derived from another root, "shabath," to rest. This is superfluous information to the Hebraist, but not so to the general reader, seeing that the two terms have been confounded by writers of highest authority, such as Spenser, *Faëry Queen*, viii. 2; Bacon, *Adv. L.* ii. 24; Johnson, *Dict.*; and Sir W. Scott, *Ivanhoe*, i. 11. [Smith, *Dict. of Bible.*] Lydus also [*De Mensib.* 38 and 98] derives the term from the Phœnician "sheba," seven, making it an appellative of the DEMIURGE, ὁ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑπτὰ πόλους, τοῦτ' ἐστιν ὁ Δημιουργός. [Herzog.] The term "Lord of Hosts" does not occur in the earlier books of the Bible until nearly the close of the purely theocratical regime, when Hannah first used it in her prayer for a son [1 Sam. i. 11]. At the same period the people were gathered yearly to sacrifice to the "Lord of Hosts" in Shiloh [1 Sam. i. 3], the place where the hosts of Israel in those primitive times had their camp [Josh. xviii. 9]. The term is used sparingly in the historical books until the Davidical time; but afterwards more frequently in Isaiah and the prophets, with the exception of Ezekiel and Daniel, who ignore it altogether. The term, though not used in the history of the struggle with the Canaanites, probably had its origin at Shiloh, and served the double purpose of designating the heavenly counterpart of Israel's military equipment, marshalled by the Lord against His enemies [see Josh. v. 14, xviii. 9; 1 Sam. xvii. 45; Isa. xxxi. 4; Psa. xxiv. 8, 10]; and of marking also the nothingness of the Zabian star-worship of the vanquished tribes [Job xxv. 5, xxxi. 26; Isa. xxiv. 23, xxvii. 1. ZABIANISM]. For from the earliest days the works of God in creation [Gen. ii. 1; Job xxxviii.], the elements, "fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind fulfilling His word" [Psa. cxlviii. 8], and more especially the starry heavens [Isa. xl. 26] had been as the unnumbered host of the Creator, which the nations deified; and even the poets of Israel either personified them [Judg. v. 20; Job xxvi. 13], or made the shooting stars gleaming "arrows" or "glittering spears" of the Almighty [Hab. iii. 11].

The lawgiver of Israel, however, is careful to assert that their only function is to enlighten the firmament [Gen. i. 14-16] as the creatures of God [see Job ix. 9; Psa. viii. 3, xix. 1; Isa. xl. 26, xlv. 12; Jer. xxxi. 35; Amos v. 8], having no self-existent substantive being, as was the theory of Zabianism; but commencing with the morning of creation, and destined to come to an end again, when the purpose of their being shall have been accomplished. [Isa. xiii. 10, xxvii. 1, xxxiv. 4, lx. 19; Joel iii. 15; Matt. xxiv. 29; Rev. vi. 13.] The holy angels were the more glorious beings of that host, though still co-ordinate with the stars and heavenly elements, "Praise ye Him, all ye angels; praise ye Him, all ye hosts; praise ye Him, sun and moon; praise Him, all ye stars and light" [Psa. cxlviii. 2, 3]. The angelic powers at length came to be more generally designated as the heavenly host. "Bless the Lord, ye His angels that excel in strength, that do His commandments, hearkening unto the voice of His Word. Bless ye the Lord all ye His Hosts, ye ministers of His that do His pleasure" [Psa. ciii. 20, 21]. The 24th Psalm combines both senses in its opening and concluding verses. The heavenly host of angels, then, as the first-born of God's creatures, have pre-eminence above the rest [Psa. cxlviii. 2]. Man, made originally in the image of God, is made a little lower than the angels for the present, only to be crowned hereafter with glory and honour [Psa. viii. 5], when the unclouded majesty of that likeness shall be restored in him, and he shall "judge the angels" [1 Cor. vi. 3]. As ministering spirits, they for ever stand about the throne of the God of Hosts [Gen. xxviii. 12; Psa. lxxxix. 6-8; Rev. v. 11, vii. 11]. They are the executants of His righteous decrees [Gen. xxxii. 2; 2 Kings vi. 17; Psa. ciii. 20, 21; Zech. i. 8; Matt. xiii. 49]; and for this reason the witnesses of His final judgment [Joel iii. 11; Dan. vii. 10; Matt. xxv. 31; 2 Thess. i. 7]; as the body-guard of the King of kings [Deut. xxxiii. 2; Job i. 6; 1 Kings xxii. 19; Psa. lxviii. 17; Zech. xiv. 5; Rev. xix. 14]. Under the New Dispensation the ministry of the heavenly host is as conspicuously present [Matt. iv. 11, Luke xvi. 22, xxiv. 4; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Heb. i. 7, xii. 22; Psa. xci. 11] as it was when the Law was given on Mount Sinai [Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19].

The Targums retain the term without alteration; but the LXX. always more or less on their guard against anthropomorphism [SEPTUAGINT], and observing the relation that might be supposed to subsist between the κύριος στρατιῶν and the Hellenic Ἄρης βροτολοιγός, rendered the term as κύριος δυναμέων, Lord of (spiritual) powers; which is the more usual rendering in the Psalms. It

may be noted that a large development of Hebrew angelology had taken place through contact with Oriental Magianism in Babylon; and the term δυναμέων was suggestive to Alexandrian ears of the array of angels thereby engrafted on the more chastened and primitive faith of Israel. Κύριος δυναμέων thus conveyed the idea of that infinite series of angelic beings of which we as yet know so little, but which later Judaism pretended to classify and define. A belief in their existence had descended as a tradition of Paradise, but the Jews of the exile debased them to a level with the Ferouers of Zerdusht. Παντοκράτωρ is another rendering, occurring in 2 Sam. and the minor prophets, in the sense of Lord of universal nature rather than of the angelic hierarchy. The other translators render the term literally as κύριος στρατιῶν. [*Kirchen Lex.*, *Himmelsheere.* Herzog, *Zebaoth.*]

SABBATH, a day of rest. There has been much argument, whether or not the Sabbath was instituted immediately after the creation, and Gen. ii. 2, 3 be a record of the institution. Of more weight than all the arguments drawn from the book of Genesis is the fact that Ezekiel [c. xx.] deals with the Sabbath as dating from Moses; and that St. Paul reckons Sabbaths among the weak and beggarly elements of the law [Gal. iv. 10]; among the shadows of things to come, the body of which is Christ [Col. ii. 16]. St. Paul could hardly have spoken thus had the Sabbath been a primeval institution, intended to run through all times. At least these passages of Scripture shew that the theologian must deal with the Sabbath as a Jewish institution, no otherwise than he must deal with the rainbow as if it dated from Noah.

The Jews then had a cycle of Sabbaths, and occasional Sabbaths. The Sabbaths of the cycle were those of the seventh day [Exod. xvi. 22-30, xx. 8-11, xxiii. 12, xxxi. 12, xxxiv. 21, xxxv. 1-3; Numb. xv. 32-36; Deut. v. 12-15]; those of the seventh year [Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 4]; those of the 7 × 7th year [Lev. xxv. 8-55].

Each seventh day there was an additional burnt-offering of two lambs [Numb. xxviii. 9], and the shewbread was changed [Lev. xxiv. 8]. It is generally said from Lev. xxiii. 3, that there was a holy convocation, a religious assembly. But let it be considered whether ver. 4, referring to the annual feasts, does not rule the interpretation of ver. 2, and shew that ver. 3 relates only to the annual feasts. It declares that the law of six days' work and one day's rest applies to these occasional Sabbaths, as *e.g.* in ver. 7, 8. On the other hand, whatever Philo's authority may be for Mosaic practice, we have it in favour of Moses having established religious assemblies. [See the passage from a lost work of Philo's in Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.*, b. viii. c. 7, as quoted by Heylin, part i. p. 124.]

The Sabbatical year was a year of fallow for the land, of release to debtors [Deut. xv.]. In this year the law was read at the Feast of Tabernacles [Deut. xxxi. 10-13].

The year of jubilee (whether it was the forty-ninth or the fiftieth year is doubtful) was a year of fallow; in it all lands that had been alienated returned to the families of the original possessors; all Israelites who were in bondage were set free (the general law of release from bondage is in Exod. xxi. 2); "sanctified" lands might be redeemed at any time by a payment in proportion to the distance of the jubilee; but if they passed the jubilee unredeemed they became devoted for ever [Lev. xxvii.].

The occasional Sabbaths were those of the Annual Feasts. In Lev. xxiii. the Passover, the Feasts of Trumpets, of Expiation, and of Tabernacles have their Sabbaths, which are holy convocations. Of these religious meetings in early times, it does not appear that we possess any clear account. In later times they were presented in the synagogue worship.

This general outline will be sufficient for our present purpose, which is, not to give a history of the Sabbath, nor to enter minutely into the many questions regarding its observance, but to consider the theological bearings of the institution.

To estimate the institution of the Sabbath, we must consider what was the office of Israel as the chosen people. That office divides itself into two branches, [1] to receive, maintain, and spread the knowledge of the true God, to be a nation of witness among the nations of the earth; and [2] as the nation from which Christ was to spring to be a perpetual type of Him, and to prepare His way.

I. The worship of the One God, as opposed to idolatry, was the great point which Moses laboured to establish and maintain. And when Almighty God revealed Himself to Israel by His incommunicable Name, and made known the record of His six days' work, then He appointed the Sabbath as an express mark of allegiance. [See Exod. xxxi. 15-17.] Sabbath-breaking was a wilful rejection of God. Hence the punishment of death, and the vehement denunciations of the prophets. Accordingly in history idolatry and Sabbath-breaking went together; and when the Captivity had corrected the tendency to idolatry, there was no more Sabbath-breaking. Errors of superstitious observance came in, but there was no neglect.

The Sabbath is stated to be for a perpetual covenant. A covenant which God makes with man is a law with a promise annexed. The law is that of rest; the original promise that God will provide for the rest [Exod. xvi. 22-25]. For this under the Gospel see 2 Cor. viii. 14, 15.

For later promises, compare Isa. lvi. 4, 5 with Matt. xix. 12, and ver. 6, 7 with Acts x. 34, 35; and Isa. lviii. 13, 14 with Ps. xxxvii. 11 and Matt. v. 5.

II. The former branch of Israel's office referred to the Fourth Commandment as in Exodus, this to the command as in Deuteronomy. For in Deuteronomy the Sabbath is connected with the deliverance from Egypt, and this throws us upon the coming of Christ, "Out of Egypt have I called

My Son." "The word of promise was manifested and revealed, first, by immediate revelation and inspiration; after by figures, which were of two natures: the one, the rites and ceremonies of the law; the other, the continual history of the old world, and Church of the Jews; which, though it be literally true, yet is it pregnant of a perpetual allegory and shadow of the work of redemption to follow." [Bacon, *Conf. of Faith.*] The Sabbath unites these two natures of figure. It was a ceremony of the law, but mixed up largely with the internal history and polity of Israel.

First, as regards the notion of rest. In Heb. iii. and iv. are combined in one argument the rest from the works of creation and the rest of Canaan. This shews that in the Fourth Commandment as in Deuteronomy, Gen. ii. 2 is no longer a mere record of creation but an anticipation of Christianity. In Hebrews Christ is primarily spoken of. He hath ceased from His works, as God ceased from the works of creation. In Him we enter into rest, the rest of Matt. xi. 28, when we cease from our own works. That which the Sabbath in this respect prefigured is the normal condition of Christianity.

Secondly, One great aim of Sabbaths was to debar the Hebrew from the thought of absolute ownership of anything. His time was not his own, his land was not his own, but God's. [Lev. xxv. 23. Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1067.] Now, while it is true [Sunday] that God condescends to accept from us as if we were really possessors, so that our offerings are free-will offerings, it is no less true that all we have is not our own but God's. It is one of the many Christian paradoxes. The Christian is "rich in poverty, and poor in the midst of riches. He believes all the world to be his, yet he dares take nothing without special leave from God." [Bacon, *Characters of a Believing Christian.*]

Thirdly, The remission of debts and the release of bondmen in the Sabbatical and Jubilee years, at once refer us to the words with which our Lord opened His ministry at Nazareth [Luke iv. 18.]

Such were the anticipations of Christianity. But Christ being come, our allegiance to God is otherwise expressed than in Sabbaths: the substance being come the figure is vanished: that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect by reason of the glory which excelleth.

SABELLIANISM. Little is known of the history of Sabellius, the author of the heresy which bears his name. He was a presbyter, some say bishop, of Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, about the middle of the third century, and was preceded (as has been often observed of heretics in ecclesiastical history) by others, as Praxeas and Noëtus, who maintained opinions in some degree resembling his own. Sabellius, supposing that the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity was inconsistent with the unity of the Godhead, denied the distinction of the three Divine Persons; he maintained that God was one Person only, called according to His manifestation in the work of man's salvation either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost—one hypostasis or essence (as St. Epiphanius says) with three names (ἐν μία ὑποστάσει τρεῖς ὀνομασίας). Hence his followers were called Patripassians, as they were supposed to hold (the consequence of their theory) that the Father suffered on the Cross. But Sabellius denied this inference, and not without reason, according to his own statement or illustrations. Thus, as St. Epiphanius says, he compared the Trinity to the body, soul, and spirit of a man; or to the orb, light, and heat of the sun: according to the latter illustration, he did not really believe that the Son was the same person as the Father, but an emanation from Him. St. Athanasius has thus described the Sabellian theory, "the Monad was expanded (ἐπλατύνθη) into a trinity; the Trinity is Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. Thus the Father Himself became also, according to Sabellius, Son and Spirit" [*Oratio* iv. *contra Arianos*, sec. 13]. These "expansions" of the Godhead (called μορφάι, σχήματα, ἐνεργεῖαι) resemble the Gnostic theory of emanation: the Son and the Holy Ghost are not represented as eternal *Persons*, but only as a temporary manifestation of the Godhead for the work of redemption; the Godhead afterwards becoming, according to its original state, a Monad, without distinction in itself.

The opinions of Sabellius were confuted by St. Dionysius of Alexandria and of Rome, by Epiphanius [*Contra Sabellianos*, *Hæres.* 42 *sive* 62], and Theodoret [*Hæret. Fabul. comp.* lib. ii. c. 9]. There was still a sect of Sabellians in the fourth century in Rome and Mesopotamia. [*Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.]

SABIANS. The Sabians, otherwise Nazaræans or Mendæans, profess to have been originally the Baptist's disciples; that they were driven from Syria by the Moslems, and took refuge in Persia; where, in the middle of the seventeenth century, they formed a community of 25,000 families [Ignatius a Jesu, *Christian. S. Joh.*]. They also penetrated into India. The language of their sacred books being Aramæan, similar to that of the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud, gives credibility to their tradition. Their religion makes a nearer approach to the principles of Zoroaster than to those of either the New or Old Testament. The Jewish Cabbala and the Korân also supply a contingent; St. John is the principal figure in their scheme, the Saviour and the Holy Spirit being regarded by them in very much the same light in which the Gnostics regarded their Demiurge, as the "Deus sævior."

Their system of emanations from a dualism of the male Ferha (Ferouer of the Avesta) and the female principle Azar, is altogether similar to that of the Persian theosophy: Mana, the Lord of light, stands next, and after him a succession of angels of light, like the Valentinian Æons; opposed to whom is the kingdom of darkness or Ur, to be identified with the Chaldæan principle of the same name [Boulland, *H. Univ.* i. 40, ii. 279]. Ur and six other evil spirits inhabit the seven planets, like the Hebdomad of Valentinus,

or the seven Amshaspands of Zoroaster [Irenæus, Cambr. ed. i. 44, note 1]. Adam and Eve were created by Mana, and "their souls descended into them in a garden of trees." Sabians have little in common with ZABIANISM.

The Baptist, who closed the Sabian theological system, was called by them Anush, or "one of the people;" thus "Anush art thou, but I will make thee as one of the kings" [*Cod. Nazar.* Norberg, 9]. Baptism is their most solemn rite, and is indispensable for the remission of sins; infant baptism being practised by them. Mahommedans are disliked by them in a greater degree than Christians or Jews, owing to the persecutions they have endured. Their sacred books, so far as they are known to us, are [1] the Divan [Ignatius a Jesu, *Narratio*, &c.], professedly antemundane, but mentioning Mahomet; [2] The Book of John, or Conversations of Angels; [3] The Book of the Zodiac, on astrology—these exist only in fragments; [4] Cholasteh, discoursing of the means and conditions of salvation; [5] The Book of Adam, which is the Codex Nazaræus, edited in Aramaic, and with a Latin translation by Norberg. It makes use of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, but apparently by means of a Targum. Thus the words, "Woe to them who drink young wine early in the morning, and in the evening old wine, charmed with song and harp and pipe," are suggested by the Targum on Isa. v. 11 and 22, "Woe to them who rise early in the morning to drink old wine, . . . and inebriate themselves with old wine." So Isa. xxxiv. 4 is copied in the Book of Adam. "The earth falleth into the pit, the heavens are rolled up as a covering, the brightness of the sun is extinct, and the beauty of the moon is gone, the stars and zodiacal signs fall like drops." Their demonology is altogether borrowed from Talmudic sources. [See Gesenius *on Isa.* xxxiv. 14. Norberg, *de Orig. et Lingua Sabæorum; Liber Adami.* Walch, *de Sabæis.* Tittman, *Meletemata Sacra*, p. 15. Herzog, *Mendaër.*]

SACRAMENTALS. A scholastic term for rites which have, in some degree, a sacramental nature, but are not included among the seven sacraments as generally enumerated by theologians. It includes, says Durandus, "all such rites as have been instituted by the Church after Christ," rites which the Church can institute, and which the Church also can alter, or dispense with altogether. He gives, as examples of such sacramentals, the benediction of persons, vestments, and holy water; as also the coronations of kings, the consecration of altars, churches, vessels, and things of that sort [Durand. *in Sent.* lib. iv. dist. 2, qu. 2]. St. Thomas Aquinas lays down the distinction between sacraments and the rites called sacramentals, that the latter have not necessarily any inward grace accompanying the outward sign [*Prim. Sec.* qu. cviii. 2], but he does not use the word itself. In recent times some English writers have applied the term to the five sacraments of which there is no recorded institution by our Lord.

SACRAMENTARIANS. The name given by Roman theologians of the sixteenth century to those Protestants who followed Carlstadt, Zwingle, and Calvin, in an entire denial of the real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist.

Though in no way associated with this use of the name, it was revived in the last century, as a designation of the Wesleys and their friends at Oxford. The name was given to them on account of their persistent attendance at weekly communion in St. Mary's Church at a time when frequent communion had become rare. But it was soon superseded by the meaningless name of "Methodists."

SACRAMENTS. Divinely appointed mystical rites in which God causes material substances and verbal forms to convey Spiritual Substance and Grace.

I. HISTORY OF THE TERM. In classical Latin the word "Sacramentum" meant [1] the pecuniary "recognizances" deposited in a sacred place by each of the litigants in a suit at law [Varro, *de Linguâ Latin.* lib. iv.; Festus, *de Verb. Significat. s. v.*], and [2] the sacred military oath by which soldiers were bound to allegiance and obedience [Liv. ix. 29, xxii. 36; Festus, *de Verb. Significat. s. v.*; Aul. Gellius, xvi. 4]. This oath was taken upon the "signa militaria," or consecrated "signs" which surmounted each regimental banner. It was probably an association between the sacred signs and the sacred deposits which connected these two senses together under the same word.

The early ecclesiastical use of the word had reference most frequently to Baptism, doubtless from the idea of enrolling a convert under Christ's banner by a vow of obedience, as the soldier was enrolled by his "Sacramentum." Thus Tertullian uses it when speaking of the baptismal abjuration in at least three places [Tertull. *de Coron.* xiii., *de Idololat.* vi., *de Spectac.* 24; Cf. *Sentent. Cæcil. in Conc. Carth.* vii.; Routh's *Reliq. Sacr.* iii. 116]. He also speaks of our Lord's baptism as the sacrament of unction [Tertull. *Adv. Prax.* xxviii.]—the use of unction being then associated with all public baptisms [Tertull. *de Bapt.* vii.]; and in disclaiming the monstrous charge of infanticide brought against the early Christians, he scornfully calls it a wicked charge respecting a "Sacrament of infanticide" [Tertull. *Apolog.* vii.], which use of the word seems also to be associated with Baptism. More directly still, however, Tertullian calls baptism "Sacramentum aquæ" [Tertull. *de Bapt.* i. xii.], "Sacramentum lavacri" [Tertull. *de Virg. Veland.* ii.], and "Sacramentum fidei" [Tertull. *de Anima*, i.]: while in one place he names in perfectly unambiguous language the "Sacramentum Eucharistiæ" [Tertull. *de Coron.* iii.], shewing that the term had already been extended in its use to something more than the idea of enrolment on beginning service as a Christian soldier.

In the writings of St. Cyprian the word is used chiefly as the equivalent of *μυστήριον*.[1] Thus he

[1] In the Vulgate it is also used for *μυστήριον*, as for example in Wisd. ii. 22, "Et nescierunt *sacramenta* Dei," in 1 Tim. iii. 16, "Et manifeste magnum est

calls the many mysteries contained in the Lord's Prayer "Sacramenta," and speaks of the "Sacrament of life" [Cypr. *de Orat. Dominica*, ix. xxviii.]. But, on the other hand, he also distinctly uses the word in connexion with Baptism and the Eucharist. In speaking of the admission of heretics to the Church, he says, that they should be led to the truth both of unity and faith "per omnia divinæ gratiæ sacramenta" [Cypr. *Ep.* lxx.]. On the same subject he also speaks of being born of each sacrament [*ibid.* lxxii. *si sacramento utroque nascantur*] apparently calling baptism and unction separate sacraments, and quoting our Lord's words to Nicodemus as his authority; the same expression being used by Nemesian in his "Sentence" [*Reliq. Sacr.* iii. 117]. Elsewhere, writing of persecution, he speaks of Christians as being bound together by the "Sacramentum unanimitatis" [Cypr. *Ep.* lix. *al.* liv.], which is evidently a reference to Holy Communion; and, when writing directly of the Holy Eucharist, he frequently applies the word "Sacramentum" to it [*ibid.* lxiii.]. By the time of St. Jerome and St. Augustine the ecclesiastical use of the word in its present sense seems to have become settled.

II. Definition of the Term. The ordinary definitions of a sacrament are founded on words of St. Augustine. "A visible sacrifice, therefore," he writes, "is a sacrament, or sacred sign, of an invisible sacrifice" [Aug. *de Civit. Dei*, x. 5]. And again, "Concerning the sacrament, indeed, which he is receiving, when it has been well impressed upon him that things visible are indeed signs of things invisible, but that in them the things invisible are themselves honoured . . ." [Aug. *de Catech. Rud.* xxvi.]. In mediæval theology this became "Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibilis forma, ejusdem gratiæ imaginem gerens, et causa existens" [Lombard, *Sentent.* lib. iv. dist. i.]. The Catechism of the Council of Trent adopts it in the form, "A Sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace, instituted for our justification" [*Catech. Trident.* II. i. 4]. The form of it adopted by the Church of England is, a sacrament is "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof" [*Catech. in Book of Com. Prayer*].

III. The Number of the Sacraments has been reckoned as seven from very early ages, that number being recognised by the Eastern and Western Churches, and by the Monophysite and Nestorian sects; which latter are not likely to have borrowed it from either of the former since their separation in the fifth century. But although this association of sacraments with the number seven is probably very ancient, the same seven mysteries were not always enumerated, and there is probably good foundation for the common statement that the present enumeration originated in the Latin Church with Peter Lombard [d. A.D. 1164] in the twelfth century, the first writer in whom it is found [Lombard, *Sentent.* lib. iv. dist. ii.]. There is, however, by no means a general uniformity among mediæval theologians as to the number. Rupertus Tuitensis, writing about the same time as Peter Lombard, says, "Sacred Baptism, the Holy Eucharist of His Body and Blood, the twin gift of the Holy Ghost. . . . These three sacraments are the necessary instruments of our salvation" [Rupert. Tuitens. *de Victor. Verb. Dei*, xii. 11]. Alexander of Hales [d. A.D. 1245] and the holy Buonaventura [d. A.D. 1274] both denied the Apostolic origin of Confirmation; and it was not until the Council of Florence [A.D 1439] that the number, as given by Lombard, and after him by St. Thomas Aquinas, was authoritatively defined. It was then done in a synodal epistle from the Pope Eugenius to the Armenians [Labb. *Concil.* xiii. 534]. The definition was reiterated by the Council of Sens, or Paris [A.D. 1528, *ibid.* xiv. 454], and finally adopted by the Council of Trent [sess. vii. can. i.], in the year 1547.

But the Council of Trent, while it decreed that the sacraments are neither more nor less than seven, also decreed, "If any one shall say that these seven sacraments are equal to each other in such wise as that one is not in any way more worthy than another, let him be anathema" [sess. vii. can. iii.]. This is reasserted in the Catechism of the Council issued in the year 1566, where the following passage on the subject is found: "It is, however, especially to be noticed, that although all the sacraments possess a divine and admirable efficacy, yet all are not of equal necessity and dignity, nor is the significancy of all one and the same. Amongst them three are said to be necessary beyond the rest, although the necessity is not of the same kind in all the three." These are Baptism, Penance, and Order; but "the Eucharist is far superior to the rest in holiness, as well as in the number and greatness of its mysteries" [*Catech. Trident.* II. i. 22]. This statement is founded on that of St. Thomas Aquinas [*Summa Theol.* III. lxv. 4].

The mediæval enumeration has been adopted by the Church of England with a similar limitation though not the same. Thirty years before the Tridentine Catechism was printed and published, the "Institution of a Christian Man" had been set forth by the English Convocations [A.D. 1537], in which was the following statement: "Although the sacraments of Matrimony, of Confirmation, of Holy Orders, and of Extreme Unction, have been of long time past received and approved by the common consent of the Catholic Church, to have the name and dignity of sacraments, as indeed they be well worthy to have, (forasmuch as they be holy and godly signs, whereby, and by the prayer of the minister, be not only signified and represented, but also given and conferred, some certain and special gifts of

pietatis *sacramentum*," and in Eph. v. 32, "*Sacramentum* hoc magnum est." The latter passage is so quoted by Tertullian [Tertull. *de Jejun.* iii.], which seems to shew that the word "Sacramentum" was used as the equivalent of *μυστήριον*, in the primitive Latin version of the New Testament used by the African Church.

the Holy Ghost, necessary for Christian men to have for one godly purpose or other, like as it hath been before declared); yet there is a difference in dignity and necessity between them and the other three sacraments, that is to say, the sacraments of Baptism, of Penance, and of the Altar, and that for divers causes. First, because these three sacraments be instituted of Christ, to be as certain instruments or remedies necessary for our salvation, and the attaining of everlasting life. Second, because they be also commanded by Christ to be ministered and received in their outward visible signs. Thirdly, because they have annexed and conjoined unto their said visible signs such spiritual graces, as whereby our sins be remitted and forgiven, and we be perfectly renewed, regenerated, purified, justified, and made the very members of Christ's mystical body, so oft as we worthily and duly receive the same."

The twenty-fifth Article of Religion [A.D. 1571] stated "There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord;" and it goes on to add that the other five "have not like nature of sacraments . . . for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." In the latter part of the Catechism, which was added in the year 1604, it is also said that the number of the sacraments "generally," *i.e.*, universally,[1] "necessary to salvation" is "two only . . . that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord."[2]

In the modern Eastern Church the "Seven Mysteries" are the same as in the Western Church, Baptism and the Holy Eucharist taking, of course, the crowning portion of the whole number, as to dignity and necessity.

IV. Position of Sacraments in the Economy of Grace. As the two greater and the five lesser sacraments are all treated of in detail under the respective headings of Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance [and Absolution], Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony, it is not necessary here to go into any particulars respecting them; but a few words may be added as to their relation to the economy of grace.

The general object of sacraments is to counteract the effect of the Fall on the life of each particular recipient, and this object is effected by the conveyance of grace to him, for the particular purpose for which the sacrament is administered. Thus, in Holy Baptism the grace of the sacrament is associated with forgiveness of sins, and with the access of those new spiritual qualities which difference a Christian nature from a heathen nature. In the Holy Eucharist grace is associated with the presence of Christ's Body and Blood, which are contained in and conveyed by the material substances used in the sacrament. In both cases the object is to elevate human nature by bringing an individual part of it into union with God. Hence sacraments have been called the "extension of the Incarnation" [Bishop Taylor's *Worthy Communicant*, i. 2], the exaltation of human nature, accomplished in the One Man Christ Jesus, by taking human nature into the Godhead, being accomplished in other men by a spiritual engrafting into Him Who is thus God and Man, and by a communication to them of His Body and Blood.

This office of sacraments is such as can be distinctly and definitely predicated only of the two greater ones, which shews the wisdom of the Church of England in keeping to the ancient practice of placing them in a position by themselves.[3] Even setting aside the question whether or not any of the lesser sacraments were "ordained by Christ Himself," it is evident that they hold a subordinate position in the economy of grace, and although they effect much they do not effect actual spiritual union with Him. Yet the lesser sacraments are analogous to the greater in the quality of conveying grace, though not on a level with them as to the special gift associated with that grace. "The laying on of a Bishop's hands for Confirmation conveys grace for the establishment of the confirmed Christian in the state of salvation to which he was brought by Baptism. Absolution conveys grace to the penitent for the pardon of past sins, and the loosing of the soul from their bondage and power. The anointing of the dying conveys grace to their souls, to strengthen them in the last weakness of their bodies. The laying on of episcopal hands in Holy Orders, conveys grace to those who are made deacons, priests, or bishops, that the work done by them in the name of Christ may have efficacious power as His work. The solemn benediction of man and woman in Holy Matrimony conveys grace to them, that they may live together without sin, and that they may bring children into the world to be added to the family of God" [Blunt's *Sacraments and Sacram. Ordin.* p. 28]. And while it is true that some of the five lesser sacraments are analogous to benedictions, in which verbal forms only are used, it is also true that the analogy is not such as to bring them to the same level. It would be as unwise, therefore, to dissociate these five from the idea of sacraments as it would be to elevate them to the same level with the two great sacraments of the Gospel. They really occupy an intermediate ground; and it is not easy to see what else can be exactly classed with them. It is quite possible that the number five does not exhaust the list of such minor sacraments, yet they are nearer than benedictions, the sign of the Cross, the use of holy water, &c., to the place held by the greater sacraments in the economy of grace, and as such are more fit than any of the others to complete the mystical number so generally associated with the operations of the Holy Ghost.

[1] See Blunt's *Annot. Book of Common Prayer*, p. 249.

[2] There is also a well-known passage in the *Homily of Common Prayer and Sacraments* in which the five Sacraments are said to be "godly states of life," &c., but not sacraments in the full sense in which the other two are. The same language is found in the best English divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[3] This ancient practice is illustrated by a large body of references in Bishop Forbes' *Explanation of the XXXIX. Articles*, p. 448, note.

SACRIFICATI. [Lapsed.]

SACRIFICE. The offering of sacrifices to God reaches back to the very cradle of the human race. As soon as the promise was made that of the seed of the woman a Deliverer should be raised up who should bruise the head of man's power ful enemy, sacrifice was also instituted to shew forth by a significant emblem the way in which that victory should be won; that without the shedding of blood there could be no remission of sin. With the reason for this divine dispensation we can have nothing to do; the fact itself is patent in every book of Scripture. The sacrifice of Abel is the first animal sacrifice on record; and it was accepted because it was an animal sacrifice, and shewed forth the death of Christ in sacramental significance, which Cain's offering of the fruits of the earth did not. [Vicarious Sacrifice.] The same may be said of the sacrifices offered up by Noah after the Flood, and by Abraham when God made His solemn covenant with him, and wherever else we read of the offering of blood as a religious rite. Our Lord plainly intimated that this was the meaning of sacrifice, and that His own precious death on the cross was the final cause of the institution of the Jewish altar, when he declared of the Cup of Blessing that it was "the blood of the New Covenant, which was shed for the remission of sin" [Matt. xxvi. 28]. His own death was the substance, the life of bulls and goats taken under the Law was the shadow; the two together formed one verity ordained from everlasting, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, to which we look with thankful hearts as procuring for us the pardon that we need, and that we look for in vain elsewhere. It is the satisfaction for sin, according to the expressive term of Anselm; a compensation for that which cannot be wholly undone, but which replaces us in the condition of humanity before sin entered into the world, and death by sin. [Satisfaction.]

The idea of sacrifice, vague and indefinite before, and possibly kept in abeyance during the Egyptian bondage [Exod. viii. 26], was set forth sharp and clear in the paschal sacrifice. It spoke more definitely than any other of the sacrifice of the death of Christ [Satisfaction. Vicarious Sacrifice. Passover]; and gave its tone to the whole theory of the Mosaic code. [Blood. Atonement.] Thenceforth the blood of the victim poured out on the "bottom of the altar," or sprinkled on its side [Lev. v. 9], ascribed life to the Lord of life; and when applied to the priests and people, quickened them symbolically with the life of heaven. It was the blood of the covenant of life, and the antagonism of the death brought in by Adam. The patriarchal sacrifice was as the Eucharistic peace-offering or burnt-offering [Exod. xxix. 38-42] of the Mosaic scheme. The sin-offering, as the more direct type of the sacrifice of the death of Christ [Lev. xvi.; Numb. xxviii. xxix.], was first prescribed when Moses received the command, "See that thou make all things according to the pattern that I shewed to thee in the mount" [Heb. viii. 5]. Doubtless the whole mysterious doctrine of the Atonement, and sacramental union of shadow and substance, was then clearly revealed to him; and as he was afterwards permitted to appear upon the Mount of Transfiguration, and to speak plainly with the Saviour, as he had before spoken in types and shadows, of the death that the Blessed Lamb of God should accomplish, so in the mount "that burned with fire," the Saviour bearing the banner of salvation was revealed to him, and declared the whole scheme of redemption from the significant rites of the Law to the outspoken Word of Truth in the Incarnate Son of God.

The sacrifices of the Law as a complex idea lead in direct course to the θυσία ἀναίμακτος of the Holy Eucharist. For they were [1] propitiatory, as the sin-offering of which the offerer was not allowed to partake, to shew his unworthiness to receive the least of God's mercies; and which must of necessity be first offered and restore the sacrificant to communion with God [Reconciliation] before the [2] burnt-offering could be accepted, which, as a dedication of the individual in thought, word, and deed to God, was of a devotional character. They were also [3] of an Eucharistic nature, as peace and thank-offerings of the first-fruits, which were consumed by the sacrificant at the Lord's table; in all which particulars the unbloody sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist is the sacramental complement of the sacrifices of the law. It is not merely commemorative; but it is an Eucharistic oblation of the fruits of the earth to the service of the God of all blessing; it is dedicatory, whereby we offer ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice to the Lord of the altar; and it is propitiatory, for through faith in the blood of the cross once offered, it becomes a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and for those of each faithful communicant in particular. In the union of these three particulars consists the essence of a worthy reception of The Bread and The Cup of Blessing; but they were all and severally shewn forth in the sacrifices of Israel of old. [Eucharistic Sacrifice, p. 252. Spencer *De Legib. Hebr.* Outram, *De Sacrif.* Smith's *Dict. of Bible.* Herzog. *Opfer Cultus.* Winer. Magee *On the Atonement.* Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice.*]

SACRILEGE. The crime of profaning sacred things, or things devoted to the service of God, whether by way of wanton insult or outrage offered to such things, or by the *unlawful* appropriation of them to secular uses. [Consecration. Secularization.] Sacrilege of the former kind is an offence cognizable by the Ecclesiastical Courts. That crime which is known as sacrilege at common law consists in a felonious taking of any goods out of a church or chapel, and was punished in former times with extreme severity. It appears to have been the only felony which deprived the offender of the privilege of sanctuary and (according to some) of the Benefit of clergy. It is still a felony, but its punishment has undergone the general mitigation extended to the penalties of criminal law.

SAINT. This word is derived from the Latin adjective "sanctus," which is the equivalent of the Greek adjective ἅγιος, and the Hebrew קָדוֹשׁ, *holy*, or חָסִיד, *pious*. It is often used substantively, both in the Old and the New Testaments, as when Aaron is called "the saint of the Lord" [Psa. cvi. 16]: when Daniel heard "saint" speaking to "saint" in his prophetic vision [Dan. viii. 13, *cf.* vii. 18, 21, 27]: when Moses spoke of the Lord coming with "ten thousands of saints" [Deut. xxxiii. 2]: David of the "assembly" and "congregation of the saints" [Psa. lxxxix. 5, 7]: St. Matthew of the "many bodies of the saints which slept" that "arose at our Lord's resurrection" [Matt. xxvii. 52]: Ananias in his vision of the "saints" whom Saul had persecuted [Acts ix. 13, *cf.* xxvi. 10]: St. Paul himself, in many places, of the "saints" to whom he addressed his epistles [Rom. i. 7; Eph. i. 1, &c.], to whom alms were sent by the Church [1 Cor. xvi. 1], or whom he and others salute as brethren in Christ [Rom. xvi. 15; 1 Cor. xiii. 13]. In all these cases, and in others of a similar kind in the Old and New Testaments, the word "saint" simply means "holy person," either [1] positively holy, as having been holy in life and death, and as such, being a "saint" in the unseen world before the presence of the All Holy: or [2] conditionally holy, as being dedicated to God by special separation. In the second sense the people of Israel were a "congregation of saints," and Christian people in general "churches of the saints" [1 Cor. xiv. 33], because they have been in each case dedicated by God to Himself as His "peculiar treasure" [Exod. xix. 5; Psa. cxxxv. 4], and "peculiar people" [Deut. xiv. 2; Tit. ii. 14; 1 Pet. ii. 9], intended for a life of specially near relation to Him Who is the Fountain of sanctity.

Towards the close of the Apostolic age the term began to be used in a more restricted sense, St. John in the Book of Revelation applying it almost, if not quite exclusively to martyrs; and giving to our Lord the title "King of saints" [Rev. xv. 3], as being at the head of those who "had got the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark."

In later ages martyrs have received the name of saints as especially their due, the general opinion of the Fathers and of theologians having been that their martyrdom won for them immediate access to heaven, without passing through the intermediate state. But the term is used in a wider sense also, as in the article of the Creed, "I believe in the communion of the saints," and the general application of it to all the holy dead, whether "saints in paradise" or "saints in heaven."

Eucharistic commemoration of particular martyrs is co-eval with Christian martyrdom itself: and as the number of martyrs soon increased beyond the power of enumeration, a commemoration of the saints in general was added to that of those who were individually named. The annual commemoration of the day of a martyr's departure soon also developed into the festivals known as "saints' days," by which, even before His Second Coming, the King of saints is "glorified in His saints" [2 Thess. i. 10], while "their virtuous and godly living" is set forth as an example, and a vivid sense is kept up of the "communion and fellowship" which in God's "elect" are "knit together in one communion in the mystical body of His Son."

The formal designation of particular persons as saints is treated of elsewhere [Beatification. Canonization. Diptychs], as also are the relations of the saints in bliss to the Church militant. The great repository of information respecting their lives is the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* which already extends to sixty folio volumes [Communion of Saints. Intercession of Saints. Invocation of Saints.]

SANCTIFICATION [ἁγιασμός]. The progressive renewal of body and soul by which those who are born unholy are made holy. It begins in holy Baptism, when the "children of wrath" [Eph. ii. 3] are "called to be saints" [1 Cor. i. 2]; its development is effected by the work of the Holy Spirit co-operating with their will [Rom. xv. 16; 2 Cor. vii. 1; 1 Thess. iv. 3, 4; 1 Pet. i. 15]; and its completion is the final degree of holiness by which they are made "meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light" [Col. i. 12].

Thus Sanctification [ἁγιασμὸς] is the spiritual process by which a fallen man becomes a saint [*sanctus*, ἅγιος]. In its first stage it is contemporary with Justification, the two being, in fact, only two different phases of the same thing, the one phase, justification, representing the relation between the renewed person and Him by Whom he is renewed, the other, sanctification, representing the condition or nature of the person renewed. The first stage of sanctification, therefore, the renewal of our fallen nature by baptismal regeneration, may be identified with the *state* of *justification* as distinguished from the *relation* of justification. He who is made righteous, or justified, is necessarily made holy, or sanctified. This first stage of the process of sanctification, like all other stages, is entirely effected by the grace of God, but in the case of infants it does not require the co-operation of the person to be sanctified. In all subsequent stages, however, the grace of God can be received and retained only by the co-operation in will and deed of the person to be sanctified; and hence the sanctification of all responsible persons is associated with faith, by which the grace of God is received, and with good works, which are the fruit of that grace and the evidence of sanctification.

The controversies which have been carried on by Lutherans and Calvinists with Catholics respecting justification and sanctification have been founded in the use of the two terms by the former, as if they were respectively identical with "favour" and "grace." Sanctification has thus been treated of as an operating power, instead of being taken in its proper and literal sense as the name of a condition brought about by such a power. [Spirit, the Holy.]

SANHEDRIN. The chief tribunal of the

Jews. The name is a corruption of the Greek *συνέδριον* after the analogy of סניגוריא and other words of the same nature. Several strange derivations of the word have been coined by those who were anxious to avoid the Gentile name, *e.g.* סן הדרין, the law-seekers, סונאי דורונות, the bribe-haters. The word סנהדרין does not occur in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, though in the LXX. we meet with *συνέδριον*, *γερουσία*, *γερουσία καὶ πρεσβύτεροι*. In the Targum, as might be expected, the word is not of unfrequent occurrence, *e.g.* Ruth iv. i. ובעזו סליק לתרע בית דינא דסנהדרין ויתיב תחן; and Cant. vi. 2, where in the eulogium of the Paraphrast upon the Sanhedrin, we have a marvellous specimen of exegesis. Josephus speaks of the *συνέδριον*, and of the *γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. In the New Testament (especially in St. John's Gospel) the members of the Sanhedrin are called Ἰουδαῖοι, and occasionally Φαρισαῖοι, while in Acts v. 21 we read of *τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γερουσία*.

The reference in all these passages is probably to the greater Sanhedrin, which forms the subject of this article. There were, besides this, lesser Sanhedrins, consisting of twenty-three members, and judicial assemblies consisting of no more than three judges. Of the constitution and powers of these very little is known. Probably our Lord refers to them in Matt. x. 17, *παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰ συνέδρια*.

The origin of the Greater Sanhedrin is very obscure. That there were legal courts in early times of Divine institution is plain from Scripture, but that these were identical with the Sanhedrin of the New Testament is merely a Jewish conjecture. The Mishna [*Sanhedr.* i. sec. 6] connects the institution of it with Numb. xi. 16. There may be a reference to this last named court in Deut. xvii. 8. The place of judgment was the gate of the city [Deut. xvii. 5]. The judges were the זקנים [Deut. xxv. 7], but the number of elders whose presence was essential to constitute a court, or the qualification which entitled a man to be an elder, are unknown. All that can be said of these courts is, that their decision was not final, and that if the question was too difficult for them to determine, it was to be referred to the priests, the Levites, and to the judge for the time being [Deut. xvii. 9].

If, then, the Great Sanhedrin was identical with the assembly mentioned in Numb. xi. 16, we should expect to find references to it in the later books of the Bible. Lightfoot says that it exercised authority in the time of the Judges. "The first forty years that followed after Joshua's death, are ascribed to the rule of Othniel [Judg. iii. 11], not that Othniel was sole ruler or monarch in the land, for the Sanhedrin or great council bare rule in their places, and inferior magistrates in their's, but that Othniel was a valiant and fortunate commander in the wars, and wrought special deliverance for the people." He thinks that the Sanhedrin sat at Mizpeh, where Saul was appointed king, and that in the time of Solomon Jaazaniah was chief. That it existed in the time of the Judges is contrary to Judg. ii. 8-11, 18, 19, and to the words so frequently repeated in that book, "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes." And even if it began to exist with the monarchy, that it should have had any great authority is inconsistent with the narrative of David on his death-bed appointing Solomon to be his successor.

The story of Naboth [1 Kings xxi. 8] speaks of a judicial body consisting of elders and nobles [הזקנים והחורים] who possessed power over life and death [see also 1 Kings xx. 7]. This may be the same body as that instituted by David just before his death [1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 4, xxvi. 29], which was in after times reconstructed by Jehoshaphat, and restored by Josiah [2 Chron. xix. 8-11, xxxiv. 13]. But the break in Jewish history after the death of Nehemiah prevents us from connecting this early institution with the Sanhedrin described in the Talmud. The Greek name would warrant the hypothesis that the Sanhedrin was not instituted till after the building of the second Temple, and at a time when the Greek language was so familiar to the Jews, that it was more natural for them to clothe a Greek word with Hebrew letters than to use the Hebrew words בית דין הגדול. This being the case, in the passage 1 Macc. i. 26, *ἄρχοντες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι* would refer to the senators forming the greater Sanhedrin, and xii. 6, 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, where we find *γερουσία* [*cf.* Judith iv. 8, *ἡ γερουσία παντὸς δήμου* Ισραὴλ *οἳ ἐκάθηντο ἐν* Ιερουσαλήμ], and 3 Macc. i. 8, *γερουσία καὶ πρεσβύτεροι* would refer to this same body. We read in Josephus [*Bell. Jud.* I. viii. 5] that Gabinius, Pompey's general, established five Sanhedrins [*συνόδους*, different from the council of seven mentioned, *Antiq.* IV. viii. 14] at Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Sepphoris. These would probably be the lesser Sanhedrins to which any city was entitled that had 120 (or according to others 230) inhabitants. The next historical record concerning the Sanhedrin is that Herod murdered all the members on his accession. It revived, however, under the presidency of Hillel, who died in about the twelfth year of our Lord. We have sufficient evidence as to its existence and powers in the New Testament. Our Lord refers to the dangerous power which it possessed in His day [Matt. v. 22], and St. Stephen's martyrdom points to the great increase of power which it had gained during the few years that had elapsed since the Crucifixion. It escaped the general overthrow at the destruction of Jerusalem, and migrated to Jabneh. The reign of Hadrian was a trying time to the Jews, and probably during the confusion attending the revolt of Bar-Chochab the Sanhedrin found it safer to recommence their wanderings. Starting from Jabneh, after a few flittings, they settled at Tiberias, a town close to the lake of that name. Here Rabbi Judah, surnamed the Holy, was president till after the death of Commodus. The labours of the Jews at Tiberias were directed to the composition of the Jerusalem Talmud, which according to Buxtorf [*Tiberias*, vi.] was

completed about A.D. 230. Rabbi Judah was succeeded by his son Gamaliel, with whom the Sanhedrin expired.

We have less difficulty in determining the constitution than the origin of this assembly. It consisted of seventy-one judges who sat around a semicircle. The president, or Nasi, sat in the middle, on his right hand sat the Ab-Beth-Din, or vice-president, the most venerable member of the Sanhedrin, and on his left the חכם, or sage, (though this is not quite certain); at each extremity of the semicircle sat a scribe, the other judges being ranged in order of seniority to the right and left of the Nasi סנהדרין היתה בחצי גורן עגולה שיהו רואין זה את זה ושני סופרין הדייני עמדין לפניהן אחד מימין ואחד משמאול וכתבו דברי המזכין ודברי המחייבין. [*Mishn. Sanhedr.* iv.] The court in which they sat was a place partly within the precincts of the temple called the "stone chamber" [לשכת גזית]. They met in general twice a week, on the second and fifth days of the week, and the sitting occupied the interval between morning and evening sacrifice. A heavy cause might, however, require more frequent sittings during the week, and might protract the sitting on any day to a later hour. The judges were selected from the smaller Sanhedrins. The knowledge of several languages was indispensable, as also were the following good qualities, wisdom, humility, fear of God, contempt of wealth, love of truth, love towards man, and a good name. Riches and personal appearance were a great recommendation. The following were among the disqualified:—Persons under twenty years of age (according to some, all under forty, but we have instances of one or two being admitted to this high position while under twenty), the blind, the mutilated, old men, and men without children. The king was disqualified from sitting, because it was unlawful to differ from him in opinion. The following offences disqualified a man, gambling, usury, and pigeon-training. The latter offence, according to Rabbi Obadiah Bartenor, consisted in teaching pigeons to fly races, and involved a species of betting, or in training them to decoy those which belonged to other owners.

The Sanhedrin had power to sentence a criminal to die by one of the four deaths, burning, stoning, slaying with the sword, or strangulation. A capital trial was conducted as follows. The witness, being brought before the judges, assembled as described above, was charged to tender nothing in evidence which rested on hearsay or conjecture. He was reminded that in case an innocent man was put to death, his blood would be laid to the charge of the false witness and his seed for ever. Then seven questions were asked, each bearing upon the time and place at which the offence had taken place. The evidence was carefully recorded by each scribe, and compared with that given by the next witness. If the testimonies of the two agreed, the votes of the judges were taken. No one, however, was condemned in his absence, or without opportunity of defending himself: nor was sentence pronounced upon the same day on which the trial was finished; but two of the judges retired to review the case, and on the following day, if a majority of two judges declared the accused person to be guilty, sentence was pronounced and executed immediately.

Other causes came within the jurisdiction of the greater Sanhedrin which required less severe penalties. Many important questions were brought before it for settlement, amongst which are mentioned the appointment of the king, and the determination of the succession when there was any doubt; but the silence of Scripture upon this point, a silence as unaccountable as that of an English historian writing a history of his nation without speaking of the Court of Parliament, implies that the monarchy was extinct before the time when the Sanhedrin claimed the right of electing the monarch. The general tenor of these minor questions was of a very practical nature, such as settling the tribute, taking notice of those who were in arrear, and providing that the money when collected should be devoted to a proper purpose.

The literature on this subject is extensive. The following works are worthy of notice:—Selden, *De Synedriis;* Reland's *Antiquities*, part ii.; Lightfoot's *Horæ Talmudicæ;* Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iv.; Milman, *History of the Jews*, vol. ii.; Frankel, *Der Gerichtliche Beweis nach Mosaisch-Talmudischen Rechte.* The claims of the Jews to the Divine authority of the latter Sanhedrin are considered in *The Old Paths*, Nos. 43-46. The claims of the Roman Catholic Church to infallibility, so far as they are based upon the infallibility of the Sanhedrin, are discussed by Jackson, *Comments on the Creed*, bk. iii. chap. xiv.

SATAN. This is a Hebrew word (שָׂטָן) signifying an "adversary," and is used in a general sense in the following eight passages in the Old Testament, 1 Sam. xxix. 4, 2 Sam. xix. 22, 1 Kings v. 4 (where the Septuagint equivalent is ἐπίβουλος), 1 Kings xi. 25 (LXX. ἀντικείμενος), Numb. xxii. 22, 32, Psa. cix. 5 (LXX. διαβαλεῖν, εἰς διαβολήν, διάβολος), 1 Kings xi. 14, 23 (LXX. Satan), and in one passage in the New Testament where our Lord addresses St. Peter, Ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ, σκανδαλον μου εἶ· ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. In three passages in the Old Testament, two in the deutero-canonical books, and in twenty-eight places in the New Testament (or thirty-three including parallel passages) the word occurs as a proper name to designate the enemy of the human race, and the author of man's fall and sin.

The existence of evil is one of those facts which has been regarded in various ways, but is too self-evident to have been ever denied. We may regard it with Origen as merely the negation of good, πᾶσα ἡ κακία οὐδὲν ἐστιν, ἔπει καὶ οὐκ ὂν τυγχάνει [*De Princip.* ii. 9, 2]; with Leibnitz as threefold, metaphysical, physical, or moral, "Metaphysicum generatim consistit in rerum non intelligentium imperfectione, physicum accipitur speciatim de substantiarum intelligentium incom-

modis, morale de earum actionibus viciosis;" with Kant as twofold, absolute and relative, that is opposed to the absolutely or the relatively good. But however we regard or explain evil, the further and important question in the background remains unaffected: What is its source or origin? Scripture is distinct in attributing it to the active agency of a personal evil spirit, called Satan, and as we are immediately concerned at present with the account which Revelation affords to us in the Old and New Testaments of Satan and his nature and operations, it would be out of place to glance more than briefly at two theories with reference to the authorship of evil, which were widely embraced by mankind before the Christian era. These are the Dualistic and the Pantheistic. The Dualistic theory is of great antiquity, and of Eastern origin. Good and evil are, according to it, two distinct essences produced by two original principles, one of good and one of evil, from whose agency all the good and evil existing in the world have respectively flowed. Dualism assumed two main forms. [1.] Parseeism, or the religion of the ancient Persians, which taught that the universe was originally created by two rival powers, Ormuzd and Ahriman, *i.e.* light and darkness; the latter of whom, in noways subordinate, though perhaps inferior and destined eventually to be overcome, produced something evil for everything good which was produced by the former. [2.] Hylism, by which matter was regarded as an original principle of evil co-existent from eternity with God, and was looked upon either as feminine (Ὕλη) and passive, as in the Chinese cosmogony, or as neuter, as a formless mass, as among the Greeks. Dualism is chiefly interesting to us in consequence of the attempts made by various Gnostic sects to interweave it with Christian doctrines; it was taught in a more or less open form by Simon Magus, Neander, Cerinthus, Saturninus [A.D. 110-134], Basilides [A.D. 125], Valentinus [A.D. 140], Marcion [A.D. 150]: among whom Basilides and Saturninus inclined to the eternity of matter, the rest attributing its creation to a demiurge, whom some represented as a subordinate instrument of the divine will, and others as openly malignant and hostile to the supreme God. [Demiurge.]

The Pantheistic theory, instead of treating evil as something essentially different from good, regarded good and evil as only varying manifestations of one original principle. This was the basis of the old Hindu religion, and has reappeared in modified forms since the Christian era in the philosophy of Spinoza in the seventeenth, and of Schelling in the nineteenth century. The latter taught that good is the concord, evil the discord, of the individual with the universal will, but that both were one in God. Thus have men differed with regard to the origin and nature of evil. From the fact that the free action of a personal will is the only ultimate cause discovered in the visible world, some have been led by analogy to approach so closely to revealed truth as to refer evil to the personal agency of some spirit or demiurge; but the question really lies beyond the region of human cognizance, and it is only on turning to revelations made by Divine knowledge that we find an uniform and definite solution of our difficulties. In Holy Scripture, however, the following positions are clearly laid down:—

[1.] That all evil is caused by a malignant spirit hostile to God and called the devil, or Satan [1 John iii. 8].

[2.] That God therefore is Himself the author of evil only in this sense, that though able to prevent it, He has permitted it to exist [Isa. xlv. 7; 1 Kings xxii. 22].

[3.] That though permitted by God to exist, Satan is still under His control, and made subservient to His purpose [Prov. xvi. 4].

[4.] That He will ultimately overrule the machinations of the adversary to His own glory, when all evil will be seen by us to have been in complete accordance with perfect order and supreme rectitude [Rom. ix. 22, 23].

Accepting therefore this view of the origin of sin (that is, of moral evil as well as of physical evil), not as discoverable by reason but as revealed in the Word of God, and taking for granted the existence of Satan as its author, we proceed to consider his various names and titles, his personality and origin, his nature and attributes, his power and mode of action.

I. The Names and Titles of Satan given in Holy Scripture are as follows:—

[1.] ἀντιδίκος, the adversary and enemy of the human race, and of believers especially. This title, which is a literal translation of the Hebrew word "Satan," is applied to him by St. Peter, "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour" [1 Pet. v. 8].

[2.] Ὁ διάβολος. This word, which is the commonest appellation of Satan in the New Testament, occurring no less than fifty-three times, including parallel passages, means literally a setter-at-variance (δια-βάλλω), but it had acquired in Greek the further and special meaning of setting at variance by means of slander — "a slanderer." Comparing the three passages where it is used in the New Testament as an epithet with this sense [1 Tim. iii. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 3; Tit. ii. 3], it will be seen that this slander is twofold; the misrepresentation of God to man, and the slander of man to God. An example of the first is given by Satan's words to Eve, "Ye shall not surely die, for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil" [Gen. iii. 4, 5].[1]

[1] This misrepresentation of God as jealous of mankind's progress, or envious of his success, coincides with the erroneous view which pervaded heathen mythology as to the motives supposed to influence its false gods in their dealings with mankind. Take for an example the advice of Amasis to the prosperous Polycrates of Samos: ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον ἐυ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἐστι φθονερον [Herod. iii. 40]. Compare, too, the general sentiment pervading Æschylus' play of Prometheus Vinctus, in which the hero κοινὸν ὠφέλημα

On the other hand, we find an example of Satan attempting to slander man in the eyes of God in the Book of Job. The Devil, in describing that patriarch to God, tries to insinuate low motives for his rectitude, "Doth Job fear God for nought? Hast not Thou made an hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side. Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land: but put forth Thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse Thee to Thy face" [Job i. 9, 10, 11, ii. 4, 5]. It will not be thought necessary here to enter into the further question, Why Satan is permitted to debase the ideal of the Divinity in man's view, or how he can hope to blind the eyes of an omniscient God? The lesson for us to remember is the fact, that the Bible reveals Satan to us employing slander as one of his most efficacious means in promoting the rebellion of man against his Creator.

[3.] Abaddon (אֲבַדּוֹן, perdition), and its Greek equivalent, Apollyon the destroyer. The locusts, the instruments of Divine vengeance, are described as having "a king over them which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon" [Rev. ix. 11]. There is some doubt, however, whether, in spite of the popular identification of the two, it is Satan himself who is referred to in this verse, or one of the chiefs of the bad angels. [Abaddon.]

[4.] *Beelzebub* [Syriac, Vulgate; Beelzebul in Greek MSS]. This title, as applied to Satan, is employed only on one occasion, where the Jews account for our Lord's power of healing demoniacs by saying, "This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils [*ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*, Matt. x. 25, xii. 24, 27]. Beelzebub was the name of the God of Ekron [2 Kings i. 2, 6]. He was the God of flies, or of that spontaneous generation of insects and flies in putrid bodies which did great harm to the land of the Philistines, and which may account for the Jews having identified him with Satan as the worker of the greatest mischief, the *ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*. It is a Hebrew word derived according to some[1] from זְבוּל [= habitation], and its signification is master of the house [Matt. xii. 29], or lord of the dwelling in the sense of prince of the lower world, and of the power of the air [Eph. ii. 2]. According to others[2] it is connected with זְבֶל = dung, a word which is sometimes used by Talmudical writers in a secondary and contemptuous sense for idols, whence Beelzebub is the Lord of idols, *ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων*; or interpreting it literally, the fly under which emblem the deity of Ekron was represented is the insect generated in dung and carrion, scarabæus pillularius, or dunghill beetle. [Baal.]

[5.] *Belial.* This Hebrew term, as employed by St. Paul, is generally accepted as the appellative of Satan as the personification of all that is lawless, = *παράνομος*, by which word it is translated in the LXX. [*e.g.* Judg. xix. 22; 2 Sam. xvi. 7, &c.]. St. Jerome [*in Ep.* iv.] explains it as "absque jugo, quod de collo suo Dei abjecerit servitutem." Bengel, however, commenting on 2 Cor. vi. 15, understands by Belial, not Satan personally, but "omnis colluvies antichristiana" [Bengel's *Gnom. Nov. Test.*].

[6.] *Dragon.* This word is used in twelve passages in the Revelation as an appellative of Satan, notably in Rev. xii. 9, "and the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him." The reference is no doubt to the power and craft of which the dragon is the natural symbol, and to the form which Satan assumed in the temptation of Eve in the garden of Eden.

[7.] *Serpent.* It was under the form of a serpent that Satan seduced Eve [Gen. iii. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 3]. Hence this reptile became an emblem of craft, and Satan is called "that old serpent the Devil which deceiveth the whole world" [Rev. xii. 9].

[8.] *Lucifer.* This name only appears once in Holy Scripture [Isa. xiv. 12], which verse evidently from the context refers to the fall of the king of Babylon; but Christian commentators from St. Jerome downwards have interpreted it of the fall of Satan; perhaps from its similarity to Luke x. 18.

The following titles are also assigned to Satan in the New Testament. He is called the angel of the bottomless pit [Rev. ix. 11]. The prince of devils [Matt. xii. 24]. The prince of this world [John xii. 31; Luke iv. 6]. The God of this world [2 Cor. iv. 4]. The accuser of our brethren [Rev. xii. 10]. The tempter [Matt. iv. 3, *ὁ πειράζων*]. The deceiver [Rev. xx. 10, *ὁ πλανῶν*.]

II. The Personality and Origin of Satan are only very gradually revealed in the Old Testament, so much so that it is doubtful whether the patriarchs had any conception of him as an individual agent and a personal enemy of the Almighty. They seem rather to have regarded evil negatively as a falling away from the true God than as obedience to the seductions of an evil spirit. Even in the account of the Fall, Satan's personality being disguised under the form of a serpent, they would probably see only an animal agency at work; and it was reserved for the writers of the New Testament to declare explicitly the identity of Satan with the old serpent which deceived not only Adam and Eve, but the whole world [Rev. xii. 9]. In three places, however, Satan is unmistakeably referred to in a personal capacity; in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, where he tempts David to number the children of Israel; in Job i. 6, where he presents himself before the Lord among the sons of God; and in Zech. iii. 1, where he is standing in God's presence as an enemy of Joshua the high priest.

θνητοῖσιν φανείς, when asked who is the author of his punishment replies, *βούλευμα μὲν τὸ Διὸν, Ἡφαίστου δὲ χείρ* [*Prom. Vinc.* 613, 619].

[1] Olshausen, *Com. in Matt.* x. 25.

[2] Lightfoot, *Exercit. Matt.* xii. 24.

There are also two passages in the Apocrypha the authors of which appear to have been conscious of the personality of the spirit of evil, "and the Devil shall smell it and flee away, and never come again any more" [Tobit vi. 17], and "nevertheless through envy of the Devil death came into the world" [Wisd. ii. 24]. The reason of this imperfect revelation of the character of Satan under the old dispensation is unknown to us; but it has been conjectured, from the proneness exhibited by the Israelites to the sin of idolatry, that it was a merciful provision on God's part to save them from paying worship to so powerful a spirit, and to preserve them from any *à priori* tendency to the dualistic theory of the Persian mythology, with which they came in long and close contact after the Captivity.

Quite the contrary is the case in the New Testament, where the hostility of a personal Satan to the work of Christ's redemption is everywhere plainly set forth, from the opening scene of the Temptation in the wilderness, to the final defeat of the devil foretold in the Book of Revelation. It is needless to enumerate passages in support of this assertion, or to make more than a passing allusion to the suggestion of modern times [Renan, *Vie de Jesus*, chap. xv.], that such language is only an accommodation on our Lord's part to popular phraseology or existing superstition. If words are to retain any meaning at all, how could personality be more vividly expressed than in the account of the Temptation [Matt. iv. 1-11.], or in our Lord's reproach to the Jews? [John viii. 44.] Satan appears at this period to have been allowed extraordinary manifestations of his potency, that by victory over them our Lord's power might be further enhanced, and more generally attested.

The devil's personality then being admitted, the question arises: What was his origin? The deduction usually based on certain somewhat obscure passages in the New Testament is that he was a fallen archangel. Among such passages are the allusions to him as the prince of devils [Matt. xii. 24], prince of the power of the air [Eph. ii. 2], to the fire prepared for the devil and his angels [Matt. xxv. 41]. Other similar ones are those which refer to a revolt of certain angels in heaven. "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment" [2 Peter ii. 4], "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, He hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day" [Jude 6]. There is, however, an evident *prima facie* difficulty in supposing Satan to be one of the fallen angels referred to in the two latter passages; because these spirits are represented as reserved in chains and darkness, while Satan is elsewhere spoken of as an active agent, walking about, as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour [1 Peter v. 8]. The popular and almost universally received tradition, with all the minutiæ of Satan's rebellion and defeat by Michael the Archangel, is still more void of scriptural authority. It is thus put into vivid words by Milton:—

> "The infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile,
> Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceived
> The mother of mankind; what time his pride
> Had cast him out from heaven, with all his host
> Of rebel angels; by whose aid, aspiring
> To set himself in glory above his peers,
> He trusted to have equall'd the Most High,
> If he opposed; and, with ambitious aim
> Against the throne and monarchy of God,
> Raised impious war in heaven, and battle proud,
> With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
> Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
> With hideous ruin and combustion, down
> To bottomless perdition; there to dwell
> In adamantine chains and penal fire,
> Who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms."
> —*Par. Lost*, 34-49.

This description is entirely based on Rev. xii. 7, 9, a passage which cannot refer to Satan's original rebellion, because the event takes place after the sounding of the seventh trumpet, and because his fall from the position which he appears hitherto to have held as accuser of mankind in heaven [Rev. xii. 10; Job i. ii.] is connected with the work of Christ's redemption; as seems to be implied in our Lord's own words, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven" [Luke x. 18], and "Now is the judgment of this world, now shall the prince of this world be cast out" [John xii. 31]. Without, therefore, laying too great stress on the above difficult passages of Holy Scripture, we might still form the following conclusions with reference to the point under discussion. That Satan is a spirit or angel; that, beyond this, his original position was that of archangel or prince in the heavenly hierarchy: that although no record survives of his actual fall, yet it seems to have been caused by a rebellion against God, and that the cause of that rebellion was lust of power. The last particular is implied by the Apostle when, warning Christians against pride, he adds, "lest they fall into the condemnation of the devil" [1 Tim. iii. 6].

III. The Nature and Attributes of Satan. But however closely the veil is drawn in Holy Scripture over the details of Satan's origin and history—a fuller knowledge of which would at the best rather satisfy our curiosity than influence our conduct,—full particulars are vouchsafed to us of his nature and attributes. Among the prominent attributes of the Satanic character are, [*a*] *hatred*, which especially distinguishes the children of the devil from the true followers of Christ [1 John iii. 10]; and hence [*b*] *murder* [John viii. 44], which is hatred put into action, the first murderer Cain being designated as belonging to that wicked one who was a murderer and a liar from the beginning [1 John iii. 12], that is "filius non Dei sed diaboli, non generatione sed imitatione et suggestione."[1] [*c*] *Falsehood;* so ingrained is this quality in Satan's character that, "when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar, and the father of it" [John viii. 44]. [*d*] *Impurity;* "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do"

[1] Corn. à Lap. *in* 1 *Jan.* iii. 12.

[*ibid.*]. We may compare also the frequent reference made to unclean spirits, subordinate to Satan as their chief [Matt. x. 1; Mark i. 27, &c.]. [*e*] *Pride*, as evinced in the account of the temptation, and as especially predicated of the devil by St. Paul in 1 Tim. iii. 6: [*f*] *wiliness;* the same Apostle fears for the Corinthians, "lest that by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so their minds should be corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ" [2 Cor. xi. 3]. Such is the depth of his cunning that Christians are recommended to put on the whole armour of God, that they may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil [Eph. vi. 11]. Further allusions to it are found in 1 Tim. iii. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 26, and this wiliness shews itself in artifices such as slander, whence his name διάβολος, and in the transformations which he is enabled to assume,—"no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light" [2 Cor. xi. 14]. It was a serpent that tempted Eve [Gen. iii.]; through an old prophet that he misled the man of God [1 Kings xiii.]; as a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets that he persuaded Ahab to go up to Ramoth-Gilead to battle [1 Kings xxii. 22]. Amongst all these characteristics of Satan there stand out clearly *hatred*, *impurity*, and *falsehood*, the exact contraries of those three great moral attributes which find their fullest perfection in Almighty God, *love*, *purity*, and *truth*.

IV. Satan's Power and Mode of Action. Satan's power is chiefly over the souls of men. He exercises it through a subtle and impalpable influence to do evil, more difficult to combat than any material form which old legends have represented him as assuming, "for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places" [Eph. vi. 12]. But while Christ was on earth, and during the subsequent early years of Christianity, Satan was able to exercise power over the bodies as well as the souls of men [Demoniacal Possession], and on the other hand the Apostles appear to have possessed an extraordinary power of delivering sinners, body and soul, over into Satan's hands. Such at least is the literal interpretation of St. Paul's threat to deliver the incestuous Corinthian unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord [1 Cor. v. 5]; as also of his sentence on Hymenæus and Alexander, whom he delivered unto Satan that they might learn not to blaspheme [1 Tim. i. 20]. This literal interpretation has the unanimous support of the Greek Fathers, and of St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and others among the Latin. Modern commentators, Bishop Beveridge, Estius, &c., incline to the view that "delivering to Satan" is only another title for excommunication and the consequent spiritual effects; that is, the punishment of the soul, and not of the body. In support of the latter view reference is made to Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9, where the term "synagogue of Satan" is applied to those who claim to be, but are not really, Jews, who are without the true pale of Israel. Satan's power is said, moreover, to extend over death, inasmuch as it was through him that man fell and death entered into the world [Wisd. ii. 24], and so the Incarnation and Death of Christ are said by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews to have taken place that "through death He might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil" [Heb. ii. 14]. Great then as Satan's power and influence are, Christ by His power has rendered them not invincible. The primeval promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head [Gen. iii. 15] has been fulfilled. "God," says St. Paul, "shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly" [Rom. xvi. 20]. The Christian has the assurance that if he resist the devil he will flee from him [James iv. 7], and that if he keep himself as one that is begotten of God, that wicked one toucheth him not [1 John v. 18]. Lastly, the devil's mode of exercising his influence is various in itself, and in the means or instruments adopted. Sometimes it is portrayed as negative, or destructive of good already existing, as in the parable of the sower and the seed [Matt. xiii. 19], sometimes as positive, as in the parable of the tares [Matt. xiii. 39]. Before the Christian era divination was carried on by direct and open contact with Satan. It, too, assumed various forms, communications being sometimes effected by idols or oracles, as at Delphi: sometimes by means of spectres, as in the case of the witch of Endor [1 Sam. xxviii.], sometimes by the skull or other portion of a victim or corpse [κρανιομαντεία, necromancy, &c.]. Under the Christian dispensation, also, Satan's influence is often exercised through the medium of persons or things; either through those bad angels who are mentioned as incurring the same doom as their master [Matt. xxv. 41], or through bad men; for those who do evil become his children and obey his will and imitate his example in corrupting others. "Therefore it is no great wonder if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works" [2 Cor. xi. 15]. Sometimes also through material agencies and inanimate instruments. Just as we find in the Old Testament the pestilence [2 Sam. xxiv. 16], or the sword, employed [2 Kings xix. 35] by good angels, working out the providence of God, so in the New Testament the infirmity under which a certain woman had laboured for eighteen years [Luke xiii. 16], and the thorn in the flesh from which St. Paul suffered [2 Cor. xii. 7] are mentioned as being the direct work of Satan.

But whether it be by physical infirmity or by spiritual weakness, whether through the medium of fallen man or evil spirit, one fact stands out clearly revealed in Holy Writ, that none can escape wholly from the assaults of Satan: that he remains the tempter of man, and the adversary of God, until the time comes when at the end of the world he and his angels shall be cast for ever into the lake of fire. [Evil, Demoniacal Possession.]

SATISFACTION. This is a term of Roman law, first adopted into Theology by St. Anselm to designate our Lord's work in giving Himself as a ransom for sinners; and in doing away with sin as an offence against God.

For repentance can never have any efficacy in itself to reverse the Divine decree, "the soul that sinneth it shall die;" and God's method of restoring fallen man to the glory of the likeness in which he was created was revealed from the beginning. It was promised that the seed of the woman should bruise the head, the seat of life and intelligence, in the principle of evil, though he who should effect this should be bruised in the heel, the lower fleshly nature in the contest. That is, in the fulness of time, a Saviour should be born of the seed of the woman, Who by His death should bring in the scheme ordained from all eternity, whereby God's justice is satisfied, man's sin is pardoned, and man himself raised once more to the full glory of his original birthright in the likeness of God.

This merciful purpose having been revealed, some perpetual memorial was needed, some institution of ceaseless operation that should keep the revelation alive in the hearts of men until the day of the Saviour's appearing; an institution that should harmonize thoroughly with what that Saviour should be and what He should do for man's salvation, and point with all demonstrative earnestness to the Saviour of mankind foreordained for that purpose in the merciful counsels of the Most High.

That institution was animal sacrifice. The pouring forth of blood, which is life, should prefigure Him who should reverse the decree of death, and restore to man hope of that life of glory that he had forfeited.

We have reason to believe that in the earliest ages truths were communicated to man, and the will of God made known to him by revelation, of which the extreme conciseness of the Scripture narrative takes no notice; that these were retained at first in their purity as traditions of Paradise, though in course of time they were debased and at last wholly obscured by superstition, as the race of man spread over the face of the earth, and was broken up into distinct stocks or families.

The existence of such primeval revelation is indicated in the sacrifice of Abel, who "by faith offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain" [πλείονα θυσίαν, Heb. xi. 4, "a much more sacrifice," Wycliffe]. Since he offered in faith, some manifestation of God's will must have preceded the object of that faith.

The distinction drawn between the offering of the two brothers declares its nature. Cain "brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord," but Abel "brought of the firstlings of the flock, and of the fat thereof" [Gen. iv. 3, 4]. The nature of his offering constituted it "a more excellent sacrifice," for although the thank-offering of Cain was in a certain sense a sacrifice as being dedicated to God, yet Abel's oblation was a sacrifice in a far higher sense, as showing faith in the ordinance of God, whereby, from the beginning, the assurance of pardoned sin was connected with the shedding of blood. The offering of Cain was defective as not having this element, and the remedy for the defect is indicated in the reproof, "if thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door" [Gen. iv. 7]. For the verb "lieth" is the word used in Hebrew only for the recumbent or crouching position of a quadruped, and "sin," its subject, is as correctly used in the original for "sin-offering" as simply for "sin." Its connection with the idea of crouching or lying down as a beast, fixes upon it in this passage the meaning of "sin-offering." Hence the verse may be thus paraphrased, "If thou doest not well, thy sin requireth expiation; follow the faithful example of thy brother, a victim is always ready to thine hand, and without blood there is no remission of sin."

We may observe also that animal food was not used by man till after the Flood; from whence then were the skins obtained that gave to man his clothing from the Fall [Gen. iii. 21], unless they were the *exuviæ* of beasts slain in sacrifice, and consumed as whole burnt sacrifices, as we believe to have been the case with Abel's "more excellent sacrifice." For the same reason this sacrifice involved no such idea of federal feasting with the deity, as became a common notion in after ages, for the victim could have furnished forth no feast at the very gates of paradise. Similarly the idea of the victim being a gift or free-will offering to the Deity is inapplicable, because the death of a victim for such a purpose, if in no way typical, would have been a mere act of cruelty, and it was too early in the history of the human race for the ordinary interchange of gifts to have made the idea sufficiently familiar to pass into an act of high religious worship. By a process of elimination, therefore, we come back to the idea with which we started, that the life of sacrificial victims was taken, from the very Fall, as an act of Divine institution, intended to prepare men for the display of God's marvellous scheme of mercy, a mystery in due time to be revealed, the death of the eternal Son upon the Cross for us men and for our salvation.

After the offering of Cain we read of no other oblation of the fruits of the earth until the giving of the Law. The patriarchal sacrifice was the burnt offering involving the death of a victim [Gen. viii. 20, xv. 17, xxii.; Exod. x. 25, xviii. 12; Job i. 5, xlii. 7, 8; Numb. xxiii. 2]. The sacrifices of the law demanded daily shedding of blood, as the Talmud says of the paschal scene in the outer court of the Temple, "it was the glory of the priests to wade knee deep in blood" [*Pesach. Tos.*, iv. 7]. The sacrificial idea of the law was expressly that of an atonement, the offering of one life as a ransom for another. "The life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make satisfaction for your souls; for it is the blood (the life) that maketh atonement for the soul (the life)" [Lev xvii. 11], and so throughout, "The legal sacrifices

were allusions to the great and final atonement to be made by the blood of Christ, and not these an allusion to those" [Butler's *Anal.* 409]. It is impossible to follow this subject into matters of detail, only the reader may note the close parallel that subsisted between the typical sacrifice of the day of atonement, and its Antitype on Mount Calvary [Lev. xvi. 5-22]. This rite spoke clearly of the transfer, by imputation, of the sins of a whole people to the charge of the victim. The entire sacrifice consisted of the death of two victims, whose blood was the satisfaction for sin; and that it might be clearly known that the sacrifice conveyed the sure hope of sin pardoned and done away, confession was made by the atoning priest of the iniquities of the people over the head of a third living animal—the scapegoat, and being transferred to it by the solemn imposition of hands, they were sent with the animal into the wilderness to be no more remembered. What clearer type could have been given of the satisfaction made by Him on Whom "The Lord hath laid the iniquities of us all?" [Isa. liii. 6.]

The heathen sacrifices also from their universality can only be referred to one common origin, the point from whence all diverged from the traditions of Paradise into many a devious line of superstition, "when the nations deifying every passion of the human heart, and erecting altars to every vice, poured forth the blood of the victim, to deprecate the wrath or satiate the vengeance of each offended deity" [Magee *on the Atonement*, i. 54, London 1832]. Referring these propitiatory rites back to their origin, and viewing their universality, it is difficult to say whether they speak more clearly of the original unity of the human race, or of one general starting-point from a primeval faith in the atonement. "Sacrifices of expiation were commanded to the Jews and obtained among most other nations from tradition, whose origin was most probably revelation" [Butler's *Anal.* p. 413, Glasg. 1827].

The key to this whole sacrificial notion, with which the religious conscience of man had been so completely ingrained, is to be found only in the vicarious death of Christ for man's sin. The merciful scheme that this sacrifice should fully reveal had been ordained from all eternity. Christ was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. The necessity for Satisfaction was introduced by the Fall, and a forecasting faith in that mystery so full of awe was kept alive from the Fall to the day of Christ by the unceasing flow of sacrificial blood, "connecting in one view the two great cardinal events in the history of man—the fall and the recovery, the death denounced against sin, and the death appointed for that Holy One Who was to lay down His life to deliver man from the consequences of sin" [Magee, i. 51].

This doctrine of Satisfaction occupies a middle position in the system of Christian doctrines, between the Incarnation of the Eternal Son and man's sanctification through the Spirit. The Incarnation sets forth the voluntary self-abasement of the Son of God in taking upon Him man's nature; the Atonement, as its correlative, involves the deep humiliation of the Human Nature of Christ, when He suffered a death of shame and agony and utter desertion such as only the vilest criminals were made to suffer. No Christian man has ever endured the bitter pangs of shame and suffering, whether guilty or innocent, without the certainty that a deeper woe was endured by Him in Whom was no sin, and Who trod alone the winepress of the Divine wrath. "Behold and see whether there be any sorrow like unto My sorrow, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted Me in the day of His fierce anger" [Lam. i. 12].

Satisfaction stands also in closest relation with man's sanctification, because the gift of God's Holy Spirit is connected with it in the way of direct sequence. The close union between the Crucified and His people was cemented by the Blood of Christ that cleanseth from all sin. Oneness of will between Christ and God was declared by His voluntary submission to a death of suffering, and man's restoration to the power of doing anything according to God's will was brought about by the same sacrifice. It was necessary that He should depart that the Comforter might come, but the death of the Cross was the ordained mode of that decease. "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me; this He said signifying what death He should die" [John xii. 32]. Millions of redeemed souls have been led to glory by that death, and the words of the prophet have been accomplished, "When Thou shalt make His soul an offering for sin, He shall see His seed, He shall prolong His days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His hand" [Isa. liii. 10].

The length to which this article has now extended makes it impossible to consider the Deist's and Unitarian's objections, which the reader will find fully answered by Magee, p. 21, and, from analogy, by Butler, pt. II. c. v. sec. 7. For Satisfaction in a penitential sense see PENANCE.

SCEPTICISM. The secondary meaning of σκέψις has been used from the time of Pyrrho [B.C. 375-285], to designate that extreme school of thought of which the first principle is that the opposite of every proposition is possible. Positive truth being thus unattainable, scepticism, or suspension of judgment, is put forth as the highest intellectual attitude which is possible for mankind; sceptical apathy being considered the highest practical form of life. Pyrrhonism was much modified in the course of its contact and conflict with the Stoics and the Platonists, but always adhered, theoretically, to its original principle, "We can know nothing, not even this itself, that we know nothing."

The modern revival of Scepticism as a system is traceable to the French "men of letters" who assisted so much to distinguish the reign of Louis XIV. In the year 1688 Le Vasser wrote: "People only speak of reason, good taste, the force of intellect, of the advantage of those who put themselves above the prejudices of education, and of the society in which they were born. Pyrrhonism is now the fashion above everything else.

People think that the legitimate exercise of the mind consists in not believing rashly, and in knowing how to doubt many things" [Hurst's *Hist. of Rationalism*, p. 103, ed. 1867]. But, however such a theoretical principle as this might suit the minds of fashionable Epicureans, it is clear that strong thinkers would look upon its universal application as a *reductio ad absurdum*, and later Scepticism has never followed Pyrrho into the amazing depth of nonsense which his first principle involves, but has taken the forms of English Deism, German Rationalism, or French Positivism, the latter being the nearest approach that has been made to a system of universal doubt and disbelief like that of Pyrrho. So much has this been the case that the term "Scepticism" is used in our own day as a designation of the less extreme forms of unbelief, and with a much nearer approach to its primary meaning, that of a suspension of judgment until it can be given on evidence which is satisfactory to the person judging.

Such a suspension of judgment is, to a certain extent, the mental attitude of every intellectual inquirer. [Doubt.] But many facts and truths are based upon evidence which cannot be sifted by every intellectual inquirer, seeing that it is impossible for every such person to qualify himself for sifting evidence which deals with every branch of knowledge. Hence a suspension of judgment is often practically unreasonable when opportunity has been wanting for personal inquiry into the subject to be judged about. Testimony is an evidence in itself [Faith], and personal inquiry or reasoning (even when the inquirer or reasoner is of the highest intellectual order of mind) often adds nothing to the evidence which it affords, though it may give confidence in the reception of what it alleges.

But Scepticism often arises [1] from want of diligence in the examination of evidence, or [2] from a deficiency in the judicial faculty by which the value and bearing of evidence is to be determined. The only form of it which is found in minds of a high order is that judicial hesitation which refuses to give a full intellectual assent to any truth except on fair evidence of research, reasoning, or testimony. Such a form of Scepticism is the true ally of Faith, and the constant foe of superstition.

SCHISM. Schism is a wilful breach of the outward unity of the Church.[1] To understand fully the nature of schism we must consider the organization of the Church, the unity of the Church, and the acts in which that unity is expressed.

In the organization of the Church the integral elements are its bishoprics. There is no need to consider extraordinary cases—in the normal state of the Church each diocese is complete in itself as regards all that is essential to the Christian life; nor without a bishop would a society have those essentials. But a single bishopric has not the power of continuing itself. A union of bishoprics is required to constitute a full formed Church.

Now the New Testament history shews that there may be, or rather that it is God's will there shall be, many such unions of bishops, limited and defined by natural bonds of race, or by civil bonds of temporal governments. There is no intimation whatever in Scripture of a union under one earthly head. The Apostles mention no such unity, they established no such polity, the churches of different countries are named as independent of each other, with a perfect liberty and full authority to govern their own members, to manage their own affairs, to decide controversies and causes among themselves without allowing appeals or rendering accounts to others. [See Rev. ii. iii.; 1 Cor. xiv. 40; 1 Thess. v. 14; 1 Cor. v. 12, vi. 1. Bramhall and Barrow.]

It has been debated whether in these unions of bishops the further office of metropolitan be *jure divino*. For the present purpose this matters little or nothing. The Episcopate being *jure divino*, obedience is due to the united body whether they meet in council under a temporary president, or whether their power be centred in a metropolitan. No metropolitan can be considered apart from his synod: his powers are all based on a collected Episcopate. The same may be said of the still higher office of Patriarch.

Each Church then retaining its autonomy and freedom, there is no one earthly head over all, and no power to which all are bound to submit, except the acknowledged decrees of Œcumenical Councils. The unity of the Church, which is primarily its incorporation into one mystical body of Christ, has many laws and acts of external communion. "External communion consists first in the same creeds, which are the ancient badges or cognizances of Christianity. Secondly, in the participation of the same sacraments. Thirdly, in the same external worship and frequent use of the same divine offices or liturgies or forms of serving God" (in which is a unity of essentials, though not necessarily a uniformity of type). "Fourthly, in the use of the same public rites and ceremonies. Fifthly, in giving communicatory letters from one church, or one person, to another. And lastly, in admission of the same discipline, and subjection to the same supreme authority, that is Episcopacy, or a General Council: for as single bishops are the heads of particular churches, so Episcopacy, that is a General Council, or Œcumenical assembly of bishops, is the head of the Universal Church." [Bramhall, *Vindication of the Church of England*, Works, 1676, p. 57.]

Separations, then, may be made by single men, by bishops involving their dioceses in the separation, or by whole churches. They may be from the Church at large, or only from a particular church. Breaches of any one, or of several together, or of all together, of the laws of outward union may be made; and out of these numerous and diversified acts, which is to be accounted schism, a rending of the body of Christ?

[1] From this primary conception, it will be noticed that internal dissensions which do not issue in separation of communion, are not schism. They are sins of another kind. Also that where there is separation of communion the separated is not necessarily the schismatic. Diotrephes was clearly the schismatic, not they whom he cast out of the Church.

First. One man may commit an act of schism. Although not an integral element in the organization of the body (as we described bishoprics to be), he is a member of the body, and his separation from it may be formally schism.

Secondly. Separations may be from a particular church, or of one church from another church, without involving a separation from the Church Catholic. There may be a fissure in the superstructure of the temple while yet both parts still rest on the foundation. Two churches refusing each other's communion, but both endeavouring to maintain communion with the rest of the Church, and both appealing to the decision of a general council, are so situated.

Thirdly. To constitute a formal act of schism, the law broken must be one of those which are essential to unity. Some of the constituent parts of external communion, as described above, such as the giving of commendatory letters, the practising the same rites and ceremonies, are not essential. The omission of these may be a cessation of a part of fraternal intercourse, or a neglect of subordinate means of unity, but can hardly amount to a breach of unity. The essentials of unity are, the same creed, valid orders, and valid sacraments. The first of these three differs from the other two in this, that its denial is not directly, but by consequence, a breach of unity. A heretic is to be rejected after the first and second admonition. The schism follows upon the heresy: but the denial of lawful authority and the rejection of communion are the schism itself. To these two, therefore, we must look in describing acts of schism. For the former of these, our fellowship with Christ is through fellowship with the Apostles [1 John i. 3], and our fellowship with the Apostles can only be through fellowship with them who have succeeded to the Apostolic commission. This fellowship shows itself in obedience [1 Cor. xi. 1]. For the latter, it is sufficient to refer to the One Bread and One Body of 1 Cor. x. 17, and for our Lord's prayer for unity before He sanctified Himself.

All these considerations are to be combined in determining what acts are acts of schism.

A man is in schism who without sufficient cause deliberately renounces either the pastoral authority under which he is placed, or the Eucharist as celebrated in the church to which he belongs.

A bishop with his diocese is in schism when he and they so renounce the authority of the provincial council or the Eucharist of their church.

A church is in schism which so renounces the authority of councils œcumenically accepted, or the Eucharist of sister churches.

In all cases of separation there may be sufficient cause, and the position of appellants is to be fully recognised in estimating the state of those who are in separation. In all cases also the schism may be partial, not entire, a separation of a part from a part, not of a part from the whole.

The special sin of schism is its wilful and formal opposition to charity. Charity is the bond of union and the life of Christian obedience. Both the severance of union and the renunciation of obedience directly assail the prime grace of Christianity. Entire and perfected schism is tantamount to apostasy, if not identical with it. To produce such a state it would seem to be necessary that the schismatic should not only have altogether renounced the communion of the whole Church, but that he should have been met also by a valid excommunication, ratifying on the part of the Church his own voluntary act. Such an one is cut off from Christ. But it is seldom that schism has proceeded to this extremity. The more common state is that of partial schism. Nor does even every valid excommunication produce an entire separation. To have this effect it must be formally accepted and ratified by the whole Church. Of partial schism Hooker writes, after having named apostasy as that which cuts off clean from the visible Church of Christ, "Schismatics as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein, they divide themselves from their brethren . . . . have forsaken the Church that keepeth the bond of unity which they violate, this very true Church of Christ they have left, howbeit not altogether left nor forsaken simply the Church, upon the main foundations whereof they continue built, notwithstanding these breaches whereby they are rent at the top asunder" [*Ecc. Pol.* V. lxviii. 6]. And of these it may be said without hesitation, as St. T. Aquinas decides in general, "Quanquam schismatici habere ordinis potestatem possint, jurisdictionis tamen auctoritate privantur" [Aquin. *Sec. Sec. qu.* xxxix. art. iii.]

SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY. [Theology, Scholastic.]

SCOTIST. [Theology, Scholastic.]

SCRIPTURE. The *written* word of God. "The Lord said unto Moses, *Write* (Hebr. כתב) this for a memorial in a book" [Ex. xvii. 14]; "All these things are . . . *written* (ἐγράφη) for our admonition" [1 Cor. x. 11]. Hence the titles ἡ γραφή [John ii. 22]; αἱ γραφαί [Matt. xxii. 29]; γραφαὶ ἁγίαι [Rom. i. 2]; ἱερὰ γράμματα [2 Tim. iii. 15]; and hence the mode of quoting the Word of God—γέγραπται [Matt. iv. 4]—*scriptum est.* [See Bible, Testament, Canon.]

SEASONS, CANONICAL. [Year.]

SECOND ADVENT. It seems to have been the will of our Lord that the idea of His return to earth should have a conspicuous place in the spiritual and intellectual life of Christians. The closing pages of the Canon of Holy Scripture are chiefly occupied with a mystical prophecy respecting it: the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul contain many references to it; and in the Gospels there are parables and prophecies spoken by Christ Himself which deal with the subject as one of the highest importance to the Church. So much, indeed, did it enter into the minds of His immediate disciples that the characteristic moral aspect of the early Church was that of a community, "waiting for the coming of the Lord;" a community in whose ears were ringing constantly the words spoken by angels at the Ascension, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which

is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner, as ye have seen Him go into heaven" [Acts i. 11].

The most direct, and what may be justly called the primary, revelation given to us respecting this second advent proceeded from our Lord's own lips. Having ended His personal work of evangelization, He wound up His solemn warnings to the Jews with the words, "Behold your house is left unto you desolate, for I say unto you, Ye shall not see Me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord" [Matt. xxiii. 38], the very words which had rung out from the lips of the multitude a few days before, when they led Him triumphantly to the Temple. After this, as He was leaving the city, His disciples drew His attention to the buildings of the Temple, the "goodly stones" of which had been piled up with skill that anticipated modern triumphs of architectural engineering, which led to His saying, "There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down" [Matt. xxiv. 2]. This reduplication of such stern words evidently made a greater impression than usual upon the Apostles. It seemed, and not unreasonably, that the destruction of the Temple must usher in the very end of the world itself, and that it must be to that time Christ was referring when He declared that He would come again to be received with a glad welcome. "Tell us," they therefore said to Him privately, "when shall these things be? And what shall be the sign of Thy Coming, and of the end of the world?" [Matt. xxiv. 3]. It was in answer to these three questions that our Lord uttered those prophecies and parables which extend through the 24th and 25th chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, and are given in a more condensed form by St. Mark and St. Luke. And what these told respecting the Second Advent was supplemented by His words before the judgment seat of the High Priest, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven" [Matt. xxvi. 64]. It is not surprising, therefore, that the early Church dwelt much upon the idea of a Second Advent. The words of our Lord seemed left as a parting gift of promise and warning; they were emphasized by the declaration of the angels at His final removal from their sight; taken up in the inspired writings of Apostles; and repeated to the Church two generations after they had been first uttered in the striking form, "Surely I come quickly" [Rev. xxii. 20], as the very last words that men were to hear of Him Who spake them.

The prediction of a Second Advent was, therefore, firmly and plainly impressed upon the mind of the Church from its beginning, and that in such a manner, and with such frequent reiteration as to shut out all reasonable hypotheses of metaphor. It was a prediction of a true and real coming of our Lord God Incarnate a second time to earth at a time far distant according to human reckoning, but "quickly" in the perpetual present of the Eternal mind.

Second Advent

Respecting the circumstances of that Second Advent, the purposes for which Christ will again come, and the events which will precede the accomplishment of those purposes, we are not left wholly uninformed. It is evident that it will be preceded by certain *signs* which will conspicuously mark out the time of its approach, that the *manner* of it will be such as to proclaim the supreme glory of God Incarnate, and that the *object* of it will be triumphantly accomplished. Each of these may be followed up in some detail by the light of the New Testament, and chiefly of our Lord's own words.

I. Signs Preceding the Second Advent. The answer which our Lord gave to the question "What shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the end of the world," contains the prediction of three classes of events. [1.] There will be an age of tribulation, an age in which disturbances of the physical order of the world, political commotions and wars, and social disorganization will involve the whole material and moral world in their effects. [2.] In the midst of these universal sorrows, and by means of them, the Church will pass through a time of special preparation for the presence of our Lord. This will be partly by the trial of faith, partly by the general presentation of the Gospel to all nations as a final offer of salvation. [3.] There will also be a sifting out of Christ's true servants by means of a great persecution, which will end in the apostasy of many under the leadership of a personal Antichrist.

[1.] *The age of tribulation.* This series of events is marked out by our Lord in the words, "Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be" [Matt. xxiv. 21]; words which are almost identical with those of the prophet Daniel, "There shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time" [Dan. xii. 1]. This age of sorrow and trouble seems as if it would precede the Second Advent by a considerable space of time. Our Lord calls it "the beginning of sorrows," and says that "the end is not yet" [Matt. xxiv. 8]. No doubt it is a mistake to map out with much minuteness the chronology of any prophetic period which is yet future; and all that can be said of this is that the "beginning" and the "end" point to a series of years or generations during which there will be time for mankind at large to gain some new and terrible experiences. "Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars . . . nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places" [Matt. xxiv. 6, 7]. Such typical disturbances of the moral and material world represent the deepest and most wide-spread intensity of human sufferings; confidence between man and man broken down; the ordinary business of the world interrupted by ambitions and quarrels; mighty physical convulsions shaking the foundations of the earth; life itself made burdensome by hunger, thirst, and disease.

No rational Christian can venture to say that

there is any improbability in the picture which a literal interpretation of our Lord's words thus pourtrays. Such things as He predicts are, in their degree, matters of experience; and every now and then we are warned that in spite of civilization wars have not ceased, that political economy has not banished famine and drought, and that sanitary science has not abolished disease. The experiences of a scientific age, therefore, are near enough of kin to those of other ages to shew that the development of existing tribulation is all that is required for the realization of the horrors predicted as the "great tribulation." As miracles are an intensification of natural processes, so it wants but an intensification of the natural forces which are ever latent around us to produce the most literal fulfilment of all that is thus predicted by our Lord. And if we ask why should all this happen? then perhaps we may come nearest to the true answer by looking back to the analogy of God's past Providence, when He suffered the waters of the Deluge to pour forth that out of the midst of them the moral and the physical world might arise regenerated. So, perhaps, the breaking up of the existing face of things by human violence and Divine judgment will be for the purpose of re-establishing the human race and its dwelling-place in the vigour and freshness of a new life: the storm, and the frost, and the plough breaking up the exhausted soil and preparing for the new birth of an everlasting spring. [New Creation.]

[2.] *The Preparation of the Church.* The second class of events which our Lord predicted is that by means of which the Church will be prepared for meeting Him as a Master coming for the account of His steward's work. It would be presumptuous as well as irrational to attempt any thing like an exact definition of the boundaries by which these classes of events are marked off from each other. We may, however, reasonably suppose that this age of preparation will be to a greater or lesser extent coincident with that of the great Tribulation, and that the circumstances of the world will be an element in the discipline of the Church.

It seems to be indicated to us by our Lord that the Second Advent will not occur until the Church has exhausted all her resources in the work of evangelization. "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come" [Matt. xxiv. 14]. These words refer, no doubt, in the first instance, to that Apostolic preaching whose sound went forth into all the earth and its words unto the end of the world" [Rom. x. 18]. So probably we must interpret some other words of our Lord. "Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over all the cities of Israel until the Son of Man be come." In both cases we must remember the double sense of prophecy, and understand that [1] all Jews of that generation were to have the witness of the Gospel placed before them for acceptance or rejection before the Son of Man came in judgment to their city and nation: [2] and that the witness of the Gospel was to be extended to all other nations and generations until the Second Coming of Christ and the end of all things.

And if we look back upon the history of the Church, we shall find that, except in the first age, there is little trace of any such extraordinary spread of the Gospel as would seem to satisfy the full force of our Lord's words. In Apostolic times the Gospel was literally preached to "nations," and whole peoples would be converted at once under the leadership of their rulers, or by the power of a suddenly and mysteriously spread conviction. Since those ages the witness of the Gospel has been carried among the heathen without gaining a converting influence over any large numbers at once, and without leading to any strikingly sudden results. But we may gather from our Lord's words, taken as a twofold prophecy, that when "the end" is approaching, they who then live will see the Church as "another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to Him, for the hour of His judgment is come: and worship Him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters" [Rev. xiv. 6, 7]. Then the Gospel will be preached to great nations like those of China, Japan, India, and Africa, in a manner far more effective than that of any previous missionary work: and the people that have so long sat in darkness will see something more than the rays of a distant light, something more than a Gospel which they know only as another religion than their own. Then these nations will behold the all-penetrating rays of a noonday Gospel shining upon them with a Light from which there is no hiding. The Church will go among the heathen with the banners of Christ's Cross boldly confronting the banners of idolatry, Mahometanism, or atheistic philosophy. The missionaries of the Gospel will shew the Church of their Divine Master to the heathen in all her external and internal beauty. There will be no compromise of her Truth, no veiling of her rites through fear and weak-heartedness. There will be no shrinking from that full proclamation of Christ and His Sacramental work which will be a complete witness of "the everlasting Gospel."

The history of past ages and the experience of modern times teaches us that no such proclamation of Christ among the millions of China, India, Japan, and Africa, can ever take place without some renewed and special development of the gifts of the Spirit. The missionaries of the Roman Propaganda and of our own great Societies have done what they could, and their zeal has not gone unrewarded. But the harvest-fields contain hundreds of millions of souls, and the labourers are but a few hundred: the supernatural power of the Evil one is the great support of most of the false religions of the world, and this has to be met at present by the ordinary powers only of the priesthood and the episcopate. Those who look closely at the history of Christian missions

will soon come to believe that while we are bound to do all the work we can with our present means, it must be by means of a more directly supernatural kind that God will eventually send forth His Church to make a final and universal proclamation of the everlasting Gospel.

Some look for this supernatural converting power of the Church in a revival of the miraculous powers by means of which the Apostles first converted the world. Others look for it in the fulfilment of a prophecy of Malachi, "I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord" [Mal. iv. 5]; to which also they refer the preaching of the two witnesses spoken of in the Book of Revelation.

That Elijah is associated in some special manner with the Person and work of our Lord is strongly suggested by his presence at the Transfiguration with Moses. The prophecy of Malachi is partly satisfied by the ministry of St. John the Baptist: but "the great and dreadful day of the Lord" may well be supposed to refer to the Second Advent as well as the first. When St. John the Baptist was asked, "Art thou Elias? he answered, No." And when the question was asked of our Lord by the disciples, "Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?" it was only after our Lord had spoken of the future, "Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things," that He said also of the past, "But I say unto you, That Elias is come already, and they knew him not" [Matt. xvii. 11]. Although, therefore, St. John the Baptist did "go before the Lord in the spirit and power of Elias," according to the prophecy of the angel who predicted his birth, there is yet room to believe that the great and dreadful day of the Lord's second coming will be preceded by the ministration of Elijah himself, once taken alive into heaven, thence descending, it may be, as one of the two witnesses who shall be slain, and their blood poured forth in the midst of Jerusalem, and who are to prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth, as Elijah prophesied for the time of his former ministrations [Rev. xi. 3-12].

But in whatever way the Lord may accomplish this last mission work of the Church, it will doubtless result in the conversion of vast numbers to the faith of Christ; and among these multitudes of the Church's last harvest will be acted over again the scenes and trials of her first ingathering.

For that age of final preparation for Christ's Second Advent will undoubtedly be an age when Satan will once more desire to sift as wheat the servants of Christ: and there will be days of hot persecution that will cause many to go back, unable to endure the fiery trial to the end. Then once more Christians will have to confess Christ with their lives in their hands. "Then," says our Lord, "they shall deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all men for My Name's sake. And then shall many be offended, and betray one another, and shall hate one another. . . . And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold" [Matt. xxiv. 9, 10, 12]. Of such hardships and persecutions for the sake of Christ there is no sign to be seen as yet. All that we see which looks towards it is that there is an increase of energy on the part of the Church throughout the world, that probably indicates the approach of an age in which it will become more and more like the Church in her early days of fervent love, untiring zeal, and irresistible converting power. Such an increase of power, zeal, and love, is sure to arouse a corresponding energy on the part of the great enemy, and out of this the persecution may arise. And out of this persecution it is certain there will arise the final apostasy with which this dispensation will close.

[3.] *The great Apostasy.* For a third sign of our Lord's Second Advent will be the appearance and temporary triumph of the great personal foe in whom all the opposition that has been offered to Christ and His kingdom will reach its climax. After what has been said elsewhere [ANTICHRIST] on the personality and leading characteristics of Antichrist, it is only necessary here to speak of that result of his success of which our Lord speaks, when He says, "Many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold" [Matt. xxiv. 11, 12]; and of which St. Paul also writes, that the Second Advent of Christ will not occur until "there come an apostasy first" [2 Thess. ii. 3].

The great object of Antichrist will be to set himself up as the object of men's worship instead of Christ: the great means by which the seduction of his worshippers is accomplished will be the supernatural power which he will be able to oppose to the supernatural power of Christ. His coming [παρουσία], says St. Paul, "is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders."[1] So our Lord had spoken of the false Christs who should shew great "signs and wonders." And as the Apostle declared that this supernatural power would be accompanied by "all deceivableness," so Christ had said, "insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." These are not words that infer, as some have supposed, extreme developments of mechanical and philosophical science, the results of which are so marvellous already that we sometimes almost lose sight of the fact that they arise from the discovery and the application of natural laws and forces. However marvellous these may be, and however miraculous they may falsely appear to the ignorant, they are brought about through the action of intellect and the powers of research; through the ordinary action, that is, of gifts bestowed on men by God, and not by any extraordinary power of working miracles. On the other hand, the "all power" (κατ' ενέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει) with which Antichrist is said by St. Paul to come, carries us back to the recollection of the words spoken to our

[1] The words here used by St. Paul are those which are used in the Gospels for the "working," the "power," the "signs and wonders," of Christ.

Lord by Satan at the Temptation; when, shewing to Christ all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, he added, "All this power [ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν] will I give Thee, and the glory of them; for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it" [Luke iv. 4]. It thus seems that the supernatural power of working miracles will be accompanied by an universal authority or kingdom, won, perhaps, by means of them. Thus the opposition of Antichrist to Christ will consist in setting up a person instead of Him as the object of worship, in working miracles such as characterized Christ's First Advent, and in establishing an universal empire in the place of the Church.

The elements of seduction contained in such a power are sufficiently evident, and perhaps they will possess all the greater strength in proportion to the high developments of a civilization uninfluenced by love of God. Men will be attracted to become followers of Antichrist first by his accumulation of universal empire, reverencing in its extremest development [Rev. xiii. 4] that success which is said to be the most successful of all things. They will be attracted also by his supernatural power, the visible exercise of which subdues at once, and the merest shadow of which in the form of "spirit-rapping" has seduced multitudes in the present day in America and elsewhere. After the chains of such seductions have bound the minds and affections of mankind, they will easily be prevailed upon to take the last step in apostasy, "Fall down and worship me." Such, it seems, will be the course of the great apostasy, the last stage in the preparation for Christ's Second Advent.

II. The Manner of Christ's Coming. Such preceding "signs" as those thus indicated will prepare the few faithful who remain alive after the troubles and persecutions of those days for the immediate Advent of their Lord. Yet it is clear that His approach will be with a certain amount of unexpectedness [Mal. iii. 1], as was the case with His First Advent. The work of the world will be going on as usual; "as in the days that were before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall the coming of the Son of Man be" [Matt. xxiv. 37]. Yet this unpreparedness will be the result of sin and unbelief as it was in the case of the antediluvians. The exact time, indeed, can be known to none beforehand [Matt. xxiv. 36], yet the preceding signs will be such a witness to the world as the building of the Ark was, accompanied like it, probably, by the warning voice of a "preacher of righteousness" like Noah, the "two witnesses" of the Apocalypse to whom reference has already been made.

When, however, all such signs of the Lord's coming have run their course, the physical convulsions, the social disorganization, the wars, the wonders of Antichrist, the great falling away of Christians from Christ; there will then be a token of the approaching Presence which will be such as to convince unbelievers as well as believers. For the great tribulation and apostasy will end, our Lord declares, in a preternatural darkness and agitation of the heavens which will extend over the whole world, as the terrors of Sinai extended over the plain on which the Israelitish nation was gathered to await the Presence of Jehovah. "Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven." What is the means by which this will be brought about can only be known in its fulfilment, but our Lord's words point to unprecedented and universal phenomena of a nature similar to those which, on a small scale, attend earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, and which we also know to have attended the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum a few years after His Ascension. Those words are: "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken" [Matt. xxiv. 29]. In the midst of which preternatural darkness there will burst forth in the sight of all that celestial Labarum which will herald the immediate approach of Christ. "Then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory" [Matt. xxiv. 30]. All will then see Christ's cross stretched forth in the midst of the darkness as the bright standard of the King of kings, and will at once know that it is set up as the token of His coming to reign in judgment.

There seems to be no room for doubt that the Person of Christ will then be made visible to all men. "All the tribes of the earth . . . shall see the Son of Man coming." "Behold He cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and they also that pierced Him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him" [Rev. i. 7]. This may be effected by some vast gathering of nations to one district of the world (perhaps by the instrumentality of the previous depopulation and the universal reign of Antichrist), so that all can look simultaneously on their Lord in the air. Or it may be by some quick traversing of the whole world by Him Who has thus descended from heaven, so that the Person which was seen by a few only at His first coming may at His second be seen by all. "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven . . . before Him shall be gathered all nations" [Matt. xxv. 31].

These characteristics of Christ's Second Advent are strikingly illustrated by several of His parables, such as that of the Ten Virgins, and that of the man travelling into a far country after a long time to return and reckon with his servants for the use of the talents bestowed on them. But there is no more comprehensive illustration of the manner in which He will appear at that day than in His own words, "For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be" [Matt. xxiv. 27]. By this image is

pictured the splendour of that SHECHINAH of which St. Paul says "That wicked" shall be destroyed by the brightness of His coming. The light of the Son of God and the Son of Man coming forth from the light of the Father, coming suddenly, swiftly, irresistibly, an untold intensification of such a marvellous illumination as accompanies the flash of a summer storm. But though swift and sudden as lightning in its approach, the glory of the Second Advent will doubtless be present for some considerable time to the eyes of men, and not pass away like lightning, in an instant,—The "Word, quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword,"[1] going forth conquering and to conquer, and to take His kingdom to Himself.

It appears that this progress of the King of kings in His Second Advent will follow in that westward track which has marked the spread of all secular empire, and the extension of the Church. From the time when the children of Noah journeyed from the east and found a plain in the land of Shinar [Gen. xi. 2] to the last great emigration of the world's history, in which Europe sends its surplus populations to find a home beyond the Atlantic, the tendency of the world has ever been to thicken its populations in a westward direction. In the same direction has been the flux of empire, that of the Median, Assyrian, and Persian races, being succeeded by that of the Greek nations, the latter by Rome, and Rome by Western Europe, and Western Europe by the English race in America.[2] The kingdom of Christ has also travelled hitherto, generally speaking, in the same course. From the days when St. Peter set forth from Joppa, and St. Paul from Cæsarea, and when St. John left Jerusalem for Ephesus, until the comparatively recent days when the Church planted her feet firmly in the "new world," the greatest and the most enduring part of her mission work has followed the course of the sun.

It seems likely, therefore, that there is a literal meaning even in our Lord's words that the coming of the Son of Man shall be as the lightning coming from the east and shining even unto the west: and that this will be the direction in which the Sun of Righteousness, coming forth from His heavenly chamber, will "rejoice as a giant" to run His triumphant course.[3] It is an ancient opinion, founded on Zech. xiv. 4, that our Lord will first appear on earth in the place from which He ascended to heaven. We may, at least, believe that He will first appear as Judge in the same part of the world in which He appeared as Redeemer. Further, that going thence with a swift course of irresistible light and power He will follow up and destroy the universal empire of Antichrist, and bring all the world face to face with Himself. Thus in a new sense would be fulfilled the prophecy of Ezekiel, "And behold the glory of the Lord came from the way of the east, and His voice was like a noise of many waters, and the earth shined with His glory" [Ezek. xliii. 2].

III. THE PURPOSE OF CHRIST'S SECOND ADVENT. We cannot fail to see that when our Lord thus returns to earth He will be surrounded by an army of saints and angels, and will display a glorious Majesty such as has never before been seen on earth. The work of His Incarnation began in retirement, humiliation, and sorrow; it will be perfected in the midst of a triumphant display of power and Divine Royalty: it began as a kingdom which came not "with observation;" it will be perfected as a kingdom which proclaims its irresistible supremacy in the sight of all creation.

Among the great works to be associated with this Supremacy of Christ at His second coming are the general Resurrection and the Last Judgment: as to both of which Holy Scripture gives out a note of no uncertain sound, though it leaves as an unrevealed mystery any detail of information as to the mode in which they are to be accomplished.

[1.] The general Resurrection is so set forth that every one may say with perfect confidence respecting any person who has died or will die, as Martha said of Lazarus, "I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day" [John xi. 24]. Even in the dim light of prophetic times there was the vision of a vast valley full of dry bones, among which as the word of the Lord went forth upon them "there was a noise, and, behold, a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone," and they were clothed upon with sinew and flesh and skin, and the animating breath of God came from the four winds, and they lived and stood upon their feet an exceeding great army [Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10]. But when the Lord Himself arose from the dead the dim vision became an illuminated fact. His words had been fulfilled, "I am the Resurrection and the Life," and henceforth the resurrection of the body became an essential part of Christian doctrine. He drew aside for a moment the veil of the future, and the seer describes what he saw at the last in the words, "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God . . . and the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and the grave delivered up the dead which were in them" [Rev. xx. 12, 13]. If we ask "how are the dead raised?" all the answer we can get is that they are so by the supreme power of Him Who created them, and that the Resurrection Body cannot be a more difficult work of creation than the natural body. [BODY, SPIRITUAL. NEW CREATION. RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.] But

[1] In association with the "Sign of the Son of Man," and the Coming "as lightning," it is observable that lightning has frequently been known to leave the mark of the Cross upon the persons and garments of those whom it has struck. Bishop Warburton gives some indubitable instances of this from the testimony of Isaac Casaubon, Bishop Andrewes, and others. [See Warburton's *Julian*, p. 119].

[2] It is striking also to observe that the decadence of the Roman Empire began when the seat of it was removed *eastward* from Rome to Constantinople, as if this was a rebellion against a fixed law.

[3] Since electric currents all, of necessity, pass from east to west, it is not unlikely that the course of lightning is subject to some law of the kind.

as to the fact of a general Resurrection it is especially associated by our Lord with His own Presence, "The hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation" [John v. 28, 29]. Death seems never to have been able to hold his own in the presence of "The Life" during His First Advent, even in His state of humiliation. At His second, His Presence in glory will carry with it the universal power which accompanied the individual "Come forth" uttered to Lazarus, and the burial antiphon of the Eastern Church will find its fullest meaning, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." That fulness of the earth which has gone on gathering as in a treasury for two hundred generations: they that have dwelt in the dust of the earth from the time of the first man who returned thither to that of the last who shall be the victim of death will then be poured forth, "some" to arise "to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" [Dan. xii. 2].

[2.] For contemporary with the supreme miracle of the general Resurrection will be the supreme work of the universal last judgment. Whatever has been going on with the souls of men between death and resurrection [INTERMEDIATE STATE. PURGATORY], the great assize of the last day will bring a final sentence for good or for evil to every human soul and every human body that has ever existed. Hence our Lord's words just quoted from St. John's Gospel are supplemented by those of St. Paul, "We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad" [2 Cor. v. 10].

The manner in which the Last Judgment will be effected is described chiefly in parable. Once our Lord speaks of it as a field in which the tares and the wheat which have grown up together are reaped and separated by the angels, the one to go into God's garner, the others into the fire which burns up useless weeds. Another time it is a king's marriage supper, from which the representative guest without a wedding-garment is bound hand and foot and cast out of the chamber of light and joy into the place of outer darkness. Again it is as ten virgins of whom five having their lights burning are admitted to the king's marriage chamber, while the five whose lamps have gone out are rejected. Or it is the adjudication of reward and punishment to those who have had the talents given to them for use and increase: or the flock of sheep and goats, where the one are set on the right hand, the others on the left. But in the Apocalyptic Vision prophetic language represents the reality in a way that shews how substantially literal even the language of parable is: "I saw a great white throne, and Him that sat on it, from Whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God: and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. . . . And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire" [Rev. xx. 11-15]. Such language does not necessarily imply that there will be any protracted formality of individual trial by evidence. Our Lord's words in the parable, "out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant," and His other saying, "By thy words shalt thou be justified, and by thy words shalt thou be condemned," seem to point to an immediate self-conviction extending its bitter scrutiny to every moment of life, and if pleading excuses, "Lord when saw we Thee an hungred or athirst," or "Have we not preached in Thy Name, and in Thy Name cast out devils," pleading them against that self-conviction, with a vain hope of extenuation, but with a real sentence of condemnation already gone forth from the conscience.

There is still one great truth respecting which a few words must be said. The Son of God will come in His Second Advent with power and great glory, preceded by fearful signs, setting up the banner of judgment, surrounded by myriads of angels, only one of whom fully revealed to human sight would cause even a brave man to tremble. He will come with full authority to judge and power to punish, so that a word of His can decide the everlasting fate of all who will be gathered before His throne. But picture to ourselves as we will all the terrors of that awful Advent, and yet the great truth underlies them all, that He will come in His human nature, and that the banner of judgment will be that of the Cross of Mercy. They, therefore, who see the Throne of His Majesty, and the glory of the Omniscient Judge, will yet look upon the face of the Son of Man and the sign of His redeeming and saving work: upon Him Who even when He goes forth to subdue all things to Himself, and to judge the world, will go forth clad in garments which are dyed in the blood of His Passion.

SECULARIZATION. The application to secular or profane purposes of things originally devoted to religious uses. It is frequently used with a less general meaning to denote a *lawful* and authorized, as opposed to an *unlawful* or sacrilegious, application of sacred things to secular uses. [CONSECRATION. SACRILEGE.]

SEMI-ARIANISM. Semi-Arianism was a modification or rather a series of modifications of the Arian system. The Semi-Arian party had not one uniform definition of faith, but differed from each other on many important points: the only real bond of agreement was their opposition to the term which unequivocally expressed Catholic doctrine [HOMOOUSION]. It must be borne in mind in reading the Creeds which will presently be given, that the "pure" or genuine Arians believed that Christ was of a different substance from that of the Father [ANOMŒANS]—the Semi-Arians that

He was of a substance like that of the Father [Homoiousians], or in a less definite phrase, that He was like the Father [Homœans]; the last theory allowing an explanation in accordance with the Nicene symbol, as it *might* mean that Christ was like the Father in all things.

But there was not only little union as regards their theory amongst the Semi-Arian party, it was also composed of men of widely different principles and character. Though some merely sought to veil under vague and ambiguous terms their heretical belief, there were many others, holding substantially Catholic doctrine, who disliked the Nicene symbol [Homoousian], not only as *apparently* identical with Sabellianism, and as having (in their opinion) been already condemned by the Council of Antioch, but as being destitute of scriptural sanction or authority. Some of the Semi-Arian party have even been revered as saints and confessors, and St. Athanasius does not hesitate to speak of them as brothers really holding the true faith, though, for one reason or another, stumbling at the Nicene definition.[1]

The various creeds put forth by the party shew the subtle ingenuity with which a distinct expression of the Catholic doctrine was evaded, especially by the use of vague terms admitting a double meaning, and which might be understood either in an orthodox or heretical sense. The Epistle which Arius and his first disciples wrote to Bishop Alexander has already been given [Arianism]. Arius and Euzoius, when recalled from banishment, presented a confession to the Emperor Constantine, expressed in vague and ambiguous language (mostly in terms of Scripture), and only betraying by a single letter their own heretical doctrine.[2] Another confession was made in the Council of Constantinople against Marcellus [A.D. 336], which is not extant. Then followed two important confessions of the Council of Antioch, called the Council of the Dedication [A.D. 341]. This was assembled by the Eusebian party "not, as Socrates says, as if to condemn anything that had been set forth at Nice, but in fact with a determination to subvert the doctrine of 'consubstantiality,' by means of frequent councils and the publication of various expositions of faith, so as gradually to establish Arianism." The bishops assembled, after saying that they are not followers of Arius, though they admit the soundness of his opinions, state that they believe "in one God . . . and in one only begotten Son of God, subsisting before all ages, and co-existing with the Father that begat Him (*συνόντα τῷ γεγεννηκότι αὐτόν Πατρί*)—by Whom also all things visible and invisible were made; Who in the last days, according to the Father's good pleasure, descended and assumed flesh from the Holy Virgin, and having fully accomplished His Father's will, suffered, was raised, ascended into the heavens and sits at the right hand of the Father, and is coming to judge the living and the dead, and continues King and God for ever." In another Exposition put forth by the same council, a nearer approach is made to the Catholic faith. We believe "in one God the Father Almighty . . . and in one Lord Jesus Christ His Son, God the only begotten, by Whom all things were made: begotten of the Father before all ages, God of God, Whole of Whole, Only of Only, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord; the living Word, the Wisdom, the Life, the true Light, the Way of truth, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate; immutable and inconvertible (*ἄτρεπτον τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον*); the unalterable Image (*ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα*) of the Divinity, Substance, Power, Counsel and Glory of the Father; the First-born of all creation (*τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως*); Who was in the beginning with God, God the Word, according as it is declared in the Gospel [John i. 1], and the Word was God by Whom all things were made, and in Whom all things have subsisted." After professing a belief in the Holy Spirit and referring to Christ's command to His Apostles to teach all nations, "baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost"—the Exposition goes on, "that is, of the Father Who is truly the Father, of the Son Who is truly the Son, of the Holy Spirit Who is truly the Holy Spirit; these epithets not being simply and unmeaningly (*οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶν*) applied, but accurately expressing the proper person (*ὑπόστασίν*), glory, and order of those who are named, so that they are Three in Person, but One in mutual agreement (*τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία· τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν*). Holding therefore this faith in the presence of God and of Christ, we anathematize all heretical and false doctrine. And if any one shall teach contrary to the right and sound faith of the Scriptures, affirming that there is or was a period or an age, before (*ἢ καιρὸν ἢ αἰῶνα εἶναι ἢ γεγονέναι πρὸ . . .*) the Son of God existed, let him be accursed. Or if any one shall say that the Son is a creation as one of the creatures, or that He is a branch or offspring (*γέννημα*), as one of the branches, and shall not hold each of the aforesaid doctrines as the Divine Scriptures have delivered them to us; or if any one shall teach or preach any other doctrine contrary to that which we have received, let him be accursed. For we truly believe and follow all things handed down to us from the sacred Scriptures by the prophets and apostles."[3]

Another Confession made a few months afterwards, also drawn up by the Eusebian party, was sent into France, to the Emperor Constans by Narcissus, Maris, Theodorus of Heraclea, and Mark of Arethusa in Syria. They profess to believe in "one God . . . and in His only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, begotten of the Father before all ages, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things in the heavens and upon the earth, both visible and invisible, were made . . . the Catholic Church accounts as aliens

[1] Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century* (the Semi-Arians), 1854.

[2] They say "we believe in one God the Father Almighty, and in the Lord Jesus Christ His Son, Who was 'made' of Him before all ages" (*γεγενημένον*, not *γεγεννημένον*, *begotten*). [Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. i. c. 26.]

[3] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. x.

those who assert that the Son was made of things which are not, or of another substance and not of God, or that there was ever a time when He did not exist."[1] This creed, as Tillemont says, "contains in it nothing but what is true, but does not sufficiently guard against the poison of Arianism, having no expression in it opposing that heresy."

After three years the Eastern bishops again assembled a synod at Antioch [A.D. 345], and composed another form of faith, sending it in proof of their orthodoxy into Italy by Eudoxius and others. This creed was called Macrostiche, or the Long Exposition. After repeating almost verbally the creed already given, it is added, "The holy and Catholic Church likewise anathematizes those also who say there are three Gods, or that Christ is not God before all ages . . . or that the Son was not begotten or that the Father begat not the Son by His own voluntary will. Neither is it safe to affirm that the Son had His existence from things that were not, since this is nowhere declared concerning Him in the divinely inspired Scriptures. Nor are we taught that He had His being from any other pre-existing substance besides the Father, but that He was truly begotten of God alone; for the Divine Word teaches that there is one unbegotten principle without beginning, the Father of Christ. But those who, unathorized by Scripture, rashly assert that there was a time when He was not, ought not to preconceive any antecedent interval of time, but God only Who without time begat Him: for both times and ages were made by Him. Yet it must not be thought that the Son is co-inoriginate, or co-unbegotten with the Father; for this could not be predicated when such a relationship exists. But we know that the Father alone being inoriginate and incomprehensible, has ineffably and incomprehensibly to all begotten, and that the Son was begotten before the ages, not being unbegotten like the Father, but has a beginning, viz. the Father Who begat Him, for the Head of Christ is God" [1 Cor. xi. 3]. After saying that Christ is "by nature (κατὰ φύσιν) true and perfect God," various heresies are condemned, as of Paul of Samosata and Photinus.[2]

The Emperors Constantius and Constans, desiring to restore peace to the Church, called a synod of the bishops of the Eastern and Western Church—Sardica [A.D. 347]. The Eastern (Arian) bishops refused to be present at the council, unless St. Athanasius and others were excluded from ecclesiastical communion. The Western bishops refusing to accept this condition, the Eastern bishops withdrew and assembled at Philippopolis. In their Confession of Faith, they profess to believe "in the Son of God begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Who created all things," and they condemn those who say that "the Son was made of nothing, or that He was of another substance than the Divine Substance, and that He was not of God, or that there was a time when He was not the Son of God."[3]

[1] Socr. *Eccl. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 18. [2] *Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 19.
[3] See Dupin, *Ecclesiastical Writers*, vol. ii.

In the second Council of Sirmium[4] [A.D. 351], the heresy of Photinus was condemned, and three formularies of faith put forth—the first in Greek and the other two in Latin. In the former, in Greek, they who maintain that the Son had no beginning, or that He proceeded from an expansion of the substance of the Father, or that He is united to the Father without being subject to Him, are excommunicated. By the first of the Latin formularies, it is forbidden to say of the substance of the Godhead that the Son is either consubstantial, or of like substance with the Father, since such expressions do not occur in Scripture and are beyond man's understanding. It is asserted that the Father must be recognised as superior to the Son in honour, in dignity, and in divinity, and in His relationship as Father; and that the Son, like all created beings, is subject to the Father; that the Father had no beginning, and that the generation of the Son is unknown to all save the Father. In the second, the term "substance," is forbidden in reference to the Godhead, since "it is nowhere said in Holy Scripture that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are of the same substance. But we say in conformity with Holy Scripture that the Son is like unto the Father."[5]

In the third Council of Sirmium [A.D. 357], in which were present Potamius, Bishop of Lisbon, Valens, Ursacius, and Germinus, and other bishops, another creed was made, in which the word "consubstantial" was rejected, and it is asserted that the Father is greater than the Son, and that the Son had a beginning.[6]

By the Council of Ancyra [A.D. 358], where only a few Eastern bishops were present, the doctrine of "consubstantiality" was condemned, and likeness of substance asserted.[7]

As regards the councils hitherto given, the bishops assembled were generally of the Eastern Church, holding Semi-Arian opinions; in the next council, at Rimini in Italy [Ariminum, A.D. 359], the bishops were chiefly of the Western Church, and held the Nicene faith. Ursacius and Valens, of the Eastern Church (Arians), proposed that the definitions of the Council of Sirmium should be received, but the Western bishops would only acknowledge the Council of Nice or the Homoousian. They sent a message to the Emperor Constantine declaring their adherence to the Nicene symbol. On the other hand, the Arian party sent deputies, and prejudiced the Emperor in their favour. They afterwards assembled at Nicæ, a city of Thrace, and declared the definition of faith by the Western bishops at Ariminum null and void. They set forth a confession like that of Sirmium, wherein they declare that the Son is like the Father in all things, and reject the words consubstantial or hypostasis. The Emperor would not allow the bishops assembled at Rimini to leave the council till they had signed this confession, to which, unhappily, they assented, professing their agreement with the Eastern bishops and rejecting the

[4] The first council held [A.D. 349] was occupied with the heresy of Photinus.
[5] Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. iv. c. 6.
[6] Dupin, *Eccl. Writers*, vol. ii. [7] *Ibid.* vol. ii.

Homoousian.[1] Thus, as Dupin says, "the beginning of the council was glorious and the end deplorable." This is the council of which St. Jerome says, "the whole world groaned and wondered that it had become Arian (ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est). The Western bishops did not intend to give up the faith of the Nicene Council, but they rejected the definition of Homoousian, which, as experience had proved, was absolutely necessary for its preservation, either through fear of the Emperor, who had threatened some of them, if disobedient, with banishment, or from a wish to return to their Churches.

Shortly after the Council of Ariminum, the Eastern bishops assembled at Seleucia [A.D. 359]. There came to this synod one hundred and sixty bishops of two different parties. One of them was purely Arian, and maintained that the Son of God was not at all like in substance to His Father. There were about forty of this party. The others, called Semi-Arians, made profession of believing the Son of God to be "like in substance," and rejected the errors of Arius and Aëtius. Of this party there were one hundred and five. The other bishops were probably Catholics, defenders of the consubstantiality. The Semi-Arian party present confirmed the Council of Antioch and signed it. The Acacian or Arian party composed a new confession of faith, in which the words "substance," "likeness of substance," and a "different substance" are equally condemned.[2]

Another synod was held at Antioch [A.D. 361], but its confession of faith is not extant. Also at Lampsacus [A.D. 365], in which Christ was declared to be like the Father.

The Semi-Arian party finding that the influence of Eudoxius (Arian) was all powerful with the Emperor Valens, resolved to put themselves under the protection of Valentinian, the orthodox Emperor of the West. To shew their union with the Western Church, they declared their agreement with the Nicene "Homoousian;" fifty-nine Semi-Arian bishops on this occasion gave their assent to the orthodox symbol [A.D. 366]. It was proposed to hold a council at Tarsus, to promote a general reconciliation and union, but the Emperor Valens interfering, a cruel persecution of the orthodox followed [A.D. 371], which lasted for several years.

"As to Semi-Arianism," says Dr. Newman, "it disappears from ecclesiastical history from the date of the Council of Tarsus; from which time the portion of the party which remained Nonconformist, is more properly designated Macedonian or Pneumatomachist, from the chief article of their heresy." [Newman's *Arians*, p. 218.]

SEMI-PELAGIANISM. This term marks the state of religious opinion that replaced Pelagianism in about the fourteenth year of its existence. It is a name, however, which the party designated by it never assumed, for they professed that they held no distinctive point of Pelagian error; neither was it fixed upon them by the Augustinian following in the Church, who termed them roundly Pelagians, notwithstanding their renunciation of the more extreme views of their master. It was an invention of the later Schoolmen to mark a middle line of opinion between the hardy denial of grace on the Pelagian side, and the predestinarian theory of Augustine on the other, including the notion of irresistible grace, which he himself claimed to have been his own invention. "Nondum diligentius quæsiveram, nec adhuc inveneram qualis sit Electio Gratiæ." [*De Præd. et Persev.* i. 3.]

In the year A.D. 426, certain monks of Adrumetum, a free town in Byzacene Africa, having read Augustine's letter to Sixtus [Ep. 194], a presbyter and afterwards Bishop, of Rome, were struck with the novelty of the doctrine expressed, as well as alarmed at its tendency; speaking as it did of the predestination to life eternal of some, and of the final reprobation of others. The whole doctrine of grace, as laid down by Augustine, was of individual application. The taint of original sin affected each soul and body of man; each then had need of the same personal redemption by divine grace. And so far the doctrine of Augustine applied correctly, because scripturally, to individuals: his teaching was strictly according to the analogy of faith. But when he proceeded to further speculations on the purpose and will of God, as disposing of man everlastingly, either in the way of happiness or misery, by an arbitrary decree; and applied to individuals those statements of Scripture which, being of an universal character, are used with respect to the whole Body of Christ, the Church, and cannot be affirmed of individuals without hazarding statements that are not warranted by Scripture, from that moment there came a sure point of divergency. For, in truth, the predestination of individuals is nowhere spoken of in Scripture; otherwise than as of representative characters of entire classes, such as Jacob and Pharaoh. The redemption of the race of Adam having been predestined from all eternity, it was revealed to him as soon as redemption was needed. And when the Redeemer came forth from his seed, He was the Head of the Body, the Church of living souls in Him predestined to glory. All that the people of God therefore are justified in saying is, that they are of that Body which is predestined to glory, and that they hope to be inheritors of that glory if they continue to be living members of the Body; they in Christ and Christ in them; but of his own predestination to glory, or of the predestination of any other mortal man, no one can speak with certainty, and therefore none without presumption. The monks of Adrumetum then were astounded at the doctrine grown up within their memory. The moral effects of it, as they held, could not fail to be disastrous. Even in those of higher spiritual life, who could discern, by a conscience in harmony with the will of God, the daily working of divine grace, and were aware of the continuous develop-

[1] Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. ii. c. 37.
[2] Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.* lib. iv. c. 22; Dupin, vol. ii.; Tillemont's *Arians*.

ment of the life of God within the soul, it would work harm by engendering spiritual pride; but others who, in the turmoil of life, were conscious of yielding to any of the temptations and allurements of sin that abound in the world, such a doctrine could scarcely fail to drive into great "wretchlessness of living." If, as they argued, man without divine grace is powerless for good, to what purpose are any endeavours that he may make; and how is it consistent with divine justice to punish those to whom He has not vouchsafed that grace. To strive against sin is useless without that aid; prayer and not action therefore is man's only resource. To strictures of this kind Augustine answered by putting forth his two works, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, and *De correptione et gratia;* but they were little calculated to quiet the apprehensions of those who had misgivings with respect to the genuineness and practical working of such doctrines; they rather increased those misgivings. Since, therefore, there was a strong suspicion of novelty attaching to these extreme views, since also a positive shock to the Catholic faith had come from the side of the Pelagians, it was only natural that some "via media" should be essayed by moderate men, and an endeavour made to harmonize these conflicting systems of theology. The task was attempted by John Cassian, a monk of Scythian extraction, according to Gennadius [*De Vir. Illustr.* 61], or more probably Gothic, and ordained at Constantinople by Chrysostom, under whom he had ministered in the diaconate [Cass. *De Inc.* vii. 31]. After travelling in the Levant, and passing some time among the monks of Egypt, he had settled down at Marseilles, where he gathered around him a considerable body of monks; and established a double monastery for either sex, over which he presided. His works have always been useful. They are, *Institutiones cœnobiorum*, referring to Eastern and Egyptian monastic life; *Collationes*, or conversations held by him with the monks of Sceta in Egypt; and a refutation of Nestorianism. There is no reason to believe with Baronius [A.D. 433, sec. 42] that these works have either been mutilated or interpolated by friend or foe. The two first are the fountain-head of opinions known as Semi-Pelagian. Prosper has expressed their general drift with great exactness when he says, "You imagine that you have taken every precaution against the false statements of the Pelagians. . . . Yet you are neither wholly agreed with heretics nor with catholic Christians, . . . you have devised some shapeless 'tertium quid,' some condition of your own, whereby you neither make peace with our enemies nor remain loyal to us" [c. 2].

The practical teaching of the school of Antioch, to be traced in every page of Chrysostom's *Commentaries* and *Homilies*, had impressed itself also on the mind of his scholars. Cassian was well versed in Greek theology, had a thorough appreciation of the better points of monasticism, and to an earnest piety added a considerable amount of shrewdness and common sense. He appears to have had no ambition to place himself at the head of a party, but simply to have given a direction to the religious training and moral discipline of his monks. Thus in his *Institutes* [v. 33] he charges his monks to mind the cleansing of the heart within, rather than busy themselves with doctrinal speculations and endless discussions. Sin had caused all the perplexed theology that had set the world in flames, and had thrown a shade across the light of divine revelation. With regard to discussions upon divine grace, let the monk take to himself the simple faith of the Apostolic fishermen in an earnest and pure heart, for so alone could he attain a godly perception of the truth. "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God" [John vii. 17]. Cassian acknowledged the universal deterioration of human nature by the Fall; and on other points held very much the Eastern view with regard to the reaction of the flesh against the spirit, a weakened will, and the necessity for man's justification through the grace of Christ. But he assigned also an unlimited scope to the divine goodness and love, that willeth the salvation of all and bends everything to that end, as the final cause of even a sinner's punishment. The warfare between the flesh and the spirit began at the Fall, but it is no unmitigated evil, for it is man's discipline; it teaches him to know himself, and helps to drive forth from his heart presumption on the one hand, and indolence on the other [*cf.* Schiller's *Phil. Br.*]. Man, he said, has cause to thank God not only for the freedom of will with which he is endowed; but also for daily acts of goodness in delivering him from evil, and in working together with him, so as to give him the mastery of his passions, shield him from harm, preserve him from sin, and quicken the intellect to understand the law that He has given us as our aid. Thus he and Pelagius regarded the law from a very different point of view,—Pelagius having made it throughout man's principal "adjutorium," to the supercession of divine grace. Elsewhere he expressly condemns the main position of Pelagius. "Let no one imagine," he says, "that by this we give support to the profane notion of some, who assert that the sum of salvation is in our own power; and, by ascribing everything to free-will, make the grace of God to be dispensed according to each man's merit" [*Coll.* xiii. 16]. "We have reason," he said, "to thank God for our chastisement for sin, and for drawing our free-will, so stubborn in its nature and prone to evil, in any degree to the path of virtue" [*Inst.* vii. 18]. He entirely ignores irresistible grace and absolute decrees of divine predestination, though his doctrine with respect to preventing grace agrees generally with that of Augustine. "It is neither of him that willeth nor of him that runneth," he said, divine grace must not only co-operate with man, but even anticipate his efforts, as "initia sanctæ voluntatis" [*Collat.* iv. 4; xiii. 3]. In his celebrated 13th Collation, he speaks more at large on the mutual relation between grace and the will of man. He there says, "It is impossible to affirm which has the precedence: and the attempt to

define this point has been a copious source of error. Thus he is not always consistent with himself; as it is not sufficient for the sick man to wish to be healed, so a man's good will," he says, "is not sufficient, unless God's grace gives strength to perform" [*Coll.* xiii. 9]. In fact, he can neither agree with those who make the gift of grace dependent upon human merit, nor with others who deny that man has any power in himself to originate good in his own heart; and while he acknowledges in some cases the operation of preventing grace, he more usually claims for human will its own initiation of good. "Human nature, though fallen, had still much good in it. Adam by transgression gained a knowledge of evil, that he had not before, but he lost not his knowledge of good that he had. . . . We must beware how we so ascribe all human good to God, as to leave nothing but unmixed evil in human nature. . . . There is no doubt but that the seeds of virtue have been sown by God's goodness in the souls of all, but unless God gives vitality to this germ, it can bring no fruit to perfection" [*Coll.* xiii. 12]. These opinions formed a nucleus around which much floating suspicion of Augustine's more advanced doctrines speedily gathered; a general dislike for the theory of irresistible grace and divine predestination being the principal bond of union. But no separation from the Church was thereby caused. The people in general had nothing to do with abstruse questions that affected learned men alone. The party thus forming asserted man's partial, not thorough depravation by the Fall; and held that a man's own free-will should be his preparative for the reception of divine grace. Like Hilary of Poitiers, they declared "Nostrum est velle, Dei perficere." [Pelagianism. Hilary.] They set aside the doctrinal development of those later days, and recurred to Scripture, as they professed, and to the earlier teaching of the Church. Such was the reaction of an essentially Greek theology against the sway of Augustinian opinion in the West.

Staunch partisans, however, were found, who branded this Gallican party with the name of Pelagians. The master-spirit among them was Prosper of Aquitania, whom the Gothic invasion had driven from his home, and compelled to take refuge at Marseilles. He and his friend Hilarius (not of Arles) sent each a letter to Augustine, asking him to clear up any ambiguities in his exposition, and to refute the errors that they indicated. He answered by putting forth his two books, *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, and *De Bono Perseverantiæ*. With his usual candour, also, he pointed out in what respect those who impugned his doctrines were not to be charged with Pelagian error. These were among the last works of Augustine, whose death followed, A.D. 430. Prosper then appears to have considered it as a holy duty to uphold the opinions of Augustine against all comers. He repaired to Rome with Hilarius, and obtained from Celestine a letter to the Gallican bishops who had adopted Cassian's views; dealing, however, more in general censure than in directions upon the true points of controversy; upholding the necessity for grace, of which both parties were fully persuaded, but disposing of the real "crux" in the matter, the doctrines of irresistible grace and predestination, in the words "Profundiores vero difficilioresque partes incurrentium quæstionum, quas latius pertractarunt qui hæreticis restiterunt, sicut non audemus contemnere, ita non necesse habemus adstruere" [Mansi, iv. 454]. The sentence may possibly allude to the *Auctoritates de gratia Dei*, or short extracts from preceding bishops of Rome and African councils on the subject of divine grace, which are found annexed to Celestine's letter in the more ancient editions, affirming the doctrine of Augustine, but reserving that of predestination. On the other side, certain great names, chiefly of the monastic order, were arrayed. The Commonitorium of Vincent of Lerins was principally directed against the doctrinal development of Augustine, as being unsupported by the Catholic tradition of the Church [Voss, *Hist. Pelag.* i. 10; Noris, ii. 11; Jansen, *Hær. Pel.* 17; Rivet. *Crit. Sacr.* iv. 24; Neander, *K. Gesch.*]. In a fragment preserved of his second part, he retorts the words of Celestine, without indicating their source, but evidently having in his mind the author of the book *De Prædest. Sanctor.*; "Desinat incessere novitas vetustatem." When, therefore, Prosper made answer on behalf of Augustinian doctrine, against certain "capitula objectionum" of one Vincentius, the writer seems to have been no other than the Abbot of Lerins. Prosper next assailed the monastic party in a Latin poem, *De Ingratis*, and fixed upon them the stigma of Pelagianism. Afterwards he composed his principal work, *Pro Augustino contra Collatorem; i.e.* against the thirteenth Collatio of Cassian, in which he softens down in some degree the harshness, but gives up nothing of the principle, of the Augustinian theory. Another work, written in the same spirit, entitled *De Vocatione Gentium*, is found among the works of Leo [ed. Quesnel], and attributed variously to him, to Prosper, and to Hilarius, in which the author draws a distinction between "Gratia generalis," or the revelation of God in creation, in nature, and in history, which but for man's sin would have been all-sufficient, and "Gratia specialis," accorded to those who shall be saved. This grace does no violence to the human will, which is, in fact, its instrumental agent; but it raises the will from its lowest level as a sensual will, and from its intermediate condition as a natural will, to the dignity and efficacy of a will reclaimed by divine grace, or a spiritual will. But it is grace which prepares the will of the recipient to receive yet further measures of God's gift. The action of God's grace in this sense is a "specialis universitas," God having called to Himself by a special act the objects of His grace from every nation and in every period of the world.

These attempts to exhibit the theory of the great Doctor of the Western Church in a milder light were thwarted by others who upheld the

rigid notion of predestination, and pushed it to consequences against which Augustine himself was anxious to guard. This caused the Gallican party to fix upon them the name of Predestinatiani, though there never was such a heresy as the "Predestinarian." In fact, this class of opinion only swerved as far in the extreme assertion of Augustinianism as the Semi-Pelagian fell short of it in mildness and moderation. As all stratagems are allowed in war, so, in the opinion of some, theological error may be combated by indirect as well as direct modes of attack. This seems to have been the idea of the writer of a short work first published by the Jesuit Sirmond [Par. 1643; Galland, *B. P.* x.], entitled "Prædestinatus, sive Prædestinatorum hæresis et libri S. Augustino temere adscripti refutatio." It first gives the usual heresiological list, which closes with these Predestinati; the penultimate heresy being that of Nestorius fixes the date of the list as a work of the middle of the fifth century. Then follows the work itself thus charged with error, supposed by Neander [*K. Gesch.* ii. 1202, Hamb.] to have been written by some extravagant partisan of Augustine's doctrine, but considered by Möller [Herzog, *R. W.*], with greater probability, to be a not unskilful cento of axioms from Augustine and Prosper, which were then pushed to extreme conclusions by the Semi-Pelagian writer for the purpose of discrediting the opinions of the rival school of theology. The book indicates a double predestination, not only to life and death eternal, but to righteousness and sin; numerical election and reprobation by an irreversible decree: so that those whom God has predestined from everlasting to life, careless, sinful and reluctant though they may be, will infallibly inherit glory; while those who have been doomed by a like decree to death, though they use all earnest endeavour, run without a possibility of attaining the goal of their hopes. An element also is thrown in that belongs not to Augustine; for this election and reprobation is based not on any arbitrary action of the Divine Will, but upon the Divine prescience, as knowing who would accept and who would reject the offer of mercy through Christ; an idea afterwards caught up by Arminius. The third section of this work gives the Semi-Pelagian refutation of these notions; and indicates, as the editor says, so strong a similarity with statements in the Commentary of Arnobius the Younger, as to create the presumption that he was the author of the work.

The nearer approximation to each other that had been made by the two more moderate parties, leaving differences scarcely greater than those which affect Church principle among ourselves, has happily caused great scantiness of material for carrying on the history. Only by fits and starts incidents transpire that indicate the slumbering embers. The political uneasiness of the times made men practical rather than speculative in their religion, and Semi-Pelagianism was rather in the ascendant. Shortly after the middle of the fifth century a question arose between Lucidus, a presbyter, and Faustus, Bishop of Riez, in Provence, and formerly a monk of Lerins, the presbyter being an advanced predestinarian, the bishop, as the presbyter would term it, Semi-Pelagian. The bishop having admonished Lucidus in person, afterwards wrote to him a letter, setting forth in brief terms his own view of the doctrine of grace. The bishop shewed that man's exertions must co-operate with divine grace; to depreciate those exertions, and to maintain an absolute predestination, is worse than Pelagian error. Man who is born in sin requires the grace of God, and has no room for pride in his performances; that which we receive from God's hand is a gift, not wages; but the sinner that perishes is lost for not making use of his opportunities of grace, and the saint who perseveres to the end, might, at any period of his course, have fallen from grace. Christ died for all, and would have all men to be saved, and it is a pernicious error to say that when the baptized falls into sin, he perishes through Adam's guilt and the original taint of his nature; as also to affirm that a man is damned through the foreknowledge of God, and that the vessel fitted for destruction can never become a vessel of honour. Lucidus appeared before a council, probably that of Arles [A.D. 475], where high predestinarian tenets were censured, and wrote a retractation. This and another synod held at Lyons shortly afterwards on the same question, gave occasion to Faustus to write a work, which at once achieved a great reputation, *De Gratia et Humanæ Mentis Libero Arbitrio.* The book was answered half a century later by Cæsarius of Arles in a treatise of similar title, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, which, however, is lost.

The works of Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspæ, *De Incarnatione et Gratia* and *De Veritate Prædestinationis et Gratiæ*, were caused by the following circumstances. In the commencement of the sixth century, some Scythian monks, stout advocates of the doctrine of grace from their hatred of Nestorianism, with whom Celestius had been joined in condemnation by the Council of Ephesus [*Conc. Eph.* can. i. iv.], presented a confession of faith to the legates of Pope Hormisdas in Constantinople, in which they affirmed their belief that the will of man was powerless for any other object than to "discern and desire" carnal and worldly matters; but that with respect to life eternal it could neither "think, nor will, nor desire, nor perform" anything but by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. They further declared their detestation of the tenet "nostrum est velle Dei perficere." They met with a cold reception from the legates, and fared no better with Hormisdas, whom they next assayed. They then sought the surer sympathy of the African bishops in Sardinia, who had been driven from their sees by Vandal oppression, of whom Fulgentius was both "tongue and headpiece." Their letter condemned not only Pelagian tenets, but also Faustus as the impugner of Predestination. It called forth from Fulgentius, who does not seem to have had any previous knowledge of the work

of Faustus, the former of the two works above mentioned against Semi-Pelagianism. The answer of Hormisdas to a second application from Constantinople not having been more explicit than the first, Fulgentius wrote the second work, which was more particularly directed against that of Faustus. At the same time the exiled bishops sent a synodical letter to Constantinople [Mansi, viii. 591], in which the doctrine of Augustine was fully affirmed, and the work of Faustus pronounced to be heretical, A.D. 529. A council was held at Arausio (Orange), in the province of Arles, by fourteen bishops; the acts of which have been preserved [Mansi, viii. 711]. A direction, however, was given to their deliberation by the Roman See, from whence certain heads of citations from preceding Fathers had been sent, in all probability the *Auctoritates de Gratia* to which allusion has already been made. The twenty-five propositions of this synod are expressed in the language of Augustine and Prosper; the doctrines of original sin, affecting the soul as well as the body of man, and of the necessity of divine grace are affirmed; but that of the propagation and imputation of Adam's sin is reserved. Man in himself is stated to be wholly powerless for good, and the necessity for preventing grace is strongly asserted. Man has nothing to glory in, even though a reward be promised for good works, "gratia quæ non debetur præcedit ut fiant." So far also from advocating irresistible grace, and arbitrary predestination, they affirm their belief that the baptized, by the co-operating grace of Christ, "quæ ad salutem animæ pertinent possint et debeant, si fideliter laborare voluerint, adimplere." The acts of this synod were formally confirmed by the See of Rome at the instance of Cæsarius. A similar expression of doctrine was made by a council at Valence, in the province of Vienne, at about the same time; but the problem remained unsolved, how to reconcile the opposing motive powers of grace and free will. Augustine naturally continued to be regarded as the great light of the Western Church, to whose opinions all deferred, without accepting his extreme conclusions. But in the Middle Ages there was an occasional tendency to dispute his authority. These questions entered into the Gotteschalk controversy, and afforded plentiful matter for discussion to the Schoolmen. They were among the problems also discussed at the Reformation. Arminius alone ventured to cut the knot without attempting to untie it; and in more modern times the Jesuit body has resigned Augustine to the patronage of the Jansenists. [Jesuit. Jansenist. Neander, *K. Gesch.* ii. 1173-1217, 2nd ed. Hamb. 1847. Walch, *Ketzereien*, v. Voss, *H. Pelag.* Noris, *H. Pelag.* W. Möller, *in Herzog's R. W.* Schönemann, *Bibl. P. Lat.*, and the authorities cited under Pelagianism.]

SEPTUAGESIMA. The name immemorially given to the Sunday which follows the last Sunday in Epiphany season. The reason of its application to the day is uncertain. Some liturgical writers, (as, for example, Pamelius,) trace it to the association of the ancient monastic Lent of seventy days [Lent] with the seventy years captivity of Israel in Babylon, as the forty days' Lent is associated with the forty years' wandering in the wilderness. But it is more probable that the name is associated with the Latin name of Lent itself, the three preceding Sundays and weeks which occur between Quadragesima and Epiphany being respectively called Quinquagesima, Sexagesima, and Septuagesima, as roughly representing the fiftieth, sixtieth, and seventieth days before Easter.

Septuagesima Sunday is the sixty-third day before Easter. In the Book of Common Prayer a second title was added to the ancient one at the Revision of 1661, namely, "the third Sunday before Lent."

SEPTUAGINT. [Versions.]

SERMON. [Preaching.]

SESSION OF CHRIST. The perpetual presence of our Lord's Human Nature in the highest glory of heaven. The statement of the fact appears in all the Latin forms of the Creed, its earlier words being, "Sedet ad dexteram Patris," which developed into "Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis" at some time not later than the sixth century. The article does not appear in the Creed of Nicæa, but in the Constantinopolitan expansion of that formulary it is given in words which are similar to those of the ancient Latin Church, *καθεξόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς*.

1. This exaltation of Christ's Human Nature implies an actual translation of His body and soul to heaven, and their actual continued abode there; and that in uninterrupted identity with the body and soul which had been born of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This identity was historically established by the chosen witnesses of the Resurrection (after an intercourse of forty days with their risen Saviour), seeing His Ascension from the earth [Ascension] to some region above the earth [Heaven], and hearing the words of the angels, "Why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, Which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven" [Acts i. 11]. Not long after which the martyr Stephen (who had probably known the Lord personally) exclaimed at the moment of his death, as he saw the King of Martyrs standing to welcome His protomartyr to Heaven, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God" [Acts vii. 56].

Thus the fact of our Lord's Ascension to heaven, and His Session or continual presence there, amounts to this: that He ascended and abides there not in spirit only but in the "substance of His mother," which was "born in the world" and "crucified under Pontius Pilate:" that He sat down at the right hand of God not as God only but as God-Man: that His human nature was not absorbed into but remains united with that Godhead to which it had been united by the Incarnation. And although a certain change had passed over Christ's body in its Resurrection, so that from a "natural body" it had become a "spiritual

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body," yet He gave evidence that it was in some degree, at least, subject to the laws of corporeal substance, "handle Me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see Me have" [Luke xxiv. 39], thus establishing beforehand the fact that the presence of His body in any place is such as the presence of His body had been before His death. Such a presence may be subject to exceptional circumstances, and may have capacities of motion different from those which it possessed in an unchanged condition; but its presence is still of a local nature, and not that of Omnipresent Deity, as is maintained by Ubiquitarians [UBIQUITY]. Although, therefore, the local presence of a body and soul united to a Divine Nature, of which no local presence can be predicated, is a mystery not to be explained, it is one which cannot be set aside without denying the force of all the evidence which testifies to Christ's actual Resurrection and Ascension. Any attempt to reconcile the fact of Christ's local bodily Presence in heaven with His Eucharistic presence in the Elements of the Blessed Sacrament must necessarily fail from want of knowledge respecting the properties of His spiritual body. The two facts are established on good grounds, and our inability to reconcile them does not nullify the evidence on which they are established. "These things are not mutually repugnant that our Saviour Himself ever sitteth at the right hand of the Father in heaven, according to the natural mode of existing, and that, nevertheless, He is sacramentally present unto us in His own substance by that manner of existing, which, though we can scarcely express it in words, we yet can, through thought illuminated by faith, understand and believe to be possible with God" [*Conc. Trident*, sess. xiii. cap. 1].

2. The Session of Christ was accomplished partly with reference to the glory of His own Person, and partly with reference to His work as the Saviour of mankind. It was fitting that when the Human Nature, which had been hypostatically united to the Divine Nature, had fulfilled on earth the purpose for which it had been conceived and born, it should be taken up to the highest glory and not left in the place of its humiliation. Wherefore God highly exalted Him and said unto Him, "Sit Thou on My right hand until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool."

But it was also necessary for the fulfilment of the purpose of the Incarnation that the Human Nature of Christ should have its abiding place in heaven. For the Incarnation is to fulfil perfectly the original purpose of man's being: to take up the broken continuity of his life and to carry it on to its intended terminus. Now that terminus was the place of the divine Presence; and thither it was that Christ's Human Nature went after its earthly work had been accomplished, that an entrance might be made within the veil that had hitherto shut out God from the sight even of the highest saint. By this exaltation of our nature in the Person of Christ, a capacity was originated for its exaltation in ourselves. Our manhood had been made unfit to dwell even in the earthly paradise, much more to dwell in heaven. But being taken into the Godhead by the Incarnation, it was made fit to dwell not only in paradise but in heaven; and since Christ originated a system in which He was the Head of a large number, the Firstborn among many brethren, He thus carried our manhood to heaven as the "Forerunner" of those who become associated in that system, joined to that Head, made brothers to that Firstborn.

Thus the Session of Christ is the complement of the Incarnation; and He Who was the firstfruits of the Resurrection becomes the firstfruits of the Exaltation to God's right hand. "I go," said He, "to prepare a place for you . . . that where I am, there ye may be also" [John xiv. 2, 3]. Therefore we enter into the holiest, that is into heaven, by a "new and living way which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, His flesh" [Heb. x. 20]. He is the Forerunner of mankind, exalted to the Father's right hand, not for Himself alone, but also for us, that all the sanctified may follow their Forerunner within the veil, and appear in the presence of God. As God has quickened men together with Christ, raising them from death and sin by virtue of His rising Who said "I am the Resurrection and the Life," so has He given them to "sit together in heavenly places" by virtue of His exaltation Who said "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." By His lifting up to the Cross, He draws all men with cords of love from the world to the Church. By His lifting up to Session at the right hand of the throne of Majesty, He draws all His elect on high, that where the Head is there the body may be also.

For the association between the Session of Christ and His INTERCESSION see the article under the latter word.

SEXAGESIMA. The name of the Sunday which represents the sixtieth day before Easter. It is actually the fifty-sixth day; or the beginning of the eighth week before Easter. [LENT.]

SHECHINAH is a word of later Hebraism, signifying the indwelling Majesty of the Godhead. It is neither the cloud nor the glory made perceptible to human sense in the Holy of Holies, or standing over the Tabernacle, for though these terms are of perpetual recurrence, the Targum renders neither the one nor the other by the term Shechinah. But it signifies the Majesty of the Godhead, of which the cloud of glory and the fire of the burning bush were the external symbols [GLORY]; a created brightness, which, according to Maimonides [*Moreh Nevochim*, i. 64], the Deity caused to appear whenever He determined to reveal His Presence; as in the consecration of the Tabernacle, "The cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle" [Exod. xl. 34, 35]; and as in the dedication of the Temple, "the cloud of glory filled the Sanctuary" [1 Kings viii. 10, 11]. The continual presence of God with His people under the theocracy was expressed by "Shachan," to dwell. He "dwelt" in the bush [Deut. xxxiii.

16]; He "dwelleth between the cherubim" [1 Sam. iv. 4]; and from that verb the term Shechinah is derived. That indwelling of the Most High as the everlasting King was expressed by the effulgence of fire, with which the vapour of smoke is inseparably connected, or as shadow is with light. But since shadow is the privation of light, so the fire and cloud denote everything existing by the will of God, both of a positive and of a negative relation; in the language of philosophical ontology, whether ancient or modern, ὄν and οὐκ ὄν, "seyn" and "nicht seyn." "A cloud," says Abarbanel [Exod. xl. 34], "was round about Him as smoke is always about fire; and as light shews itself in the midst of clouds, so the glory of the Lord was as fire in the midst of clouds and darkness." Thus symbolized, the presence of the Lord led the people in their exodus from Egypt. That the Deity should become visible to mortal sense in fire or cloud can never be the truth [FETICHISM]; and since the cloud of glory was not permanent, it has been resolved by some into the vapour of incense [Vitringa, Baur, Ewald, Winer]. The bush, however, on Mount Sinai burned with no cloud of incense, and this instance is sufficient to shew, by parity of reasoning, that the cloud of glory in the Tabernacle was something preternatural. God's government of His people was symbolized by these outward tokens of the esoteric Shechinah. The radiant glory declared the universal presence of the Deity in blessing His creatures, as light pervades the whole universe, quickening and energizing; while His judicial action in punishing disobedience and rebellion was shewn forth by volumed clouds shrouding the light [Hengstenberg]: and when disobedience had reached its culminating point, the woes denounced by the Almighty [Deut. xxviii. 15-68] were brought to pass, the Shechinah, so far as any visible emblem was concerned, was finally withdrawn, and the depth of humiliation into which God's ancient people sunk only made their ancient glory the more conspicuous. But He Who brings good out of evil was preparing His people for a more majestic presence; and the loss sustained by the gross carnal Israelite realized to the spiritual Israel that truer Shechinah, the indwelling of God in the faithful heart through the Spirit. The prophets, always more spiritual than the Law, shew a deep consciousness of this better presence; "Thus saith the High and Lofty One that inhabiteth [shochen] eternity; I dwell [esh'chon] in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit" [Isa. lvii. 15]. "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty" [Psa. xci. 1]. In the fulfilment of time this more spiritual presence was declared by symbols once more made evident to the eye; and the Shechinah was present in the light that shone around the shepherds of Bethlehem by night; it overshadowed the Apostles in the bright cloud of the Transfiguration [Matt. xvii. 5; 2 Pet. i. 17]; and the cloud that received the Saviour out of the sight of His disciples on His Ascension was no other than the emblem of the Glorified, Who shall come again as the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven to judge both quick and dead.

The Shechinah of God's presence in the heart of His people is a matter of frequent reference in the New Testament, and the terms σκηνή and σκηνοῦν [Rev. xxi. 3; John i. 14], in sound as in sense, are applications of the Hebrew verb "Shachan." The power of God and the wisdom of God in Christ are enshrined in His Church as its very life, as the glory of God was tabernacled of old between the cherubim [compare John i. 14, xiv. 17, 23; Rom. viii. 8, 9, 11; 1 Cor. iii. 16; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Col. ii. 19; 1 Tim. vi. 14, 16; Tit. ii. 13; 1 Pet. iv. 14; 1 John iv. 12-16] It was the realization of Israel's hope, for the Targums also speak of a restoration of the Shechinah in the days of the Messiah [Ezek. xliii. 7, 9; Hag. i. 8; Zech. ii. 10]. And, in point of fact, the term was first introduced in the Targums, where it was used to soften down the anthropomorphisms of Hebrew theology. So that, wherever in the Hebrew text definite and restricted action is ascribed to the Absolute and Universal, it becomes indefinite and free when attributed to the Shechinah, or majesty of the Most High. When God, for instance, is said to "dwell" with His people, the term acquires an abstract character by transfusion into His "Majesty was made to dwell," "Sarah Shechinah," שרה being the verb that invariably expresses the presence of the Shechinah in the Chaldee and Rabbinical Hebrew. "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty" [Psa. lxxxii. 1] becomes "His Shechinah dwelleth" [see also Psa. xvi. 8, xliv. 24, lxxxviii. 6; Jer. xxxiii. 5; and Maimonides, *Moreh Nevochim*, i. 27]. The Shechinah seems at times in Rabbinical writings to be synonymous with "glory," but the two terms combine by a common Hebraism into one complex idea; thus Rabbi Bechai, in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, says that the Shechinah and Glory are convertible terms, הכבוד שהוא השכינה; and the two are combined in the Targum on Isa. vi. 5, "The glory of the Shechinah," but this means merely "the indwelling glory," as in ver. 6, the words "from before His Shechinah on the throne of glory," mean simply "from before His glorious Presence." In Hag. i. 8, also, "Ecab'dah," "I will be glorified," is rendered "there I will cause My Shechinah to dwell with glory," signifying "My glorious Presence," or Majesty. The terms, therefore, are scarcely co-ordinates, but they stand rather in the relation of subject and predicate. There is better evidence that the term, as Elias Levita declares in the Thisbi, is the Holy Spirit and the Spirit of Prophecy, as being the very evidence of the Divine Presence. So in the Targum on 1 Sam. i. 15, Hannah, when unjustly charged by Eli, remonstrates with him for his uncharitable suspicion and says, "the Shechinah and the Holy Spirit is not in thee in this matter." Yet, on the other hand, the Shechinah is apparently distinguished from the Holy Spirit in the Talmudic rationale for the K'ri and Ktib, or marginal and textual variation [MASORA in Scriptural vol.] in Hag. i. 8.

Here the text reads אכבר, the margin has אכברה by the addition of the emphatic ה. This is the numerical equivalent for 5; and as the treatise Joma says, it was omitted in the text for the purpose of indicating the five particulars in which the second temple was defective as compared with the first, viz.: 1. the Ark of the Covenant, with the cherubic figures; 2. the Fire from heaven; 3. the Shechinah; 4. the Holy Spirit, limited however to the Spirit of Prophecy by the ancient author of the Aruch; and 5. the Urim and Thummim, where the Holy Spirit, if not distinct from the Spirit of Prophecy, is something different from the Shechinah.

The Cabbala, adopting the monstrous notion of an arrhenothele Deity, makes the Spirit the feminine principle, "Ruach" in Hebrew being a feminine noun; thus where the Supreme is king over all, the Shechinah is queen [Zohar, iii. 93]. It was the last of ten Sephiroth, identical with Malcuth [Cabbala], which was itself an equivalent for the Holy Spirit. Altogether, therefore, it may be affirmed that the Shechinah of later Hebraism is to be identified with the Holy Spirit of a truer theology. It is said to rest on men of a sanguine temperament, but to avoid the phlegmatic; to seek out the lively and cheerful, but to eschew the mourner. Thus when Jacob mourned for Joseph [Gen. xxxvii. 34] the Shechinah departed from him; afterwards it returned to him when his spirit revived on learning that his son was well and high in honour [Gen. xlv. 27]. The "Shechinah rested upon him," says R. Salomon Jarchi; "the Holy Spirit," as Onkelos declares; "the Spirit of Prophecy" is Jonathan's explanation. The three terms, therefore, seem to be convertible. Hence, too, Maimonides says that the inspiration of the LXX. was due to the Shechinah which rested on the translators; and the highly ancient Talmudic treatise, the Pirke Aboth, says in one place that the Shechinah is vouchsafed to any ten men assembled for the purpose of studying the Law, and elsewhere that any two men may be similarly favoured. Our Lord, therefore, asserted His own Godhead in words that were perfectly intelligible to His hearers when He declared, "where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them" [Matt. xviii. 20]. [See further the article in Buxtorf's *Bibl. Rabbin.* where many instances of the use of this term in the various Targums are cited.]

SIBYLLINE ORACLES. The association between Christian theology and the Sibylline books of classical Rome is illustrated by the familiar words of the Dies Iræ, which attribute to the latter a prophecy respecting the end of the world,—

> "Dies iræ, dies illa,
> Solvet sæclum in favillâ
> Teste David cum Sibyllâ."

The oracles of the Sibyl or Sibyls were, in fact, much spoken of by some of the early Fathers, and still more by Mediæval writers, under the supposition that they contained prophetic utterances respecting the Christian dispensation, although they proceeded from heathen prohetesses.

The name of Sibyl is derived by Lactantius (on the authority of Varro), from the Doric forms of the words Διὸς βουλή, which were Σιὸς βόλλα; and hence the name is considered to have meant "she who tells the counsel of Zeus," and to have been a name given to all prophetesses. From very early times, however, the number of the Sibyls was given as ten, viz. the Persian, Libyan, Delphian, Cimmerian, Erythræan, Samian, Cumæan, Hellespontic, Phrygian, and Tiburtine[1] [Lactant. *Divin. Inst.* i. 6].

Of the Sibylline oracles there were at least four successive versions. [1.] The three books acquired in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, and preserved at Rome with great care. They were consulted only on occasions of grave importance, and then by a decree of the Senate. This collection could never have been seen by the early Christians, as it was destroyed by fire during the civil war between Marius and Sulla [c. B.C. 90]. But its contents were not wholly unknown, as is testified by references in Cicero and Virgil. [2.] A compilation of about one thousand verses, made to replace the former, transcribed from other Sibylline collections, chiefly those of Erythra. These, like the original, were preserved in the Capitol. Several adulterated copies of this collection got into circulation, but they were suppressed by Augustus [A.D. 19], who had the genuine verses separated from the spurious ones. [3.] A series apparently the work of an Alexandrian Jew. It may have been only an adaptation of the last-named collection; but it is clear that an intermediate version was current between the second and the fourth, because Josephus and some of the early Fathers quote verses which do not appear in the modern books, and which could not possibly have been found in the earlier transcripts. [4.] A collection still extant, forming an addition to the second. Some are the verses acquired in Sulla's time, but most are probably the "rhapsody" of a Christian of the second century, who utilized the popularity of the Sibylline oracles as a means of spreading the faith. An edict was published [A.D. 142] against reading the books, and Honorius [A.D. 399] ordered them to be destroyed.

The modern collection is essentially different from what is known of the original. The verses we now read presuppose throughout the existence of one God. They are, moreover, precise and circumstantial, whereas the original were ambiguous, and adapted (as far as we can gather) to any event. "Callide enim, qui illa composuit, perfecit, ut, quodcumque accidisset, prædictum videretur, hominum et temporum definitione sublata" [Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii. 110.] The old verses were acrostics, and the first line an anagram containing the acrostic. Cicero points out how this proves art and diligence, and not a raving or sudden inspiration, as commonly held. The extant collection of Christian date has but a single acrostic, the famous Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, Σταυρός, and the first line does not

[1] Tacitus writes of them at a much earlier date, that "una seu plures fuere" [Tacit. *Ann.* vi. 12].

contain it. They are written in Greek hexameters, and contained in fourteen books, of different length, having in all several thousand lines. A portion of these were first printed in 1549, and are printed entire again in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* [A.D. 1764], in Greek and Latin. The later books were published by Cardinal Mai in 1828. In Gallandi's *Prolegomena* [sec. xvi.], there is a valuable discussion of the character and authorship of the books, and a list of editions. Internal evidence is adduced, which appears to fix the date. The author says of Hadrian, Αἴλινος ἔκποτε καιρός, ὅτι λίνος αὐτὸν ὁλεῖται [bk. viii. 59]. This was not true; but he had attempted suicide, and so this line must have been written before he died. The Sibyl errs also in saying, Τρεῖς ἄρξουσιν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὀψὲ κρατήσει ἁπάντων. This verse is explained thus: Hadrian had adopted Antoninus in the beginning of the year in which he died [A.D. 138], and had made a condition that he should in turn adopt Marcus and Verus Antoninus. Verus was youngest, and the Sibyl thought he would come last to the throne, but he died. These considerations point to the date A.D. 138 as that when the books were written in their present form.

But the Christians were not the only writers of "Sibylline oracles." Josephus [*Antiq.* i. 4] quotes a verse referring to the tower of Babel, which shews that the Jews had made the same use of the oracles as the Christians did at a later time.[1] The Christian Sibyl of the second century was of the philosophical school, but there are many references to Jewish rites and ceremonies, such as praising God before meat [iv. 25]. There is also a description of sacrifices [iii. 511], as well as predictions respecting the future calamities of the nation [iii. 151]. Dodwell and others attribute the authorship to Montanus. Galland says the work was compiled "ex antiquioribus quæ apud ethnicos circumferebantur oraculis, atque ex iis quæ apud ipsos ex Hebræorum traditione manaverant: potissimum vero ex veteris et novi Fœderis codicibus." They are valuable as shewing the belief in the Divinity of Christ, as against the opposers of the Nicene Council: Ὦ ξύλον, ὦ μακαριστόν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θεὸς ἐξετανύσθη [vi. 26].

In a similar manner the well-known prediction of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue—

> "Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas;
> Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
> Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
> Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto"
> [Virg. *Bucol. Ecl.* iv. 4]—

was also appealed to by the Emperor Constantine at Nicæa as one of the prophetic evidences of Christianity; and the true key to such unconscious vaticinations of heathen writers is doubtless to be found in the Advent of Christ.

The earliest reference to the Sibylline oracles in Christian writers is in the Pastor of Hermas, who supposes he has seen the Sibyl in a vision, and in another vision is told that it is not the Sibyl, but the Church [Hermas, i. 4]. Justin Martyr speaks of her testimony that there will be a dissolution of all corruptible things by God. [Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 20.] He also quotes a passage on the Unity of God, which he considered to be of greater antiquity than the time of Plato; and gives an account of what he had heard about the Sibyl when he had visited Cumæ. [Justin M. *Orat. ad Græcos*, xvi. xxxvii.] Tertullian and St. Clement of Alexandria also speak of her, and quote from the oracles, the Stromata of the latter containing more than forty Sibylline verses. Origen seems to defend their authenticity in his controversy with Celsus [Orig. *Contr. Cels.* v. 61]; St. Augustine, admitting their want of authority, justifies their use in controversy with the heathen; St. Jerome assigns some measure of inspiration to them, and his opinion was that which was generally accepted in later ages. [Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 57, ed. 1740. Alexandre, Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοί. *Oracula Sibyllina*, &c. Paris 1868.]

SIGN, in Hebrew ôth, in Greek σημεῖον, is used in Scripture in several senses, most of which may be resolved into the idea of "token" of coming events and of godlike power. The word "ôth" in Hebrew is no independent root of itself, but in accordance with Hebrew analogy it has much in common with roots in which any of the quiescent letters are combined with ת or with its co-ordinate ה. Thus in Numb. xxxiv. 10, to "mark out" is expressed by a verb formed upon the root âvah [אוה], while immediately before [ver. 7, 8] the same idea represents the root thâah [תאה]. This latter again is closely allied with thavah [תוה], to "make a mark," *e.g.* David "scrabbled on the doors" [1 Sam. xxi. 13], from which root comes "thau," the name of the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet; signifying a "mark" or "cross," such as was branded upon a camel or a bullock by its owner: the Phœnician character Thau being a simple cross †, from whence the Greek T was taken. It was as the "sign that should be spoken against" [Luke ii. 34]. The noun ôth, a "sign" [אות], is closely allied in sense with this latter word; but it is identical with the apocopate participial form derived by analogy from the root "âthath," "to come." Thus "coming events," in Hebrew "ôthioth" [אותיות], is nearly identical with "ôthoth" [אותות], "signs." Buxtorf, in his *Concordance*, repeats this latter word under the root "âthah," and translates it "signa venturorum." On his authority, therefore, we may assign to "ôth" the sense of a sign or token of coming events.

The word occurs [1] simply as a signal [Judg. xx. 38; Jer. vi. 1; Ezek. xxxix. 15; Matt. xxvi. 48], a memorial [Exod. xiii. 9; Deut. vi. 8; Josh. iv. 6; Isa. xix. 20, lv. 13], or a type. [Isa. viii. 18, xx. 3; Ezek. iv. 3, xii. 6, 11, xxiv. 24]. [2] It is the token of future good and acceptance [1 Sam. xiv. 10], as the bow in the cloud [Gen. ix. 12]; the sign of circumcision [Gen. xvii. 11; Rom. iv. 11]; the Sabbath, the sign to His people that "the Lord their God doth sanctify" them [Exod. xxxi. 13]. It denotes the heavenly bodies in their function

[1] There can be little doubt that parts of the third book are as old as the time of the Maccabees.

of marking the recurring seasons [Gen. i. 14]; hence also it was supposed by the heathen that the various combinations of the heavenly bodies influenced or at least portended coming events [Isa. xliv. 25; Jer. x. 2]. It marks the earnest of future fulfilment of prediction [Isa. xxxviii. 7]; though the sign given to Ahaz [Isa. vii. 11] for his faithlessness was one that should not be verified in his day, but stand over for many generations till the Virgin should "conceive and bear a Son." The birth of the child should be no sign to Ahaz; but the discomfiture of the enemies of Judah should be an earnest to his generation of the sure fulfilment of the Messianic prediction. The "sure mercies of David" could never fall to the ground, and the continued preservation of the royal lineage should be an earnest of the future glory of the Virgin Mother. As an earnest of future accomplishment, the word is more usually connected with judicial vengeance [Numb. xvi. 38, xxvi. 10; Deut. xxviii. 46; 1 Sam. ii. 34; 1 Kings xiii. 3; Jer. xliv. 29; Ezek. xiv. 8; Rev. xv. 1], to which may be added the "sign of the prophet Jonas," who warned the Ninevites of threatened judgment [Matt. xii. 39, xvi. 4; Luke xi. 30]; and of the Son of Man [Matt. xxiv. 3, 30] at His Second Advent.

It is the token also of God's present power [Exod. iii. 12; Judg. vi. 17; Matt. xii. 38; Mark viii. 12], giving authority to His ministers [John ii. 18; 1 Cor. xiv. 22]; for which the carnal Jews were for ever craving [John vi. 30; 1 Cor. i. 22]. In the plural number it is usually combined with "wonders," and denotes those solemn preternatural occurrences whereby God has in every age arrested the slumbering spirits of men, and alarmed them with the terrors of approaching judgment. It also denotes in the same connection the miracles that were the credentials of God's ministers.

SIMONY. The corrupt acquisition of spiritual gifts, and traffic in holy things. As a sale of things not in commerce, whereof the sellers are not the masters, it is an infringement of natural right; and as a violation of the precept "freely give" [Matt. x. 8], it is contrary to the right Divine. By spiritual things must be understood whatever pertains to the worship of God and the salvation of men's souls; as the gifts of the Holy Spirit, sacraments, prayers, and the like. The crime is accurately defined by its Greek name, χριστεμπορεία.

Simony proper, that is, the original sin of Simon Magus, is the purchase of ordination, and is very different from the legal definition of the word as now given, a meaning acquired by degrees. But three kinds of simony are noticed by theologians: buying and selling of [1] spiritual gifts, and [2] preferments, and [3] ambitious usurpation of, and sacrilegious intrusion into, ecclesiastical functions, without due election or ordination. There are also, subjectively, three ways of committing the sin, "a manu," "ab obsequio," "a lingua;" or, in other words, "pecunia," "obedientia subjectionis," "favor adulationis."[1] The ancient penalties were the greater excommunication, the nullity of the simoniacal acts, and obligation of restitution.

The crime being thus strictly defined, it was necessary to except certain apparent violations, such as voluntary presents, offerings, or endowments, lawful payments for necessary maintenance, loss of temporal advantage by assuming a spiritual charge, and others. Amongst the councils which have condemned simony, the term of the canons being according to the various circumstances and forms of the crime prevalent, the following are noted: Chalcedon, second of Constantinople, second of Orleans, second of Braga, fourth, eighth and eleventh of Toledo, second of Nice, Rheims, Lyons, Placentia, Trullo, and many others. That of Trullo names fees for the Eucharist as a prevalent form of simony. The eleventh of Toledo speaks of fees for baptism and confirmation. The Apostolical canons of the third century forbade it: so did the laws of Justinian [A.D. 528]. Five years later we read that the crime was committed extensively with reference to papal elections, many scattering the goods of the Church in profuse bribes among the senators "ut postularentur in Romanum Pontificem" [Baronius, 533, xxxii.]. Hence a decree was passed by imperial authority, directed however rather against the laity than the clergy, the latter being left to ecclesiastical censures. This edict was engraved on marble, and placed in St. Peter's Church. The crime was also common in respect to other sees than that of Rome. St. Gregory, writing to Anastasius, Bishop of Antioch [A.D. 599], urges him, as the best offering he could make to God, to purge his church of simony.[2] He sent similar letters to many other bishops, as Vigilius, Bishop of Arles [bk. 9, Ep. 49], Ætherius, Bishop of Lyons [Ep. 50], and Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne [Ep. 48], shewing how general the practice had become. But it was in the eleventh and twelfth centuries chiefly that the mischief was at its height. A boy of twelve years old [A.D. 1033] was elected pope "intercedente thesaurorum pecunia." This was Benedict IX., afterwards deposed. The Emperor Henry II. made a decree on the subject [A.D. 1047], finding all Gaul and Germany "simoniacæ philargyriæ grassari cupiditatem;" and the bishops whom he assembled were unable to answer his questions, fearing for themselves. Guido, Archbishop of Milan [A.D. 1059], lamenting the prevalence of simony in his church, promised for himself and his successors utterly to renounce it. Gregory VI. [A.D. 1044] had risen to the pontificate by open simony: and while he lived at St. Maria Maggiore, Benedict IX. remained at the Lateran, and Silvester III. at St. Peter's, all intruded by simony. A vigorous opponent of this corruption arose in Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII. At a Council at Lyons the archbishop and forty-five bishops confessed themselves

[1] Baronius, 1057, xxx.; quoting Peter Damianus.

[2] "Quia vero pervenit ad nos in Orientis Ecclesiis nullum ad sacrum ordinem nisi ex præmiorum datione pervenire: si ita esse vestra fraternitas agnoscit, hanc primam oblationem omnipotenti Deo offerat, ut a subjectis sibi ecclesiis errorem simoniacæ hæreseos compescat" [Bar. 599, xi.].

simoniacal, and were deposed. The acts of such prelates were not however invalid. Some heretics contended that the purchase of ecclesiastical preferment from lay princes was not simoniacal: and the re-action against this wholesale corruption, as in the case of the lapsed long before, taking the form of excessive severity, the heresy of the reordainers arose, who maintained that all acts of simoniacal bishops were absolutely invalid.

The fortieth of our Canons of 1603 is directed against simony, as being "execrable before God:" and provides an oath to be taken personally by every one admitted to a benefice, that no simoniacal payment, contract, or promise, has been, or shall be made. The permission now granted by our law, on presentation to a benefice, to give a bond of resignation in favour of certain relatives of the patron, is of so recent a date as 9 Geo. IV.

The anomalies of the present law of the English Church are great. They may be reduced to these heads:—[1] It is legal for all to purchase an advowson, whether the living is vacant or not, but the *next* presentation to a vacant living would not be included in such purchase. [2] It is legal for a layman to buy a next presentation, if the living be full. [3] It is not legal for a clergyman to buy a next presentation, if the living be full. [4] It is not legal for any one to buy a next presentation if the living be vacant. [5] It is legal to give a bond of resignation for certain specified relatives of the patron. [6] It is not legal to give a general bond of resignation. [Moroni's *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*. Bingham's *Works*, 1855, ii. 5; vi. 319. *Edinburgh Review*, *January* 1854.]

SIN. The Anglo-Saxon "syn" is an old Norsk forensic term meaning justification for non-appearance, estopper, writ of error [J. Grimm, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1839, iii.], and hence error of judgment; or it is derived from the obsolete German term "suona," expiation, as marking that which needs atonement; the converse of the Hebrew חטאה, a sin-offering, from חטא, to sin [Lev. vi. 18, 23, Heb. Bible]. "Sin" and the converse term "holiness" are religious terms; the correlative expressions "Vice" and "virtue" referring to moral philosophy, and "crime" to state offence. "Sin" includes the meaning of several Hebrew and Greek terms, such as רשע, *ἁμαρτία*, forensic failure; שגגה, *παράβασις*, transgression of the boundary line of right and wrong; פשע, *ἀνομία*, lawlessness; רע, *κακία*, evil; and צור, stronger than all, *ἀποστασία*, revolt.

1. Sin, whether against a man's own self, his neighbour or his God, is the self-determined following of his own perverse will, in opposition to the holy and pure will of God [Free-Will]. It results in a direct way from the original depravation of our nature [Original Sin], and springs out of the imperious demands of self; it is a blind striving for present gratification in ways condemned by God. It is the evidence of satanic rebellion stirring the heart and driving it on to vicious thoughts and deeds by suggestions of evil. It is a centring of the corrupt heart upon itself, taking the form either of towering pride, or unscrupulous ambition, or lust of pre-eminence, regardless of the means used for attaining its object; or shewing itself in lower phases of self-seeking; sins of luxury and effeminacy; the natural instincts of malice and cruelty; the greed of gain, and abject thraldom to the world; all of which stand in eternal contrast with the holiness and goodness of the moral Governor of the world. Thus viewed, sin is no mere negative quality, consisting in a graduated absence of good; true as it may be in philosophy that the imperfection of the creature must involve the idea of Evil; for this gets no nearer to a final solution of the difficulty. "Against this immovable barrier of the existence of evil the waves of philosophy have dashed themselves unceasingly since the birth of human thought, and have retired broken and powerless, without displacing the minutest fragment of the stubborn rock, without softening one feature of its dark and rugged surface" [Mansel, *Lim. of Relig. Thought*, lect. vii.]. No definition of sin can be satisfactory that fails to set forth its positive evil. Kant defined sin to be a spontaneous declension from the moral law, an abnormal action of the springs of reason; Schleiermacher made it a traversing of the divine consciousness within the soul, by the individual consciousness, creative of remorse; but this resolves the nature of sin into a contingent antagonism, and fails to mark "the exceeding sinfulness of sin" [Rom. vii. 13]; that it is in itself essential evil in its most positive aspect; that it is the flesh lusting against the spirit, and breaking out into irregular desires and inordinate impulse, deceit and sensuality, as the "alter ego" of self, the efflux of the carnal heart (*φρόνημα σαρκός*) which is "not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be," so long as it continues unchanged; for until that exterminating change comes, sin, as positive evil, is the soul's death and a total alienation from the life of God. [Eph. iv. 17, 18, v. 8. Death.]

2. The universality of sin and the evil of concupiscence, the matrix of all moral evil in man, have been discussed elsewhere. [Evil. Original Sin.] Guilt, always present with sin, results from the freedom of the human will and its self-determining power; for without freedom of will there could be no moral guilt. It involves also punishment of sin both in this world and in the world to come. The seed of sin, as of the herb yielding seed, is in itself; for one unvarying phase of its punishment lies in the almost fatal necessity with which one sin brings in others in its train. It is the law of its being. This temporal retribution, arising by way of natural result from sin, shews how contrary it is in its nature to the holy and good law of God, and how surely it is tracked down by an inevitable Nemesis. [Conscience.]

Mortal and Venial Sin. In the analysis of sin for the purposes of dogmatic and moral theology, a distinction is made in the character of particular sins according to their nature, and to the disposition with which it is committed, some sin being said to be "mortal" (the usual Roman

Sinaitic Codex

designation) or "deadly" (the usual English designation), and some "venial."

Mortal sin is a direct and wilful transgression against some Divine law by omission or commission; such as murder, theft, hatred, neglect of Divine worship. Venial sin is a transgression against the end of some Divine law, through inadvertence, or carelessness, or indulgence, such as idle words, "foolish talking, or jesting, which are not convenient" [Eph. v. 4], excess in eating, drinking, or sleeping, insufficient alms-giving, disregard of the minor charities of life.

Such a distinction is one of degree, not of kind; and thus a sin which is ordinarily classed as mortal may become venial through the particular circumstances by which it is accompanied; while a venial sin may also become mortal if it passes into a wilful habit, and is persisted in against the voice of conscience. The distinction also presupposes that all sins are, in themselves, hateful to God and deserving of His wrath; that there is no sin which is pardonable because of its degree, but that all sins, however venial, are pardonable only by an extension of Divine mercy to the sinner. As regards the punishment of sin, all theologians agree that unpardoned sin of every degree deserves it; but some consider that, while mortal sins are punishable eternally, venial sins are punishable by God's fatherly chastisements in this life. In the same way, as regards the pardon of sin, it is considered that while mortal sins are only forgiven through a direct act of absolution, venial sins are forgiven by renewal of grace, (especially in the Holy Eucharist); each mode of pardon pre-supposing a degree of penitence conformable to the degree of sin.

SINAITIC CODEX. A very ancient MS. of a part of the Old and the whole of the New Testament, in the possession of the Emperor of Russia. It was discovered by Tischendorf, so recently as February 4th, 1859, at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. On his first visit to that place, in 1844, he had found a few fragments of a codex of the Septuagint, almost destroyed, which were readily given to him. Other parts of what seemed the same MS. he was unable to acquire. On a second visit, in 1853, he could get no tidings whatever of this remainder, and on his return to Russia, he, in despair, published an account of what he had previously obtained, under the name of the Codex Frederico-Augustanus. This portion consisted of forty-three vellum leaves, and contained part of the first Book of Chronicles, the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, and part of Tobit. At a third visit, in 1859, Tischendorf was preparing for departure from the monastery, when the steward offered to shew him some specimens of a MS. of the LXX. in his possession. They were wrapped up in a cloth, and Tischendorf thus describes what followed:—"Aperui pannum et vidi quod ultra omnem spem erat. Erant enim codicis, quem antiquissimum omnium codicum Græcorum in membranis superstitum dudum declaraveram, reliquiæ uberrimæ, in quibus non modo quos anno 1844 e sporta protraxeram aliosque Veteris Testamenti libros sed etiam, quod longe gravissimum, Novum Testamentum, totum ne minima quidem lacuna deformatum, auctum vero plena Barnabæ epistola, ad quam prima Pastoris pars accedebat, superesse videbam." After a time Tischendorf thought of the happy suggestion that the MS. should be presented to the Emperor Alexander II. This was assented to by the monks, but the design was delayed in consequence of the death of the archbishop. The discoverer of the treasure was meanwhile allowed to take it away on loan, for purposes of collation, until the new archbishop should give the necessary consent for its presentation to the Emperor.[1]

This precious copy of the Scriptures is written in early uncial characters, on parchment, "non tam alba quam sufflava," made of antelopes' and sometimes of asses' skins. It consists of 345½ folios, of which 199 belong to the Old Testament, and 146½ to the New Testament, including under that head the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas being in the original Greek throughout, which is not elsewhere the case. The leaves of the MS. are 13½ inches by 14⅞ inches in size, the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons being marked in the margin in red ink. The books occur in the following order:—

A single folio of 1st Book of Chronicles.	Job.
Tobit (defective).	4 Evangelists.
Judith.	Romans.
1, 4 Maccabees.	1, 2 Corinthians.
Isaiah.	Galatians.
Lamentations.	Ephesians.
Joel.	Philippians.
Obadiah.	Colossians.
Jonah.	1, 2 Thessalonians.
Nahum.	Hebrews.
Habakkuk.	1, 2 Timothy.
Zephaniah.	Titus.
Haggai.	Philemon.
Zechariah.	Acts.
Malachi.	James.
Psalms.	1, 2 Peter.
Proverbs.	1, 2, 3 John.
Ecclesiastes.	Jude.
Song of Solomon.	Revelation.
Wisdom.	Epistle of Barnabas.
Sirach.	Shepherd of Hermas.

The Codex Frederico-Augustanus should be considered part of this codex. Excepting the single folio containing parts of the 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of 1st Chronicles, it would stand at the beginning of the Codex Sinaiticus. The book of Tobit is in the two MSS. complete.

There is no note on this MS., nor any tradition among the monks as to the history of it. No travellers whatever before A.D. 1844 appear to have noticed any part of it. It has many features which tend to assign to it the earliest date of all known MSS. of the Septuagint and the New Testament. The Vatican and Alexandrian can alone compare with it, and the appearance of the Sinaitic Codex is said to be more ancient than

[1] The Archimandrite Porphyry, in 1856, and Major Macdonald, a little later, had noticed the MS. at Mount Sinai.

even that of the Vatican Codex. Except in the poetical books, it is written in four columns to the page, a characteristic in which it is unique. Tischendorf considers that four different writers can be detected in different parts of the MS. The very numerous corrections are themselves written in uncial characters: and this occurs in no other codex. They were all written, moreover, before accents or breathings came into use. The Epistle of Barnabas and Pastor of Hermas are included as canonical, but these were excluded from the canon as early as the Council of Carthage [A.D. 397]. There is abundant internal evidence also of its extreme antiquity. The last chapter of St. Mark's Gospel contains only eight verses, and ends at the words ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. Jerome and Eusebius are witnesses that this was the received version in their day; and the same feature is found in Codex B. Similar arguments are drawn from important readings at Matt. xiii. 35; Luke vii. 35; John vii. 8; and many other passages. We may therefore say that this codex answers to and embodies some of the very earliest forms of the sacred text with which we are acquainted. Other evidences of antiquity are detected in the rarity of its punctuation, and in the brevity of its titles.

A fine facsimile edition of the Sinaitic Codex, in four great volumes, was published, at the expense of the Emperor of Russia, in 1862. [Tischendorf's *Prolegomena.* Scrivener's *Collation. Journ. Sac. Lit., April* 1863.]

SOCINIANISM. A development of the Arian heresy, originating with two Italians named Socinus in the middle of the sixteenth century. Its leading feature is the denial of our Lord's Divine Nature, with the belief that He was a typical and unique man, supernaturally conceived by a Virgin, divinely commissioned, and displaying in so unprecedented manner those higher characteristics of human nature which make it a shadow of the Divine Nature, that He was called (though He was not in the sense maintained by the Church) the Son of God.

This heresy was never fully developed, or at least never openly declared, by Lælius Socinus the elder, but was left in the form indicated above by his nephew, Faustus Socinus. Lælius Socinus [A.D. 1525-1562] was a native of Sienna, and associated with the reforming party at Venice in very early life. In the year 1547, he left Italy altogether, and after travelling in Switzerland, France, and England, settled down at Geneva, with letters of recommendation from Bullinger to Calvin. Socinus was already notorious for his scepticism as to the current theology of the reforming party, and he soon stated to Calvin certain doubts about the doctrines of Atonement and Satisfaction and the fact of the Resurrection. Calvin rebuked him, and shewed him sufficient discouragement to drive him to Zurich, where he revealed his scepticism still further, by putting forth questions respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, and the Personality of the Holy Ghost. Calvin denounced him as a follower of Servetus, whom he had just burned for heresy, and Socinus found it expedient to explain away his doubts. After enduring much trouble through the confiscation of his family property by the Inquisition, Lælius Socinus died at Zurich at the early age of thirty-seven, leaving his nephew Faustus, then aged twenty-two, to systematize his opinions. The same year in which the elder Socinus died [A.D. 1562], saw the publication of the "Dialogues" of Bernard Ochinus, his friend and ally at Zurich, and like himself, a native of Sienna. Ochinus had been vicar-general of the Capuchin order, much distinguished as a mission priest in Naples, Venice, and other Italian towns, and had been also confessor to Paul III. His Catholic Mysticism developed into Lutheran Solifidianism; and being regarded as a Protestant by the Inquisition he fled to Geneva in A.D. 1542. Ochine came to England during the Interim, and was received by Cranmer, who made him a prebendary of Canterbury; but driven thence in Queen Mary's days, he settled at Zurich. In his Dialogues he discussed the doctrines about which Socinus had expressed so much doubt, those of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement; and he always defeats the defender of those doctrines with great subtlety. In the nineteenth and twentieth dialogues he pronounces the doctrine of the Trinity to be untrue, and therefore not an article of faith. His advocacy of polygamy caused him to be driven from Zurich, and he died in A.D. 1564, at Slachau in Moldavia, having endeavoured in vain to settle in Poland. Sir Kenelm Digby says that "at the last he wrote a furious invective against those whom he called the three grand impostors of the world, among whom he reckoned our Saviour Christ, as well as Moses and Mahomet" [Digby's *Observ. on Relig. Medici*, p. 125, 5th ed. 1672].

The opinions of the elder Socinus, and of Ochinus, his more intellectual and courageous interpreter, spread much in Geneva, even in Calvin's time. Matthew Gribald, a Paduan lawyer, settled on property near Geneva, was saved from the fate of Servetus by recantation. John Paul Alciatus, also from Piedmont, escaped to Poland. John Valentine Gentilis also recanted and did penance when threatened with the stake, but when liberated fled to Poland; and, imprudently returning, was beheaded for heresy by the Calvinists at Berne on September 10th, 1566.

Faustus Socinus, the nephew of Lælius, does not seem to have been in any way conspicuous until about the year 1578. His earlier years were spent in some office at the court of the Duke of Tuscany; but at the date mentioned he is found holding a public disputation at Basle, on account of which he was obliged to leave Switzerland and take up his residence in Poland, the stronghold of the Anti-Trinitarian heresy. Here he moulded his heresy into its permanent form, professing to carry out the principles of Luther and Calvin to their logical terminus. The formula in which his tenets were stated was the *Racovian Catechism*, so called from Racow, a town of southern Poland, where it was first adopted.

This was dedicated to James I., but in the year 1652, it was publicly burned by order of Cromwell and the House of Commons. Socinus also wrote a treatise *De Jesu Christo Servatore*, which excited so much indignation at Cracow that he was in danger of his life from the populace of the city. He retired to the village of Luclavie, where he died in A.D. 1604. Half a century afterwards [A.D. 1658], all Socinians were ordered to be banished from Poland, and their heresy was made a capital crime; the edict being strictly carried out in the year 1661, after a three years' grace allowed them had expired.

The Socinian Christology represents Jesus as having been born of the Virgin Mary by a supernatural interposition of the Holy Ghost, in consequence of which He was a Man free from original sin and its evil inclinations, but only a man. He was outwardly anointed prophet, priest, and king at His baptism, by a material descent of a Divine force and efficacy upon Him in the form of a dove; but His full commission was given to Him during some one or more interviews which He had with God when rapt up into heaven, probably during the forty days in the wilderness. He was (shutting out any idea of Deity) the anointed Son of God, and was established in the fulness of His dominion by God, Who raised Him (not by any co-operation of His own) from the dead, and delegated to Him a supreme authority over men and angels. But in all this He is only a created being, and worship rendered to Him should only be given to Him as the representative of God, not as His own right. The Socinian system discards altogether the idea of union between Divine and Human Nature, alleging that the two are so infinitely removed from each other that union between them is an impossibility. Its later development does not recognise Christ as in any sense an object of worship, denies the supernatural origin which was attributed to Him by the earlier form of the heresy, and looks upon Him only as a very exalted saint and moral teacher. [UNITARIANISM. *Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

SOLIFIDIANISM. The doctrine that faith is the whole of religion, such doctrine being preceded by an erroneous description of faith.

There are two forms of Solifidianism; one rests the whole of religion in the reception by the intellect of correct dogma, the other in an inner sense or persuasion of the man that God's promises belong to him. They who hold the latter are called also Fiduciaries. The name Solifidian is unfortunately, as in other cases,[1] taken from the incorrect language of those who hold the error. The faith which the Solifidian vaunts, and from which he has his name, is not faith at all; for, considering the nature of God's grace, and the character of His revelations, it follows that a true faith can be inferred only from its manifestation in good works. The source of good works is in the reception of grace, and correctness of theological belief is in the assent to revealed truth. But while there may be an intellectual assent to truth without the grace of faith (the devils believe and tremble), there can be no reception of grace without its issuing in good works, and no good works without the reception of grace.

It is easily seen, then, that Solifidianism, in both its forms, destroys the nature of faith. The former refers faith to the intellect alone, with a suppression or entire exclusion of the grace of God and the renewed will, and tends consequently to the superseding good works: the latter suppresses the action of the reason and understanding, and substitutes for a reasonable faith an unreasoning and groundless persuasion.

The former error may take the shape of a maintenance of orthodoxy, but it will be found (with scarcely any exception) that the pretended orthodoxy is an extremely deficient representation of Christian doctrine, omitting those doctrines which have most power to move the will, and striving to bring others within the comprehension of man's understanding. The more common form is that of advancing the doctrine of Justification by faith (which is probably stated inaccurately, and certainly misapplied through its separation from other doctrines) into the essence and substance of the Gospel. Such Solifidians teach that good works are not necessary to Justification [Bull, *Harm. Apost. Diss. Post.* xvii. 5]. The twelfth Article of Religion was designed to prevent this misapplication of the statement made in the eleventh.

The second form of Solifidianism generally connects itself with a one-sided or perverted view of the doctrine of Election. It advances the error that Christ died only for the elect, and that the elect cannot fall from grace; and it rests on an inward sense or persuasion of one's own election. It speaks of faith, but makes Fides the same as Fiducia. And Fiducia it makes to be, not the witness of the Spirit with our spirits, *i.e.* with an enlightened conscience and understanding, but a mere inner sense or persuasion, held without appeal to the conscience. Both forms of Solifidianism lead, it is evident, to Antinomianism. [FAITH. ASSURANCE. JUSTIFICATION. ELECTION. WORKS. Hammond, *Of Fundamentals*, ch. xii. xiii.].

SOUL. This word is used in Holy Scripture and elsewhere in three senses. *First*, it includes indefinitely the whole personality of a human being, as in the phrase, "that which every soul must eat" [Exod. xii. 16]: *secondly*, or such part of that personality as is not subject to the laws of matter, as when St. John writes, "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God" [Rev. vi. 9]: *thirdly*, or that part of a human being's incorporeal personality which is not spirit (the ψυχή as distinguished from the πνεῦμα), as in St. Paul's expression, "I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" [1 Thess. v. 23]. The first of these senses is simply a colloquial form,

[1] So Unitarians profess to hold the Unity of God, and thence have their name. But in truth the Unity cannot be held without the Trinity.

in which "soul" expresses the idea of a "living person," and need not be further noticed. It is the second and third meanings of the word which have a theological bearing.

I. Ancient Ideas of the Soul as Incorporeal personality. Although the soul [נֶפֶשׁ *Nephesh*] is spoken of four hundred and fifty times in the Old Testament, it is rarely spoken of in the sense of a disembodied person. It is sometimes taken objectively as life, or subjectively as the living man, *quâ* living; sometimes as the conscious and willing part of our nature, that within us which thinks, desires, sorrows, rejoices, hates, and loves. In three of the Psalms there are prophetic allusions to the sojourn of our Lord's separated soul in Sheol [Psa. xvi. 10, xxx. 3, xlix. 15], and five or six other places may be quoted doubtfully as containing direct references to the separate state of ordinary human souls [Gen. xxv. 8; 1 Kings xvii. 21; Job xiv. 12; Prov. xxiii. 14; Isa. lvii. 16; Ezek. xviii. 4]. The deutero-canonical books mention the soul about fifty times, and they speak of its separate existence after death in a more decisive manner, the souls of departed saints being declared to be "in the hands of God," so that "there can no torment touch them" [Wisd. iii. 1], the dead who are in the graves as having their "souls taken from their bodies" [Baruch ii. 17]; the "spirits and souls" of the righteous dead are called upon to praise the Lord [Song of the Three Child. 64], the corruptible body is said to "press down" the soul [Wisd. ix. 15], and death is spoken of as "the spirit going forth," and "the soul being received up" [Wisd. xvi. 14]. These passages were all written about the second century before our Lord, and by those who had been brought into contact with the philosophy of Alexandria.

In the New Testament also, the ψυχή is named about fifty times, and in very few cases with direct reference to its separate existence, though the instances in which it is so named are of a decisive character. Thus our Lord speaks of the soul being "required" [Luke xii. 20], of its being "lost" [Matt. xvi. 26], of its being in hell as well as the body [Matt. x. 28]: St. Paul prays that the soul as well as the spirit and the body may be preserved till Christ's Second Advent [1 Thess. v. 23], and speaks of "the dividing asunder of soul and spirit" [Heb. iv. 12]; while St. John mentions the living souls of some who had been "slain," and of some who had been "beheaded" [Rev. vi. 9, xx. 4]. The most general use of the word in the New Testament, however, has reference to man's moral responsibility, leaving the fact of his disembodied personality to be inferred, or assuming that it was universally believed in, and hence that no direct statement on the subject was needed.

And although we know little about early Jewish thought except from the Old Testament, we may reasonably believe that the ideas of Jews respecting the disembodied personality of man were at least on a level with those of contemporary heathen nations. There seems, however, to have been a danger of hero-worship associated with all pre-Christian ideas of disembodied heroes; and it is probable that while life beyond death was clearly revealed to the Jewish mind, the conditions under which the "dead" would live were purposely left unrevealed that there might be no temptation to the introduction of Polytheism under the disguise of an apotheosis of a Moses, a David, or a Solomon.

The Homeric pictures of disembodied souls probably represent the general notions of the world beyond the Jews before the rise of philosophy. In them death is the separation, from a body which turns to dust, of an attenuated essence of the body which still lives on. "When the soul has made its escape through the lips or the wound, it is not dispersed in the air, but preserves the form of the living person. But the face of the earth, lighted by the sun, is no fit place for the feeble, joyless phantom. It protracts its unprofitable being in the cheerless twilight of the nether world, a shadow of its former self, and pursuing the empty image of its past occupations and enjoyments. Orion, like the spectre of the North American hunter, is engaged in chasing the disembodied beasts, which he had killed on the mountains, over the asphodel meadow. Minos is busied in holding mock trials, and dispensing his rigid justice to a race that has lost all power of inflicting wrong. Achilles retains his ancient pre-eminence among his dead companions, but he would gladly exchange the unsubstantial honour, even if it were to be extended to the whole kingdom of spirits, for the bodily life of the meanest hireling. Nothing was more remote from Homer's philosophy than the notion that the soul, when lightened of its fleshly incumbrances, exerted its intellectual faculties with the greatest vigour. On the contrary, he represents it as reduced by death to a state of senseless imbecility. Alas! exclaimed Achilles, when the spirit of Patroclus had vanished, *even in Hades there remains a ghost, and the image of the dead, but the mind is altogether gone.* Tiresias alone, among the shades, enjoys a certain degree of mental vigour, by the especial favour of Proserpine. It is only after their strength has been repaired by the blood of a slaughtered victim that they recover reason and memory for a time, can recognise their living friends, and feel anxiety for those whom they have left on earth. While the greater part of the vast multitude that peoples the house of Hades merely prolongs a dreaming, vacant existence, a few great offenders are doomed to a kind of suffering most in accordance with the character of the infernal realms—to the torment of unavailing toil and never satisfied longings. A more tremendous prison, removed as far below Hades as earth is from heaven, was reserved for the audacious enemies of Jupiter; the abyss of Tartarus, fast secured with iron gates and a brazen floor. On the other hand, a few favoured heroes, instead of descending into Hades, were transported to a delicious plain, an island of ocean, cooled by perpetual breezes from the West, and exempt from every inclement change of the seasons."

[Bishop Thirlwall's *Hist. of Greece*, i. 223, ed. 1845].

Such were the early ideas of unphilosophical Polytheists respecting souls in their disembodied condition. As to its condition before death, there was, no doubt, a general opinion among mankind that the soul and the body were co-extensive, particular organs being the seat of particular emotions [Head. Heart], but the whole body being pervaded and penetrated by the soul as its vivifying and sentient companion.

II. Ideas of the Soul as part of a Trichotomy. The rise of philosophy led to more definite speculations on the subject of the soul. Its pre-existence was believed in by the Pythagoreans, who considered it to belong to a higher sphere of existence, and to be in the body as in a prison; and by the Egyptians, who accounted each soul as a fragment taken from one great soul of the world, dwelling for a time in a human body, and returning to a human body again after a thousand years of transmigrations through the bodies of the lower animals. [Pre-existence. Metempsychosis.] Its absorption into Deity by a process of nirvâna is the very ancient belief of a large part of the Eastern world. [Buddhism]. But none of these early theories included any real attempt to harmonize the idea of a future life with that of a present life, the living embodied "Ego" of which they had experience, with the living bodiless "Ego" of which they had no experience, but in which they believed.

Both Pythagoras and Plato considered the brain to be the seat of the νοῦς, and this opinion was the first step towards a more minute analysis of the nature of man than had previously been made, since it clearly required to be complemented by some intermediate link which was neither νοῦς nor σῶμα, and yet influenced the latter as something distinct from it. Accordingly Plato developed the theory of the soul into a trichotomy, the intellectual and undying part (τὸ λογιστικόν), the part in which the higher emotions arise, such as courage (τὸ θυμοειδές), and the sensuous or animal part (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν). This development was carried further by Aristotle, who took for his subject the whole nature of man, and divided it into body, soul, and mind, placing νοῦς in the same supreme position as that assumed for it by Plato, and making ψυχή to be the formative and animating principle by which the body and the mind are brought into, and maintained in, their living relation.

The trichotomy of St. Paul is a still further development, or is, it may be more correctly said, the truth towards which philosophy had been feeling its way. He divides our nature into body, soul, and spirit; the σῶμα being (of course) identical with that of the philosophers, but the πνεῦμα being an altogether new element, *i.e.* one hitherto unrecognised by those who had been developing the analysis of human nature. But the "soul" of St. Paul's system is not the mere animal principle of Aristotle's system. It is, rather, an union of the νοῦς and the ψυχή, of the reasoning faculty and the animating life; the πνεῦμα being a Divine principle belonging to a New Creation of supernatural being, which sprung from the Incarnation of Deity [Mediation], and was the gift bestowed in the new birth of human nature. [Spirit.] This trichotomy is the only psychological system which is reconcileable with the general statements of Holy Scripture respecting the soul; and it is the only key which will really unlock the mystery of the Fall and Restoration of mankind. It could not be known to the philosophers, because it had not been revealed by the Incarnation and the work of the Holy Spirit. And even when it was made known it still left the actual nature of the soul in almost as great an obscurity as before, though it unfolded a new and large chapter of knowledge and reasoning respecting its relation to the complete personality of human nature.

III. Materialist views of the Soul regard it as a function of the body instead of as a something which has a capacity for separate existence; the leading idea of Materialism on the subject being that consciousness and thought result from vibrations of brain-fibre, and not from the presence in the brain or in the man at large of any incorporeal or immaterial entity. The immortality of the soul, on such a theory, becomes a contradiction of terms, since the body is not immortal, and that which is only a function of the body cannot exist after the organ with which it was associated has ceased to exist.

There is, doubtless, a nucleus of truth in such ideas. There is, it is certain, a very intimate relation between the emotions and acts of the mind and the physical accompaniments of those acts and emotions. Shame brings the blood to the cheeks, fear drives it in upon the heart, mental excitement quickens the beat of the pulse, softening of the brain is accompanied by mental imbecility; and there are many other phenomena in which the reaction of the body and soul on each other may be observed.

No observation, however, has ever disclosed that these phenomena are anything else than the reaction of two separate, though associated, entities: and the most subtle theories of Materialism are obliged to presuppose a something in the shape of a principle of life before those theories can be made to walk. Take away that principle and materialistic theories as to mental operations have lost their fulcrum. Let that principle be granted and some theory of the soul as a distinct entity becomes a necessity.

Such materialistic theories are also met by instinctive feeling and by weighty evidence. [1] There is a voice within every one which speaks the universal language "Non omnis moriar:" and that which tells of a future incorporeal existence of the Ego tells also that the Ego of the present must be something more than that which chemical affinities will shortly dissolve and dissipate. [2] There is evidence, too, that the mental faculty can retain its full power and capacity for action when the body is so battered and mutilated that scarcely any other trace of life is observable, and even after severe injuries, and consequent disorganization, of the brain itself. [3] The few but weighty testi-

monies of Holy Scripture to the separate existence of the soul are, moreover, beyond the reach of confutation, and can only be met by airy contradictions: especially the most weighty of all, the testimony of our Lord's own death and resurrection; the separation, that is, and the reunion, of His Body and His Soul. [DEATH and RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.] [4] Nor, lastly, must it be overlooked that the whole moral teaching of Holy Scripture, of the Christian Church, and of all shades of Theism, is founded on the idea of a conscious and responsible soul.

On the other hand, we know nothing as to the laws under which that which is not material exists, and hence caution is necessary in speaking about the soul as a separate entity. Origen believed that God alone is pure Spirit, and not a few of the Fathers inclined to the belief that the soul is an ethereal substance. [CREATIONISM. TRADUCIANISM. PRE-EXISTENCE.]

SPECIES. [ACCIDENTS. TRANSUBSTANTIATION.]

SPINOZISM. The *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* of Spinoza, the source of German Rationalism, was published during his lifetime [A.D. 1632-1677], its principles being drawn from the *Moreh Nevochim* of Maimonides. His *Ethics* only appeared after his death, but with a finish of all the principal ideas that left little for the "limæ labor" of editorship. It is a system cold, clear, and polished as the lenses which he ground for a livelihood. Had not a few admiring friends caused it to see the light, Baruch (Benedict) Spinoza would never have been known to fame.

His predecessor, Descartes, taught him to receive nothing as substantive truth that is not based on clear and distinct ideas. This suggested geometrical forms—"le démon de la géometrie," says Saisset; he treated even the soul and its affections as though they were lines and superficies and solids [*Eth.* iii. *præf.*]. Experience was of no value with him; Baconian induction a purposeless waste of time and labour;—as applied to psychology it could only supply a romance of the soul "historiolam animæ" [*Epp.* ii. 22, vol. ii. ed. Saisset].

I. The whole of the Spinozist theory is deduced from the idea of one Infinite and Perfect Being, termed by him Substance, though he gives no adequate definition of the idea to be conveyed by it. Substance has its attributes, without which it would be a mere mental abstraction. In a subjective sense substance is indeterminate; for there can be no negation in its nature, and that which is determinate has its limits fixed by qualities that do not belong to it, and which it excludes. But in an objective sense substance is determinate, as being defined by attributes that are of the very essence of substance and are inseparable from its nature. As substance is absolutely infinite, so are its attributes infinite, though in a relative sense; for if any attribute were absolutely infinite it would be wholly identical with infinite substance. Each attribute then is perfect and infinite in itself; but with an infinity that is only relative as compared with substance. Thought is an attribute of substance; thought then is infinite. Extension is another attribute of substance, and, like thought, of relative infinity; both are perfect but of a determinate perfection. Substance alone is infinite in itself, perfect in itself, absolute unity. And its attributes are infinite, for if their number were defined substance would be circumscribed, and the positive would be annihilated by the negative. That the finite should define the infinite would be a confusion of terms. They are infinite, yet an infinity of attributes infinitely produced could never adequately express the infinite essence of substance.

Thought is here the merest abstraction, and by no means to be accepted as thought individualized, so to speak, in any phase of extension. Spinoza, though he allows that only two positive attributes are within man's cognizance,[1] thought and extension, still gives the key-note to Hegel and later Pantheists in saying that the soul of man can form an adequate conception of the Infinite and Eternal Substance [*De. An. Prop.* 47].

In the system of Spinoza, substance, attribute, and mode, are the correlatives of being, reality, and deity. His definitions are best given in his own terms. "[1] I understand by 'substance' that which is in itself, and which is conceived by itself, *i.e.* that of which conception is formed without the necessity for any other conception; [2] I understand by 'attribute' that which reason conceives in substance as constituting its essence; [3] I understand by 'mode' the affections of substance; or that which exists in some other thing, and is conceived by that same thing; [4] I understand by 'God' an absolutely infinite Being, *i.e.* substance consisting of an infinity of infinite attributes, each of which expresses an eternal and infinite essence" [*Eth.* i. *Def.* 3, 4, 5, 6]. Elsewhere these definitions are condensed into one theorem [*De Deo. Prop.* 16]: "It is the nature of substance to develope itself necessarily by an infinity of infinite attributes which are themselves infinitely modified." *Necessarily*, for his Deity is without a will, which as a determinate mode would belong to the subordinate condition of the "natura naturata." In the Deity there is nothing else than infinite activity, which relatively to substance is absolutely indeterminate, and constitutes the "natura naturans." That the Deity should be the origin of any final cause is in the eyes of Spinoza an absurd idea, a chimera and wholly anthropopathic. Necessity is the sole spring of Divine action; there is no moral quality of any kind in the Deity; such notions are mere

[1] Man, he says, only speaks of God in human terms, and it is only natural for him so to express himself. "I believe," he says, "that if a triangle had the faculty of speech it would in like manner say that God was eminently triangular; a circle would say that He was altogether round; and in this way each would ascribe its own attributes to God; and making itself similar to God, every other figure would seem to it a deformity" [*Ep.* 47]. Elsewhere he says, "Men may speak of the intelligence of the Deity, but there is no more relation between that attribute and human intelligence than between the constellation Canis and the baying dog of earth" [*Eth. Prop.* 17, Schol.].

human distinctions, which arise out of common ways of thinking. Everything is of its kind good, because everything is of necessary consequence. The good and the bad are on the same level before God. God can neither love nor hate, and to desire to be loved by the Deity is a grotesque and childish superstition.

Although an infinity of attributes pertain to substance, only two are adequately known to man; Thought and Extension, "Deus est res extensa:" yet he allows the Divine Nature to be indivisible; for he draws a distinction between finite extension which is Body, and infinite extension which can alone harmonize with the Divine Being. God is no specific extension, but extension in Himself; immensity without movement and without parts. Thought is in a similar way absolute, as extension is absolute. It is in its own nature infinite, and capable of an indefinite degree and intensity; there is no limit to it in any direction, and every determinate power of thought contains within itself the germ of infinity. This infinity is the measure of Divine thought and is absolute. Now, how does the Divine Being exercise this attribute of absolute and perfect thought. In the solution of this question lies the whole pith of Spinozism.

The Absolute is substance with its attributes, such as thought and extension. Nature is a congeries of matters, subject to the accidents of movement and succession, that are in perpetual flux upon the stream of time; souls and bodies are vital principles that have no substantive being, but fleeting modes that impress their character on the attribute of extension. The Deity and Nature are one inseparably. The one cannot exist without the other. They constitute cause and effect, substance and modal existence, the Infinite and the finite. The Deity as "Natura naturans" is identical with the universe or "Natura naturata." All is Nature, all is God, one and indivisible. It is thus that the Divine thought exercises itself. It fills all things, and is the one universal Intelligence, thought substantive and determinate; thought creative and create; thought subjective and objective, absolute and relative. Thought comprises every form of being. That which extension is formally, thought is subjectively, and in this sense thought is all things. Its action also is reflective; absolute thought is the object of thought; so that thought also is represented by its idea.

The idea of extension is the idea of all its modes. These modes are souls and bodies. The idea of extension therefore embraces the aggregate of souls and bodies; it is the soul of the bodily world, an universal soul from which all others emanate; it is an infinite ocean of souls and ideas, each of which is a stream, each thought a wave. But this idea of extension is itself an individual emanation from a principle that contains an infinity of such emanations; it is a stream of a yet more boundless ocean. Thought and extension are singled out from the rest as attributes that alone are within man's cognizance, but there is an infinity of other attributes. The idea of God is not merely the soul of the universe in which we have our being; it is the soul of that infinity of universes which the teeming nature of substance is for ever putting forth. If we term it the soul of the world, we must bear in mind that the universe, as known to us, is but as a grain of dust in comparison with all that truly exists. The idea of extension enfolds within itself our universe, but the same idea comprises within itself an infinity of others. God comprehends within His thought this indefinite system of numberless universes; and His thought is inherent in His substance, the ultimate entity that envelopes all.

II. Spinoza denied man to be a free agent, and he maintained also with a hardy consistency that he is in no respect a moral being responsible for his actions. This is an idea of perpetual recurrence. Men may accept as facts if they will the freedom of the will and the intrinsic difference of good and evil; but this he said is altogether wrong—a logical necessity overrules all. Everything is governed by general laws; even the Divine Being is bound by them, and therefore also man. Yet this system, diametrically opposed as it is to all notions of morality, leads back to approved results by a strictly metaphysical train of reasoning. All is severely logical. The Divine attributes are all perfect; and their modes, each according to its degree, express the absolute perfection of the self-existent in decreasing ratio. Relative as well as absolute perfection has a part in his system. Perfection, as being identical with being, follows its gradations. In the life of man utility is that which is productive of joy and eliminative of sorrow; it is therefore his good. Joy is an advance to higher perfection as desire accomplished; sorrow is a lapse from perfection as desire thwarted. Now substitute "being" for "perfection," and that which augments the scope of being causes joy, while that which lessens it in a direct ratio produces sorrow. Hence arise relative perfection and imperfection, good and evil; they are capable of measure and comparison; but they are as totally disjoined from the ideas of free choice, virtue and vice, as if mere qualities of vegetable or mineral life were under discussion.

The soul also has its present destiny of good or ill; but the beaten path of morals is treated by Spinoza with disdain, and a more excellent way, as he imagines, is indicated in his relative perfection of human life, the necessary increase or diminution of man's substantive being just now indicated. The great law of our being is its continued development; but however intense our efforts may be they have no moral quality. There are two ways of fulfilling the allotted end of being, by the instinctive action of the body or of the soul. In the first case the brute appetites are indulged through the incentive of passion; in the latter desire urges the soul forward, with reason at the helm. Thraldom to the sense and fancy yields but a momentary gratification; but reason makes its forecast of the future, and since by virtue of its origination it has a strain of eternity in it, the soul is possessed with a still more powerful yearning for future than for present good. Hence the wisdom that leaves nothing for chance, pru-

dently abstains from all that may impede, and earnestly pursues all that may advance, its hope of solid and durable happiness. The indulgence of sense is a hopeless bondage, the discipline of reason is emancipation. The most reasonable life is the most perfect, and by giving a fuller proportion to being, it is the happiest. Reason is homogeneous with the being of the soul; but this is a Divine idea, and of the essence of thought; hence the more thoughtful the soul, the more true to its nature, the more full is the development of its being, and the more perfect its happiness. A soul enfranchised from the dominion of the senses, and dignified by reason, abounds the most with adequate ideas, that is, it is cognizant in a higher degree of the nature of itself and of every other thing. To possess this knowledge is to be gifted with a connected chain of ideas, of which the last link is God; it is to think without ceasing of God, and to have an intuition of all things in Him. To live in the active enjoyment of being is to have every desire engrossed by one single thought, the hope of attaining to God; this it is to love God and to dwell in Him. It is thus that Spinoza deduces, even from his necessitarian principles, lessons of virtue.

In a certain diffusive sense Spinoza believed in the soul's immortality. The soul as a modal efflux from the attribute of thought can never perish. The body, indeed, as a mode of extension, will for ever form a part of space; but the soul, as the idea of the body, lives in the Divine Being so far as it is itself made up of ideas adequate to that Being; but its accidents that depend upon bodily existence perish; such as memory, imagination, passions, prejudice, errors, and all that is merely suited to an ephemeral and shifting condition of life: every idea also that is inadequate to the Divine thought shall suffer annihilation. Reason alone subsists eternally; and those souls which have cast aside its dictates and lived by sense will suffer a proportionate extinction of their being. The soul that is guided by right reason has an indefeasible right to a happy immortality. The drawback to this theory is destructive to it; there is no room in Spinoza's scheme for free agency. Therefore there is no morality in it. The bad are of necessity bad, the good by the same inflexible law are virtuous.

III. The *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, in which the religious ideas of Spinoza are set forth, is very different from the *Ethics*, which have more in common with the Cartesian than any other philosophy. But the treatise is of the School of Cordova; its principles being derived from Maimonides, who is frequently quoted, the very words of the *Moreh Nevochim* being used. Voltaire and Rousseau, agreeing enthusiastically with this work, rejected the theory of the *Ethics* [Saisset, *Descartes*, 301]. "Tu te trompes Baruch," is the exclamation with which it was greeted at Verney [Voltaire, *Dict. de Phil.* art. *Causes Finales*]. In either case, however, Spinoza gave so wide a development to the principles of his teacher, that his system was virtually his own. The whole work of religion is summed by him as the Love of God and the Love of Man. Human affections are intensified by being shared with others. The good that the virtuous desire for themselves they desire also for others, and this desire bears a direct ratio to the degree of their love for God. These affections "make all kindred one." Such a form of religion as this, he says, is universal; it needs no historical and traditional indoctrination, it consists in no dead ceremonies, but in living works of love; and it generates its own reward in the higher perfection to which it is continually struggling through love. Those, on the contrary, who are untrue to this law of their nature, find their punishment in the loss of all that is worthy of desire, in slavery to the flesh, and a degenerating condition of the soul that is aggravated with every day.

The only use of the Bible in Spinoza's view is to teach this love of God and man; it can do nothing else. It may edify the heart, it cannot instruct the understanding. "I have never learned from it anything," he says, "with respect to the Divine attributes" [*Ep. to Blyenberg*, iii. 409]. It is no help to philosophers and metaphysicians, but only to simple men; and to women and children. Miracles he wholly rejected; whether true or false, their assertion is in direct contravention to the orderly laws of nature, which have a necessary course that can never be interrupted. The light in which he regarded revelation is exactly that of the Deistical writers. Man needs no other revelation than his own reason; there is no other prophetic spirit. The supernatural has no place whatever in his system. Where everything is nature the supernatural can have no existence. The prophets were men of strong imagination, but rude of intellect; they were enthusiasts and knew not what they said. Confucius and Socrates, Zoroaster and Plato, stand on the same level, as regards authority, with Moses and Isaiah, Peter and Paul. Even to Mahomet he assigns a scarcely inferior rank, and a Turk if he worships God in a spirit of brotherly love is filled with the Spirit of God, and is sure of an immortality of happiness [*Ep. to Isa. Orobio*, iii. 426, and *to Alb. Burg.* 451]. The assertions contained in his private letters are of a much more pronounced character than those of his published treatise.

IV. He had no Christology. His Christ was a mere man, like any other nature compounded of thought and extension in modal form; yet he allowed the Saviour to be not merely the organ of the Divine Thought, but the very expression of it; and what he saw and knew of the Divine Nature he comprehended in its height and in its depth, and truly and adequately set forth in his teaching. Thus He was the very wisdom of God[1] clothed in our nature as the man Christ Jesus [*Tr. Th. Pol.* p. 23]. Maimonides had said as much of Moses [*Moreh Nevochim*, ii. 277, ed. Munk]. Both the earlier and the more modern

[1] De æterno illo Filio Dei, hoc est Dei æternâ sapientiâ, quæ sese in omnibus rebus, et maxime in mente humana, et omnium maxime in Christo Jesu manifestavit, longe aliter sentiendum [*Ep.* xxi. *ad Oldenb.* i. 510].

Jew meant only that they regarded the object of their praise as the wisest of men. Christ was not so much a prophet as the very mouthpiece of the Deity; and His utterances are the heritage of the whole human race, whose being may be advanced to the highest dignity of which it is capable through Him. In his letters he speaks more unguardedly with respect to the union of two Natures in one Person.[1] The doctrine of the Incarnation, he there says, is as strange to him as if any one were to tell him of a round square [*Ep. to Oldenb.* ii. 367 and 373]. The Resurrection of Christ he wholly denied, "Christi passionem mortem et sepulturam tecum literaliter accipio; ejus autem resurrectionem allegorice" [*Ep. ad Oldenb.* p. 419].

V. His political theory is, notwithstanding his disclaimer, copied in its principal features from Hobbes. [Deism.] Each individual being an efflux from the Deity, his power is derived from the Divine, and his rights are co-ordinate only with his power of asserting them. "Fish are made to swim, and the larger have a capacity for devouring the smaller; they exercise their natural right therefore by living in water and devouring one another." It is his picture of society in its natural condition. In his moments of relaxation he illustrated his theory by entangling flies in the spider's web, while he enjoyed the terror and agonies of his wretched victim. The power of the strong, from self-interested motives, enforces order in the body politic. This power consolidated under a sense of general interest is the power of the state, and from hence emanate justice and the rights of property. The civil governor, as with Hobbes, is invested with more than Papal power. "Religion," he says, "of whatever complexion, whether natural or revealed, is only binding so far as it pleases the sovereign power to impose it; it is only by means of that power that God reigns upon earth." His advice to the successor of an assassinated monarch, instead of exhorting to good and rational government of his subjects, suggested deeds of vengeance; yet it was to be a worthy vengeance, not thirsting to shed the blood of his subjects, but approving the acts of his predecessor, holding on the same course and rivalling him in tyranny. As in his moral theory Spinoza first demolishes the idea of man's responsibility, reduces virtue and vice to the same neutral equality, and then shews how human nature is capable of the highest dignification, so in his political theory he first denies all individual right, which he delivers over to the state, bound hand and foot, and then proceeds to declare that the state is subject to a necessary condition, without which it could neither continue nor exist; the condition of obeying in its own self the laws of reason.

The great object of his entire moral scheme, whether ethical or political, results from the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of his entire tone of thought, a total elimination of the idea of individual responsibility and individual force of character. It was in keeping with his life of abstracted seclusion and sedentary occupation, brooding over his grinding apparatus and perverted thoughts. "Read the biography of Spinoza," says Saisset in words of much eloquence, "and tell me whether such a man could comprehend force and individuality and life. Doubtless he had a vigorous intellect, but how perverse a spirit was his! How feeble and powerless the springs of life! Contemplate this lone being without family, without country, without a hearth, ensconced in the depth of his cell, occupied in weaving the web of his abstraction, while his hand mechanically polishes up his lenses. He has no wants, no passions. He lives on a morsel of bread and a little milk. His amusements are childish. His virtues have been cried up, and not without reason, but they were the virtues of monasticism, chastity, poverty, and resignation. Of active and prolific virtues there is not a trace. He fears men more than he loves them."

Lessing first spoke of Spinoza with a reverential regard, and, in consequence, Mendelssohn, the ideal sage worked up by Lessing into "Nathan the Wise," found much difficulty in vindicating his friend from Jacobi's charge of Pantheism. Goethe declares that Spinoza, Shakespeare, and Linnæus, were the three master-spirits that formed his mind. Even religious Mysticism has been tinged with Spinoza's Pantheism. Fenelon is not free from it, and Novalis found that it could harmonize with the yearnings of a pious mind. Schleiermacher would have canonized Spinoza. German philosophers, Fichte pre-eminently, as also Schelling and Hegel, with his satellite Strauss, have varied on his theory rather than struck out any entirely new path of their own. [Ritter, *Gesch. d. Ph.* xi. Cousin, *Introd. à l'Hist. de la Phil.* Tennemann. Saisset, *Introd. Œuvres de Spinose*, Paris, 1862; and *Essai de Ph. Relig.*; also *Précurseurs et disciples de Descartes.* Auerbach, *Spinosa ein Denkerleben.* Foucher de Careil, *Refut. de Spin. par Leibnitz.* Helfferich, *Spin. u. Leibnitz.* Van der Linde, *Spinosa.* Maret, *Panthéisme.* Mill's *Pantheistic Princ.* Orelli, *Spinosa, nebst einem Abrisse d. Heg. u. Schell. Phil.* Saintes, *Spinosa.* Schaarschmidt, *Descartes u. Spinosa.* Christlieb, *Erigena.* Jacobi, *Bd.* iv. Dr. S. Clarke. Bayle. *Kirchen Lexicon*, art. *Spinosa.* Herzog, art. *Pantheismus.* Franck, *La Cabbale, pref.* Milman, *H. Jews*, iii. 374, *f.* The newly discovered treatise, *De Deo et Hom. Supplem. ad Spin. op. Amstelod.* 1862. A list of refutations, too long for insertion here, is given in the *Biographie Universelle*, art. *Spinoza.*]

SPIRIT. That element of human nature which was lost in the Fall, and which is restored by God the Holy Spirit in His work of sanctification.

The New Testament writings make a marked distinction between the human soul (ψυχή) and the human spirit (πνεῦμα), as also between the man *quâ* soul (ψυχικός) and the man *quâ* spirit (πνευματικός). Thus, St. Paul says, "And the

[1] "These epistles are the most curious, perhaps the most trustworthy depositories of Spinoza's opinions. They were published in his lifetime. They answer the objections raised by his friends, men of great acuteness, to the views maintained in the *Tractatus Theologico Politicus*" [Milman, *H. Jews*, iii. 379, 4th ed.].

very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" [1 Thess. v. 23]. In the Epistle to the Hebrews also, the Word of God is said to be "quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit" [Heb. iv. 12]. Again, St. Paul contrasts the ψυχικός, the man who cannot receive τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ, with the man who can receive them, whom he calls πνευματικός [1. Cor. ii. 14, 15]: he speaks of "The Spirit bearing witness with our spirit" [Rom. viii. 16] in such a manner as to shew some analogy between the human spirit and the Divine Spirit: and he often sets the "flesh" and the "spirit" in verbal opposition to each other, especially in the seventh and eighth chapters of his Epistle to the Romans, and in the fifth of that to the Galatians. A contrast of a similar kind is also made between the first and the second Adam, the first Adam being said to be made made "a living soul" (ψυχὴν ζῶσαν), the second or last Adam "a life-giving Spirit" (πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν): the words ψυχικὸς and πνευματικὸς being immediately afterwards applied with a distinctive force to each person respectively [1 Cor. xv. 45, 46].[1]

It has been a peculiar feature of English religion, and of many English theologians, to undervalue the Presence of God Incarnate as the means of human sanctification, and to speak of the work of the Holy Ghost in such a manner as to imply that although He never became united to human nature by Incarnation, yet there is some means by which He comes into direct union with it and "dwells in" each sanctified person.[2] Hence there has been a tendency to interpret the word πνεῦμα as referring to God the Holy Spirit wherever it is used in association with the idea of sanctification; and the tripartite nature of perfected human nature has been altogether ignored, the "spirit" of man being taken as a synonym for the "soul" of man, or for that portion of his nature which is not corporeal. A more exact theology recognises the Incarnation of God as the means by which God and man were brought into union in the Person of the Son of God [Incarnation]; the mediation of Christ as the means by which that union is realized in the persons of Christians [Mediation]; the Holy Spirit as that Person of the Blessed Trinity Who effected the union in our Lord by a miraculous Conception, and Who effects it in Christians by the work of sanctification; and the human "spirit" as the result of the Divine Spirit's work,—the "building up" of a "new man," the development of Christ's "indwelling" in the soul.

Our Blessed Lord was often called "The Spirit," and "The Spirit of God," by the earlier Christian writers; but it seems as if the designation was used distinctively of His Divine Nature. Thus Ignatius wishes the Church of Smyrna happiness through "the Immaculate Spirit, the Word of God" [Ignat. *Ad Smyrn. init.*]: Hermas says "the Son is the Holy Spirit, and the servant is the Son of God" [Herm. *Simil.* v. sec. 5]: the Epistle of St. Barnabas reads, "He also Himself was about to offer up for our sins the vessel of the Spirit that the type of Isaac might be fully accomplished" [Ep. Barnab. vii.]. So Tertullian also opens his treatise on Prayer with the words "The Spirit of God, and the Word of God, and the Reason of God,—Word of Reason, and Reason and Spirit of Word—Jesus Christ our Lord, Who is both the one and the other, has determined for us a new form of prayer" [Tertull. *De Orat. init.*]. Such expressions seem generally to refer to our Lord's Divine Nature, and are considered by Bishop Bull to be analogous with Mark ii. 8; John vi. 63; Rom. i. 3, 4; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Heb. ix. 14; 1 Pet. iii. 18-20. He adds also that it was a form of expression which continued to be used even after the rise of the Arian and Macedonian heresies, which might seem to have rendered it inexpedient and dangerous as tending to confuse men's ideas about the second and third Persons of the Trinity.

But it is probable that even when such ex-

[1] This antithesis may be compared with one in the Old Testament: "the spirit [πνεῦμα, *Heb.* ruach] should fail before Me, and the souls [πνοὴν, *Heb.* neshomoth] which I have made" [Isa. lvii. 16]: it being also remembered that πνοὴ ζωῆς is the Divine gift by which man became ψυχὴν ζῶσαν [Gen. ii. 7]. Job also speaks of the "πνεῦμα [*Heb.* ruach] in man" in connection with "the πνοὴ [*Heb.* neshoma] of the Almighty" [Job. xxxii. 8].

[2] It is a popular idea that there is a great deal about the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the soul to be found in the New Testament: but this idea is dissipated by an examination of the New Testament itself. There are about sixty-four passages in all which express in some form or other the idea of God abiding with Christians in the sense of indwelling, which can be thus classified:—

I. *Texts relating to the indwelling of God the Father, or of the whole Blessed Trinity*:—Acts xvii. 28; 1 Cor. viii. 6; 1 Cor. xiv. 25 [*cf.* Isa. xlv. 14; Zech. viii. 23]; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Eph. iv. 6; 1 Thess. i. 1; 1 John ii. 24; 1 John iv. 4; 1 John iv. 12; 1 John iv. 13; 1 John iv. 15; 1 John iv. 16.

II. *Texts relating to the Indwelling of God the Son*:—John i. 14; John vi. 56; John xv. 4; John xv. 5; John xv. 6, 7; John xvii. 23; John xvii. 26; Rom. viii. 10; 2 Cor. v. 17; 2 Cor. xiii. 4; 2 Cor. xiii. 5; Gal. ii. 20; Gal. iv. 19; Eph. i. 4; Eph. i. 17; Phil. iii. 9; Col. i. 27; Col. ii. 6; Col. ii. 7; Col. ii. 10; 1 John ii. 5; 1 John ii. 6; 1 John ii. 24 [*cf.* 1 John i. 1]; 1 John ii. 27; 1 John ii. 28; 1 John iii. 6; 1 John iii. 9; 1 John iii. 24 (*bis*); 1 John iv. 13; 1 John v. 20.

III. *Texts relating to the Indwelling of God the Holy Ghost*:—Luke xi. 13; John xiv. 17; Rom. viii. 9; Rom. viii. 11 (*bis*); 1 Cor. iii. 16; 1 Cor. vi. 19; Gal. iv. 6; Eph. iii. 16; 2 Tim. i. 14.

Taking these several texts in order it will be found that they may be again classified thus:—

	Indwelling in the Church.	*Indwelling in individual persons.*
I.]	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,	11, 12,
II.]	13, 22, 29, 30, 31, 32,	14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43,
III.]	44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.	None.

These references shew the very noteworthy result that nearly all allusions to the indwelling of God in individual persons are associated with God Incarnate, and that all allusions to the indwelling of God the Holy Ghost are to His indwelling in the corporate Church

pressions were used with reference to our Lord's Divine Nature they were used with reference to the subjective relation of that nature to man—that is, to Its operation through Its Incarnation—rather than in an objective sense. It is clearly thus that St. Paul speaks of the "Last Adam" as a "life-giving Spirit" [1 Cor. xv. 45]. It is in the same sense, doubtless, that St. Cyprian writes, when speaking of the mission of our Lord, "He is the Power of God; He is the Reason; He is the Wisdom and Glory; He enters into a Virgin, and being the Holy Spirit He puts on flesh, and God is united to man. This is our God, this is Christ; Who, as the Mediator of the two, puts on man that He may lead men to the Father. What man is, Christ was willing to be, that man may also become what Christ is" [Cypr. *De Idol. vanit.* 11]. Similar language, again, is used by Irenæus. "For if He seemed to be man and yet was not man, He did not truly remain, what in truth He was, Spirit of God:" since he adds shortly afterwards, "In the end, the Word of God, and Spirit of God, united with the ancient substance of Adam's formation, and formed a living and perfect man, receptive of the perfect Father, that as in the natural Adam we all died, so in the spiritual Adam we may all be made alive" [Iren. *Adv. Hæres.* v. 2, 3].

Our Lord, God Incarnate, seems thus to have been designated "the Spirit," and "the Spirit of God," with reference to that view of His Person and work which looks towards the "restoration of the creature" by means of union with Him. Accordingly we find Tatian speaking of the "Heavenly Logos" as a Spirit emanating from the Father of Whom He was begotten. Man, also, is spoken of as being made immortal by Him through participation of His Divine Nature; but as losing immortality by separation from the Spirit [Tatian, *ad Græc.* vii.]. "We recognise," the same writer says, "two kinds of spirit, one of which is called the soul, but the other is greater than the soul, being the Image and Likeness of God" [*Ibid.* xii.]. "If the soul continues alone it tends downward towards matter, and dies with the flesh; but if it is united with the Divine Spirit it is no longer helpless, but ascends thither where the Spirit leads it" [*Ibid.* xiii.]. "It becomes us, then, to seek for what we once had, but have lost, to seek to unite the soul to the Spirit, and to strive after union with God" [*Ibid.* xv.]. Of a similar character is the language of Tertullian, who says that by Baptism man is restored to the Image of God which he had lost, "recovering again that Spirit of God which had by God been breathed into him, but which he had afterwards lost through sin" [Tertull. *De Bapt.* v.]. But the most elaborate of all the early writers on the subject is Irenæus, who, having in one chapter of his work against heresies shewn that our Lord is the Spirit of God, follows up his theme through eight later chapters [Iren. *Adv. Hæres.* v. 8-15]. The general substance of what he says is represented by the following quotation: "The first Adam was made by the Lord a living soul, the second Adam a quickening Spirit. As, then, he who was made a living soul forfeited life when he turned aside to what was evil, so, on the other hand, the same man when he returns to what is good and receives the Quickening Spirit shall find Life" [*Ibid.* v. 12]. "Spiritual men shall not be incorporeal spirits," he had said before, "but our substance, that is the union of flesh and soul, receiving the Spirit of God, becomes the spiritual man" [*Ibid.* v. 8], and "there are three elements out of which, as I have shewn, the perfect man is made up, the flesh, the soul, and the spirit" [*Ibid.* v. 9].

The early Patristic theology thus indicated (and many more such passages might be quoted) leads to the conclusion that the Christian, being regenerated by the sanctifying power of God the Holy Spirit in Baptism, receives from Him a new element, the spiritual element, of human nature; and that this spiritual element is, in a degree, the spiritual substance of the "life-giving Spirit," God Incarnate.[1] Hence the baptismal gift is called ὁ ἀῤῥαβων, the "earnest" or "foretaste" of the Spirit [2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5], as being the initiation of that indwelling of the "Quickening Spirit" which is developed and perfected by the repeated communication of His Presence in the Elements of the Holy Eucharist. And the full work of the indwelling of God Incarnate is shewn by St. Paul in the sequel to his declaration, "The Spirit giveth life, . . . now the Lord is that Spirit" [2 Cor. iii. 6, 17]. For he adds, "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same Image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord" [*Ibid.* 18].

The recognition of this truth throws much light upon the nature of grace. God the Holy Ghost overshadowed the Blessed Virgin Mary, and God the Son becoming incarnate within her she was at once entitled by His Presence to be addressed by the angel as κεχαριτωμένη, gratia plena, full of grace. So God the Holy Ghost overshadows the Sacraments and those who receive them, and they become the means of conveying to the receivers the Presence of Him Whose indwelling replenishes with grace, and Who (as the "Quickening Spirit") is the true grace of God by which man becomes sanctified. Hence the great statement of the Incarnation given by St. John speaks of the Incarnate Word objectively as "full of grace and truth," and then adds as the subjective result, "And of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace" [John i. 14, 16]. Hence also the prayer of St. Paul for the Ephesians, "that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God" [Eph. iii. 19]; and his declaration of the object of the Incarnation,

[1] It is singular to find this great truth indicated by Plato and Seneca. The first says that man could never do what he does, morally, "unless a certain Divine Spirit were dwelling in his soul" [εἰ μή τι θεῖον ὄντως ἐνῆν πνεῦμα τῇ ψυχῇ, *Opp.* III. iii. 514], while the latter writes, "God is near thee, with thee, in thee. Yea, a holy spirit dwells within us" [*Ep.* xli. *ad init.*]. "Seeds of divinity have been sown in the bodies of men, which come up like to their original, if they meet with good husbandry" [*Ep.* lxxxiii. *ad fin.*].

that we may "all come . . . unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" [Eph. iv. 13].

Much light is also thrown upon the mystery of union with Christ and of the Life of God in the soul. For the "Spirit in the inner man," Christ dwelling in the heart by faith [Eph. iii. 16, 17], constitutes a very different bond of unity between the Head and His members from that which would be accomplished by a federal agreement, or verbal covenant. Personal union explains such sayings as "I am the Vine, ye are the branches;" "Abide in Me, and I in you;" "Now ye are the Body of Christ, and members in particular;" "We are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones;" "partakers of the Divine Nature." Such sayings can only be *explained away* by the identification of union with Christ with a covenant between Him and men, but they are clearly *explained* by the doctrine indicated in the preceding pages. For it is thus shewn that union with Christ is an incorporation of the nature of the Christian with the nature of Christ; that the growth and development of the Christian's spirit are "according to the measure of the gift of Christ," Who, by the work of God the Holy Ghost, gives Himself to that end; that Christ being "formed in" the Christian [Gal. iv. 19], he goes on "from the glory" of Creation "to the glory" of New Creation; that his "life is hid with Christ in God;" and that thus he can live in the Spirit, because the Spirit lives in him. [Incarnation. Mediation. Soul. Spirit, Holy. Delitzsch's *System of Biblical Psychology* (Clarke's transl.). Heard's *Tripartite Nature of Man.* Bishop Bull's *State of Man before the Fall.* Dodwell's *Natural Mortality of the Soul.*]

SPIRIT, THE HOLY. The Third Person in the Blessed Trinity, of one Substance, Majesty, and Glory with the Father and the Son, Very and Eternal God. He was in some measure revealed to mankind under the Old Testament dispensation, the first page of the Pentateuch declaring that "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" at the time of the creation. But, as with the Second Person of the Godhead so with the Third Person, it was reserved for the New Testament dispensation to reveal Him perfectly in His individual Personality, and His Divine Nature; He Himself bringing into the world the Light by whose illumination He was to be discerned. It was also reserved for the New Testament dispensation to fully develope the work of the Holy Ghost in the economy of grace, that work being dependent on, and associated with, the saving work of the Incarnation.

I. The Personality of the Holy Spirit. At a very early age of the Christian Church there arose an opinion that Τὸ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον was nothing more than a scriptural name for an energy or operation of the One God; and this opinion has necessarily been engrafted into every form of Unitarianism, from that of Sabellius in the third century to that of Socinus in the sixteenth. There is, however, abundant proof in Holy Scripture itself that the Holy Spirit is a Person, and such has always been the doctrine expressed in the creeds of the Church, in the doxologies of Divine Service, and in the formula with which Holy Baptism is administered.

Even in the Old Testament there are passages which indicate the existence of the Holy Spirit as an individual Person. Thus the expression "the Spirit of Elohim" which "moved upon the face of the waters" [Gen. i. 2] cannot be taken as identical with that of "Elohim" alone in the preceding verse; nor can it be taken as meaning merely an operation of "Elohim;" nor as signifying a force that received its impulse from "Elohim." On the contrary, it appears as an intelligent "Spirit," by its own power, and with a volition of its own; that is, acting in such a way as can only be predicated of a person, of that which has a living individuality.

Thus, again, the evidence for the doctrine of the Trinity which is afforded by the mysterious visit of the three "angels" to Abraham [Gen. xviii. 2, 13] is also evidence for the Personality of each of those whom the "angels" represented; the threefold benediction given for the use of the Jewish priesthood [Numb. vi. 24], and the threefold ascription of angelic praise revealed to Isaiah [Isa. vi. 3], are a similar evidence; the emphatic expression of the same prophet, "The Lord God and His Spirit hath sent me" [Isa. xlviii. 16], indicates the same idea of a personality of the Spirit, especially when so closely connected with that of "the Redeemer" in the following words; and, lastly, even where the Spirit is spoken of as "My Spirit," "Thy Spirit," or "His Spirit" [Gen. vi. 3; Psa. li. 11; Job xxvi. 13], there is still an idea of separateness and individuality which forbids us to *identify* the Spirit spoken of with the Person Whose Spirit it is said to be, and therefore leads us to think of that Spirit as a distinct Person.

The opening page of the New Testament, however, reveals distinctly the individual Personality of the Holy Spirit. For in predicting the mystery of the Incarnation the angel Gabriel speaks of Him without any qualifying pronoun, with a distinctive article, and with the prefix "holy," saying to the Blessed Virgin Mary "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee" [Luke i. 35]; the force of such a manner of expression being intensified by that of the following words, "and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee," in which the idea of personality is wanting. A similar distinctive title is also given by St. Matthew, who says that "she was found with child of the Holy Ghost" [Matt. i. 18]. In after days our Lord Himself spoke of the Holy Spirit as a Person Who was to teach, to guide, to reprove and convince the world; to testify of Him, to be a Comforter to His disciples, to abide with them for ever [John xiv. 16, 17, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 8 13]: and above all He placed the Name of the same Holy Spirit in exact apposition with the Names of the personal Father and the personal Son when He commissioned His Apostles to go forth baptizing "in the Name of the Father, and

of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" [Matt. xxviii. 19]. Stronger testimony than this there could not be, and it is only by way of corroboration that the witness of the Apostolic writings may be added when they exhibit the Holy Spirit as a Person bestowing spiritual gifts according to His will [1 Cor. xii. 8, 11], giving verbal directions [Acts x. 19, xiii. 2; Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 17], as helping our infirmities, and interceding for us [Rom. viii. 26], as renewing [Tit. iii. 5], and sanctifying [Rom. xv. 16] God's people.

Thus the personality of the Holy Ghost is revealed distinctly in association with the work of Creation and New Creation; He is shewn as a Person Who acted in some mysterious manner upon the waters of the primeval chaos, Who wrought the Incarnation of God the Son in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, Who has a Name that may be set by the side of the Name of the Father and the Name of the Son, and Who exercises a personal action upon mankind in the work of redemption.

II. The Divinity of the Holy Ghost. In modern times very few persons would be found who would acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is a Person and yet deny that He is a Divine Person, the Sabellian idea being that which is commonly entertained by philosophical Pneumatomachi, as well as that which pervades the indefinite belief of the multitude. But in the early ages of Christianity there was a persistent current of heresy respecting the Holy Ghost which ran parallel with the heresy that eventually developed into Arianism. Thus Simon Magus, Montanus, and Manes, each appear to have represented themselves as the promised Paraclete, making Him out to be a human person; and it is certain that their respective followers entertained such a notion of each of their founders. The Valentinians asserted that the Holy Ghost was an angel; and the Macedonians formulated the belief of the Arians, that He was a created Being analogous to their imaginary created Son of God. Against this persistent heresy in all its forms the Constantinopolitan creed asserted the traditional faith of the Church: "And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and the Life-giver, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the prophets;" the co-equal and co-eternal glory and majesty of the Third with the First and Second Persons of the Blessed Trinity being more fully still declared in a formula almost as ancient as that creed, viz. the Athanasian Hymn.

The evidence which proves the Personality of the Holy Ghost does, in reality, go far to prove also His Divine Nature, especially that which is drawn from the words of our Lord; and, of those words, especially from the formula which He ordained to be used in the administration of Baptism. But much more evidence is to be found in the New Testament, for the Holy Spirit is frequently spoken of in terms which could only be used of God, and characteristics are attributed to Him which could only be attributed to God.

Thus St. Peter says to Ananias, "Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost? . . . thou hast not lied unto man but unto God," and to Sapphira, "Ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord" [Acts v. 3, 4, 9]; thus declaring that the "Holy Ghost" and the "Spirit of the Lord," are the names of One Who is God. And as St. John declares that the glory of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity was seen and spoken of by Isaiah, when he saw "the Lord sitting upon a throne . . . and heard the voice of the Lord" [Isa. vi. 1, 8; John xii. 41], so St. Paul declares that voice to have been the voice of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, "Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our fathers" [Acts xxviii. 25, 26]. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, also, "the Holy Ghost" is called "the Living God" Whom the Israelites had tempted in the wilderness [Heb. iii. 7, 12]: in that to the Corinthians He is declared to be the God Who inhabits the spiritual temple of the Christian body [1 Cor. iii. 16 vi. 19]; to be the Lord Whose Presence brings liberty [2 Cor. iii. 17]; and the God from Whom proceed spiritual gifts, administrations, and operations [1 Cor. xii. 4-11]. Such are a few of the many scriptural sayings which shew that the Holy Ghost is God, one in Substance, Glory, and Majesty with the Father and the Son; sayings in which He receives the Name of God, and in which there are assigned to Him the attributes and operations of the Divine Nature. Others might be easily added which attribute to Him Omniscience [1 Cor. ii. 10], Omnipotence [Rom. viii. 11], Omnipresence [Wisd. i. 7], Creative power [Psa. civ. 30], ability to inspire [2 Pet. i. 21], and other qualities or attributes of the Godhead, but those which have been quoted are enough to indicate the line of proof, and to shew the sufficiency of the evidence. The relation of the Third to the other Persons of the Blessed Trinity is also dealt with elsewhere. [Procession of the Holy Ghost.]

III. The Office of the Holy Spirit. This may be spoken of generally as that of complementing the work of God the Father and God the Son, perfecting that which each has originated and created. Not that there is ever any incompleteness, properly speaking, in any work of God, but that in the orderliness of the Divine Counsels the Divine Will acts now through one, now through another of the Divine Persons, as it is said of the Second Person that "all things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made" [John i. 3], and that by Him God "made the worlds" [Heb. i. 2]. Thus "the Spirit of God" appears to have "moved upon the face of the waters," to bring forth light and order from darkness and chaos, and so to have complemented the creation of matter. Thus, also, all "the host" of the heavens (by which the holy angels are probably signified), are said by the Psalmist to have been made by the "Breath" of the Lord's mouth, as the "heavens" were made by His Word [Psa. xxxiii. 6]. And in the same manner the Spirit

of God co-operated in the creation of man, when "the Lord God . . . breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul" [Gen. ii. 7] by the communication of that complement of his tripartite nature which distinguishes man from other animals. [SPIRIT. MEDIATION.] So, again, in the Incarnation, by which the re-creation of mankind was effected, the "Father sent the Son into the world," the Son Himself became incarnate, and the Holy Spirit overshadowed the Blessed Virgin that she might be the instrument by which human nature should be taken into the Divine, "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." And as the Holy Ghost thus wrought in the beginning of the re-creation, so He continues to work throughout its whole course; *regenerating* mankind that they may become partakers of the new nature, *sanctifying* them that the new nature may abide with them in the kingdom of grace, and eventually reach that abode where the Incarnate God has gone to prepare a place for those whose sanctification reaches its final stage.

SPONSORS [*ἀνάδοχοι*; *sponsores* or *susceptores*]. Those who "promise and vow" in the name of the baptized. They are also called god-parents (in old English "god-sibs" or "gossips," *i.e.* god-relations) and sureties.

There is very ancient authority for the use of sponsors at holy baptism. We find mention of them in Tertullian, *De Bapt.* c. xviii. [circa 200]; also in the Apostolic Constitutions, lib. iii. c. 16; in St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Comm. in Joan.* xi. 26; in the Decrees of the fourth Council of Carthage, c. xii. [A.D. 398], and, very frequently, in the writings of St. Augustine. They are required by the Church as security that the children or adults receiving the grace of Baptism be taught what a solemn vow and profession has been made for them. In early times, especially, when children who had been deserted by heathen parents were presented for baptism, there would arise a great necessity for god-parents in order that they might be instructed and brought up as Christians.

Three sorts of sponsors are enumerated by Bingham [*Antiq.* xi. 8]:—

I. Those for infants, who were required to answer the interrogatories, and to be guardians of the child's education.

II. For adults who could not answer for themselves, *e.g.* persons afflicted with loss of speech or reason, or in extremity of sickness. If such persons had beforehand desired baptism, it was administered, the sponsors making answer as in the case of infants.

III. For adults in general. In this case the sponsors were rather witnesses, and did not answer in the name of the baptized, though it was their duty in after life to remind them of their obligations. This is the view taken in our own office for adult baptism.

The primitive custom of the Church was to *require* only one sponsor at baptism. This is the existing practice both of the Greek and Latin Churches, though two sponsors are *permitted*. In the case of adults a man was sponsor for a man and a woman for a woman,[1] but in the case of infants this rule was not observed. The Sarum rubric only permitted two god-parents, "nisi alia fuerit consuetudo approbata" [Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* i. p. 31]. Three was the largest number ever permitted, and it is doubtful if so many were ever *required* in the English Church until A.D. 1661, when the present rubric was inserted.

In primitive times it is clear that parents were permitted to act as sponsors for their children, *e.g.* St. Augustine plainly says "quando ad baptismum offeruntur parentes pro eis, tanquam fidedictores, respondent" [*Epist.* xxiii. *ad Bonifac.*]. The first decree to the contrary was made by the Council of Mentz [A.D. 813]. Our own twenty-ninth canon, which made a similar prohibition (herein following the Sarum rubric), was altered by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1865, but the alteration has never been adopted by that of York, or promulgated by the Crown.

It was customary in early ages for the office of sponsor to be chiefly undertaken by deacons and deaconesses, *τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ὑποδεχέσθω ὁ διάκονος· τὴν δε γυναικα, ἡ διάκονος* [*Const. Apost.* lib. iii. c. 16]. Catechumens, energumens, heretics, and penitents, were excluded from being sponsors. The law of the Church of England still requires the god-parents to be communicants.

By a law of Justinian [*Cod.* lib. v. tit. 4, *de Nuptiis*, leg. xxvi.] marriage is forbidden between sponsors and those whom they have brought to baptism. This law is confirmed and extended in its operation by the decree of the Council of Trullo [A.D. 692], and being further enacted (with certain limitations) by the Council of Trent, it is the law of the Church of Rome at the present day.

SUBDEACONS. [*ὑποδιάκονοι*; *ὑπηρέται*; *subdiaconi.*] An order appointed to assist and serve the deacons of the Church, as the deacons served the higher orders. They are of more ancient institution than any of the "minores ordines," Bona, who acknowledges them to be of ecclesiastical institution, referring that of subdeacons to the time of the Apostles: "Subdiaconorum licet expressa mentio in sacris litteris non reperiatur, eorum tamen institutio vel ad Christum, ut recentiores scholastici existimant, vel ad apostolos referenda est" [Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* I. xxv. n. 16]. Augusti [xi. 23] traces a connection between subdeacons and the *ὑπηρέται* of the New Testament, and this is a word very frequently employed to designate them in ecclesiastical writings. Martene's opinion on the question is as follows: "Ad primam classem revocandi sunt illi soli quorum meminit scriptura—episcopatus, presbyteratus, diaconatus quos a Christo institutos profitemur. Quibus tandem accessit subdiaconatus qui cum quatuor minoribus ordinibus secundo tertiove a Christo nato sæculo institutus est ab Ecclesia" [*De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* lib. I. c. viii p. 260].

There is no *certain* mention of subdeacons

[1] See the decree of Leo quoted by Gratian, *De Consecrat. Distinct.* iv. c. cii.; and also the canon of the Council of Metz, quoted in Bingham, *Antiq.* XI. viii.

until the third century, but they are then spoken of as a settled order of the Church. St. Cyprian mentions them in many of his epistles, and Cornelius [A.D. 251-252], in his letter to Fabius, says that the Church of Rome had seven ὑποδιάκονοι [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 43], a number which in that Church would seem to have been constant. They are named along with readers and singers in the Apostolic Canons [lxix.].

It is most probable that they were not ordained by imposition of hands. St. Basil speaks of the order as ἀχειροτόνητος ὑπηρεσία [*Ep.* can. li.]. The fourth Council of Carthage [A.D. 398] thus gives directions as to their ordination:—"When the subdeacon is ordained, since he does not receive the imposition of hands, let him receive an empty paten and an empty chalice (patenam vacuam et calicem vacuum) from the hand of the bishop. And from the hand of the archdeacon (let him receive) an ewer, together with water, a towel, and maniple" (urceolum cum aqua, et mantile, et manutergium; c. v.). It should be stated, *per contra*, that the Apostolic Constitutions [viii. 21] speak of St. Thomas the Apostle as ordering subdeacons to be ordained with the imposition of hands and prayer. In the Roman Ordinal, the bishop causes the candidate to lay his hands on an empty chalice and paten, saying, "Have a care to the ministry which is entrusted to you, and present yourself unto God in such manner as is well-pleasing unto Him." Then the candidate lays his hand on the book of the Epistles and the further charge is given: "Receive this book, and authority to read the Epistles in the holy Church of God." The candidates are clothed in white, and are also vested by the bishop in amice, maniple, and tunicle.

As to the duties of subdeacons, Martene [*De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.*, lib. i. 356] quotes "ex MS. pontificali Anglicano monasterii Gemeticensis, circa 900—'Quare vocatur subdiaconus. Ideo subdiaconi appellantur quia subjacent præceptis et officiis Levitarum, oportet illis epistolam legere, onestare altare, et aquam præparare in ministerio altaris. *Unde et Dominus subdiaconus appellatus est quia in Chana Galilææ aquam in vinum convertit.*'"

They had to prepare the vessels of the altar, but had no place in the sanctuary, and are forbidden by the Council of Laodicea [A.D. 366] ἅπτεσθαι δεσποτικῶν σκευῶν [c. xxi.]. Bona remarks [I. xxv. n. 16], "Olim nec calicem, nec patenam, nec oblationes in altari ponebant, sed hæc omnia porrigebant diaconis, eisque serviebant intra sanctuarium." They are also forbidden to wear the stole (ὡράριον φορεῖν), or to leave the doors [*Concil. Laodic.* c. xxii.]. They had to place the different classes, *i.e.* catechumens, penitents, &c., in their recognised places in the church, and also to guard the doors from all intruders when the holy mysteries were being celebrated. For this purpose the Apostolic Constitutions order the subdeacons to stand at the women's gate. They were very generally employed as messengers of the bishops, especially to foreign churches, and as such are named by St. Cyprian [*Ep.* xxiv. *al.* xxix.]. The number at Constantinople is given at ninety in Justinian, *Novell.* vi. 43.

In the Roman Church the subdeacons have charge of the holy vessels, mingle the water with the wine of the chalice, sing the epistle, and hold the book of the gospels to the deacon, &c. They are vested in alb and tunicle. One of these vestments, expressly called *subdiaconalem*, was bequeathed by St. Ansegisus [A.D. 820] to the Abbey of Fontenelle in Normandy.

St. Gregory the Great [A.D. 590-604] mentions that the privilege of wearing the tunicle was granted to the subdeacons so long before his day that he knew not by whom. [*Epist.* xii. lib. ix. *Op.* tom. II. p. 940.]

The "Epistoler," mentioned in the twenty-fourth canon and in the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth (7th year), corresponds in some respects to the subdeacon of earlier times. At Hereford, by a statute of the year A.D. 1583, there were to be four subcanons, deacons, or *subdeacons*. These, by another statute [A.D. 1637], might be laymen, but were to live in the college of vicars. [Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* I. iii. 30. Bingham, *Antiq.* iii. 2.]

SUBLAPSARIANISM. The theory of moderate Calvinists, who, wishing to avoid the fearful inference to be drawn from Supralapsarianism, that God is the author of sin, maintain that God did not ***decree***, but only *foresaw* the Fall of Adam: but if, as admitted, the consequences of his sin be equally ruinous according to each theory—all men being eternally lost with the exception of a few saved by the irresistible grace of election—the attempt is fruitless to remove the odium from the Creator by a mere change of term. It cannot be of essential moment whether God *foresaw* Adam's sin and its tremendous effects without interfering to prevent it, or according to another theory, whether the Fall is solely owing to God's predestination and *decree*. Its consequences as regards the human race are in each case exactly the same, which obviously is the only point of real importance. [CALVINISM.]

SUBJECTIVE. [OBJECTIVE.]

SUBSTANCE. Substance is Being; "something of which we can say that it is!" [Johnson], whether visible or invisible; create or uncreate. It may include personal distinction. Humanity is a substantive unity, distinct from angelic substance on the one side, and from the lower forms of life on the other. But in that humanity individuals are indefinitely varied, though its substance be only one. The vast number of individuals of which it consists causes us to confuse substance and person, and we deem each personal substance to be *per se* substance. Adam at first represented the entire substance of humanity; in him personality was co-extensive with substance. When Eve was formed of this substance, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, human substance was still an unity, though there was now in it a distinction of persons; and the same principle holds good at the present day; the substance of humanity derived from one common forefather, the protoplast, is one; the individuals

of which that common humanity consists are some eight or nine hundred millions of singly responsible persons.

Of the Divine Substance it can only be stated that God is the Divine attributes, and these attributes are God. "Absit ut spiritus secundum substantiam dicatur Deus, et bonus secundum qualitatem; sed utrumque secundum substantiam" [Aug. *De Trin.* xv. 5]. His substance is a simple multiplicity of attributes, as His attributes are the manifold unity of His substance [*Ibid.* vi. 4]. "Quicquid attribuitur Deo est ejus essentia; et propter hoc, sapientia et virtus idem sunt in Deo, quia ambo sunt in divina essentia" [Aquin. *Summa*, i. xl. 1]. But a God that can be known as He is, is no God. Hooker's words may be remembered, "Our soundest knowledge is to know that we know Him not, as indeed He is, neither can know Him; and our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence; when we confess without confession, that His glory is inexplicable, His greatness above our capacity and reach. He is above and we upon earth, therefore it behoveth that our words be wary and few" [*Eccl. Pol.* i. 2. Ὀτσι'α.].

SUBSTRATI. [Genuflectentes.]

SUFFRAGAN. A bishop subject to an archbishop alone. Originally the bishops of a province elected the archbishop or confirmed his election; and also gave their vote or suffrage in a provincial council. Thus the same prelate was a suffragan in this view, a diocesan in relation to his diocese, and an ordinary in regard to jurisdiction. The grand vicar or chancellor of the diocese was also called a suffragan. Suffrage was a vote in a deliberative assembly, and in the Novels of Justinian meant money [xvi.], "qui emerit præsulatum per suffragium, episcopatu et ordine ecclesiastico excidat."

In point of fact bishops subject to a metropolitan are called suffragan because they assist him in the episcopal office, viz. in consecration of bishops, attending councils and the like. When the Franks conquered the Holy Land they nominated Latin patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, archbishops and bishops, and they pursued the same course after the capture of Constantinople. These prelates, when compelled to retire to their own country, retained their titles, even when appointed to home sees; as the archbishop of Bourges, *in commendam*, called himself Patriarch of Alexandria, and Anthony Bec, actual Bishop of Durham, was Patriarch of Jerusalem. Even when there was no hope of restoration to sees, ex partibus infidelium, the papal nuncios and vicars apostolic were often titulars of this description without holding any see, alike coadjutors and suffragans. The latter in Germany represented the prince and electors, bishops being their pensionaries and deputies in the discharge of episcopal functions. This abuse has been said to have taken rise in Greece.

From the thirteenth (or possibly earlier) to the sixteenth century there was in the English Church a class of bishops [1] holding nominal sees, titulars or "in partibus infidelium," in Hungary, Greece or Asia; [2] exiles, temporary or permanent, from bishoprics in Ireland or Scotland during unsettled times, who were called suffragans, as they assisted the diocesan bishops in consecrations of churches, confirmations, and the ordaining of clergy, usually to the inferior orders. Henry VIII. in 1534 [26 Hen. VIII. c. 14, repealed 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, c. viii. § 13, revived by 1 Eliz. c. i. § 9] converted these suffragans into a kind of chorepiscopi, by giving them English sees, with limited jurisdiction; their titles being taken from boroughs, not from cities. These were *Dover* for Canterbury, *Nottingham* and *Hull* for York, *Colchester* for London, *Berwick* for Durham, Guildford, Southampton and the Isle of Wight for Winchester, *Bedford*, Leicester, Grantham and Huntingdon for Lincoln, *Thetford* and *Ipswich* for Norwich, *Shaftesbury*, *Marlborough* and Molton for Salisbury, *Taunton*, Bridgewater for Bath and Wells, *Shrewsbury* for Lichfield, Cambridge for Ely, St. Germans for Exeter, and *Penrith* for Carlisle. Bristol was also a suffragan see in 1538. The names in italics were actually in use.

Any bishop who desires a suffragan is empowered to present two persons to the Crown, of whom the latter selects one, who is consecrated as other bishops, but whose authority is limited by commission from the diocesan. In recent times the office of Suffragan Bishop has been revived in the Church of England; one having been consecrated as Bishop of Nottingham, and another as Bishop of Dover, in the year 1870. [Stubbs, *Regist. Sacr. Anglican.* Burnet, *Hist. of Reform.*, i. 319, 320. Records, p. i. b. ii. n. 51. Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* b. ii. c. 14, sec. 13, 14. Brett, *Ch. Gov.* c. xii. Mason, b. iii. c. x. sec. 10. Nichol's *Bibl. Top.* vol. vi. André, *Droit Canon.* i. 1203.]

SUNDAY. A name for the first day of the week, adopted by the first Christians from the Roman Calendar. It is found in familiar use during the second century [Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 67; Tertull. *Apol.* xvi., *Ad Nation.* i. 13]; and had, perhaps, been adopted from its easy association with the title "Sun of Righteousness," given to our Lord with reference to His "arising," or Resurrection, by the prophet Malachi [Mal. iv. 2]. There was also much confusion between the use of the name "Lord's day" as a designation of the first day of the week and of the day of Judgment [1 Cor. i. 8], which may have led to the Christianization of the title "Dies Solis."

The first day of the week was sanctified by our Lord's Resurrection, by His various appearances to the disciples, and by the descent of the Holy Ghost. It became a "beginning of days," as a commemoration of the joy and light which were the result of the Resurrection, and also of the new life which was brought into the Church of God by the Holy Ghost. Hence it was from the beginning observed as a solemn day of worship, with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist [Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2]. For some time it was observed conjointly with the Sabbath, verbal and ritual relics of such observance still remaining in our liturgical books and customs. But as Jewish habits became disused by the Gentile

Churches, this practice was generally, though slowly, discontinued. [SABBATH. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures.*]

SUPEREROGATION. The doctrine of works of supererogation had its foundation in that of the communion of saints. The many members of the Body being one, and having a community of sympathy in each other's joys and sorrows, and a common interest in the merits of their Divine Head, it was also believed that the merit of good works done by one Christian belonged not to him individually, but to the whole body. It appeared from Col. i. 12, that a certain amount of sufferings was to be endured by the Church, and that the sufferings of one detracted something from the measure which remained for others to give up. "Fixa est mensura passionum, quas tota exantlare debet ecclesia quo plus igitur Paulus exhausit, eo minus et ipsi posthac et ceteris relinquitur; hoc facit communio sanctorum" [Bengel, *in loco*]. By parity of argument it followed that as Christ has ordained His Church not only to a fellowship with Himself in sufferings, but in holiness, there is a certain amount of good works which the Church must also do before her Lord's Second Coming, and that the good works of one may be profitable to supply the deficiencies of another. It was not asserted that good works possessed merit in themselves, for they were not wrought without the grace of God, but they possessed merit because they were wrought by Christ in men and He had promised to reward them.

Because they were wrought by Christ in men it appeared more probable that the benefit extended to all the members of His Body; and that their performance was like the supplementing of His sufferings, not as a cause of pardon, but as a sacrifice which was acceptable to God. Distinction was made between the *pœna* and the *culpa* of sin. *Culpa* was the guilt which entailed everlasting punishment, and *pœna* the temporal consequence which, as in David's case, remained when the *culpa* was remitted. It was *quoad pœnam*, and not *quoad culpam*, that the good works of others were believed to be profitable [Cajetan, *Opuscula*, tom. iii. p. 169]. Its first practical application, mentioned by Tertullian, was the restoration to communion of those who had lapsed in time of persecution, at the intercession of confessors and martyrs, the good deeds of the latter being substituted for the penance which would otherwise have been exacted of the lapsed. From this grew up the belief that the good works of saints would be effectual to diminish the temporal consequences of sin in others, and hence arose the system of INDULGENCES.

A distinction appeared to exist between the precepts of Christ, which were of universal obligation, and the counsels of perfection, which were enjoined on those who could receive them. All moral and religious duties which were equally needful for all belonged to the first class, whilst martyrdom, virginity, and voluntary poverty belonged to the second. And these being voluntary works "over and above God's commandments" were called *works of supererogation*, which were supposed to form a treasury at the disposal of the Church for the benefit of her members. In the "Institution of a Christian Man," set forth by authority of Convocation A.D. 1537, whilst the practice of indulgences was condemned, the principle of works of supererogation was affirmed: "I believe that whatsoever spiritual gift or treasure is given by God unto any one part or member of this mystical Body of Christ, although the same be given particularly unto this member, and not unto another, yet the fruit and merit thereof shall, by reason of that incomprehensible union and bond of charity which is between them, redound necessarily unto the profit, edifying and increase in Christ's Body of all the other members particularly." The Council of Trent made no decree on the doctrine of supererogation, but in the Tridentine Catechism, part i. cap. x. quæstio 23, language is used very similar to that of the "Institution of a Christian Man" just quoted: "Sed alia etiam communio ecclesia cogitanda est. Quæcunque enim pie sancteque ab uno suscipiuntur, ea ad omnes pertinent, et, ut illis prosint, caritate, quæ non quærit quæ sua sunt, efficitur." The great abuses which had arisen from the condonation of crimes by means of indulgences purchased by wicked men were provided against by the declaration that this participation in good works is of no profit to the wicked, but only to the living members of Christ's Body.

At the time of the Reformation, the fearful profanation of indulgences had brought discredit on the doctrine of "supererogation," or, as it might be more properly called "the communion of saints in good works," and the popular teaching of the day, by exhibiting one side of the truth only, had led men to look on good works as a cause of boasting and pride. When, therefore, the Articles of Religion were framed in A.D. 1553, the fourteenth declared "That voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogance and impiety. For by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas, Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that ye are commanded to do, say, We are unprofitable servants." It is clear from the wording of the article that it is not the doctrine as stated in the "Institution of a Christian Man," or in the Tridentine Catechism (which was not compiled until some years afterwards), but the opinion on the subject then prevalent, that is condemned. To believe that good works done by the grace of God promote the peace and happiness of the whole Church, is not inconsistent with meekness and humility, nor is it forbidden by the article. The man who, in obedience to the call of grace, works out the counsels of perfection, does no more than he is commanded. The disciples, in forsaking all to follow Christ, merely obeyed His call. The rich young man was bidden to observe a counsel of perfection when he was told to sell his riches and give them to the poor, but he failed in his obedience when he hesitated to

do it. There are narrower ways within the narrow path, and many mansions in our Father's house, but to whichever of these the grace of God may call, that man will risk his salvation who refuses to obey. All men are not called to be martyrs, but when a man is placed in a situation which leaves him no alternative between martyrdom and apostasy, his acceptance of martyrdom can no longer be called a voluntary work over and above what is commanded. Similarly, marriage would be sin in one who was persuaded that a life of virginity would serve better to godliness [Art. XXXII.]. The saint can claim no merit apart from Christ, for it would be arrogance and impiety to believe that his works were done by his own natural strength. And, as humility is an inseparable ingredient in saintliness, after he had done all, he would still be ready to acknowledge himself an unprofitable servant, lamenting that at last he had done so little, and ascribing to his Lord the glory of all that he had done.

Although the doctrine stated has been held by divines, it has never been authoritatively decreed either by the Churches of England or Rome as an article of faith. As held in the Church of Rome, it is stated by Cardinal Bellarmine in the second book of his treatise *De Monachis,* in which he assumes the distinction between positive commands and counsels of perfection: "a principle," says Bishop Harold Browne, "which, rightly understood, need not be controverted." If the Cardinal had admitted that when a man is called to a counsel of perfection he is not at liberty to reject it, there would remain no ground for controversy between the Churches of England and Rome on this subject. [Keble's *Academical Sermons,* serm. xi. Bishop Forbes on *XXXIX. Arts.* Bishop Beveridge on *XXXIX. Arts.* Bishop Harold Browne on *XXXIX. Arts.*].

SUPERNATURAL. This is a word which is popularly used in opposition to "natural," things and events which are not within the ordinary concrete experience and knowledge of mankind being looked upon as forming part of a separate system of things and events. A truer and more exact use of the word is, as expressing the higher region of one continuous system of which the lower region is that of the things and events which come within ordinary experience and knowledge. In this latter sense supernatural things and events are not in any way opposed to order and law, but form the higher portion of an universal order, and are the subjects of an unknown, but not unknowable, law.

There is abundant evidence to shew that the sphere of created things and of knowable phenomena and laws is far larger than that of the known. The world of nature is a vast region into which the further we penetrate the more we see lying beyond. The most extreme boundary of what at any time may be our *known* region, is confidently felt to be still only the verge of a great knowable sphere of what is as yet the *unknown.* Experience also shews that while the region of knowledge into which one generation has passed was a region of mystery to its predecessors, yet a region of mystery still exists, and is likely to exist so long as man is what he is; and that thus, while the sphere of known order and law is continually enlarging, it is still always surrounded by a sphere of unknown order and unknown law, zone girding zone, and sphere enclosing sphere, apparently without limit. But every increase of knowledge reveals to us further illustrations of the assertion that "order is Heaven's first law." If newly discovered facts and laws seem for a time to form no part of the general system of order, we know that they are only as mountain peaks standing high up above a mist which hides their connected roots, and that when the mist is dissipated by advancing day they will all appear as part of a continuous chain.

Such experience as to the illimitable fields of phenomena in the sphere which we call Nature, and of their yet unvarying continuity, may lead us to the firmest conviction that this continuity extends to every part of creation, and to every operation of which any part of it is capable. That of which the laws were once unknown was then classed as supernatural; when our research has enabled us to form a conception of its place in God's κόσμος we class it with the natural. Unintelligent wonder is succeeded by intelligent admiration, the unknown becomes part of the known, and our conviction is strengthened that there is an orderly place for every phenomenon, however remarkable, and a law to which it is subject, however apparently exceptional and erratic in its operations.

Belief in the supernatural does not therefore require us to believe in any violation of law; since all reasoning which starts from what we know leads to the conclusion that "supernatural" phenomena are as much the result of law as phenomena which are called "natural." What we see of God's κόσμος establishes a reasonable conviction that order exists even in what we do not see: and to class any phenomena in such a way as to imply that they break this order is unreasonable. Beyond the farthest point to which our existing intelligence can ever reach there will be ever a region which it cannot reach: but the knowable and the as yet unknowable are evidently parts of one continuous and consistent whole, and are subject to a system of law of which unity and continuity are equally predicable.

Thus "miracles," the wonders of the unintelligent mind, reveal to the mind which is convinced of Divine orderliness either the results of unknown law, or new results of known law. Sometimes a known force is resisted, sometimes it is accelerated. As any one can interrupt a known and unvarying force like gravitation by arresting the fall of a descending body, or accelerate the operation of that force by increasing the *momentum* of the descending body; so the Supreme Controller of all force could interrupt the "natural" course of dissolution in the body of Lazarus, and accelerate the process of resurrection. But in neither case is there any violation of law, for the law of resistance by which a falling body is

arrested in its fall is as much a law as that of gravitation in obedience to which it falls; and the law by which the process of dissolution is arrested, or that of resurrection accelerated, is equally part of a system of law, and of the orderliness in which all things are arranged by God. The veil of "supernatural" phenomena and "supernatural" law is for a moment lifted by a miracle, and forthwith it becomes evident that "Nature" is not to be limited by the boundaries of our experience, but that it extends into a region which is ordinarily unseen, and forms one great system of order of which the "supernatural" is but the higher atmosphere. [MIRACLES. NATURE. NATURE, LAWS OF.]

SUPERSTITION. The ancient sense of the word "superstitio" was that of worship over and above that which was appointed by proper authority. Hence religious systems not recognised by the Roman State were called "superstitions," Christianity itself being for some centuries among the number. The usage of the word in recent times has been very arbitrary, little regard being had to anything more than its convenience as a term of condemnation. It does not seem always to have been used in a bad sense, however, in Old English, as is shewn by Acts xvii. 22, where it represents δεισιδαιμονία, a word used by the Apostle as indicating that the Athenians were a God-fearing people who would not refuse to listen to his appeal about the "unknown God."

Yet, as a rule, superstition is to be regarded as a parody of faith, the latter being a belief founded on credible authority or other sufficient evidence, while superstition is a belief on insufficient evidence, or on no evidence at all. While faith may, therefore, be called an evidential belief in things unseen (the highest evidence of all being Divine revelation of them), superstition may be called a speculative belief; and its tendency is towards credulity.

A large element of superstition must necessarily enter into the religion of all very devout but ignorant persons, and the uprooting of it without a corresponding instruction in matters of faith may go far to destroy devotional habits and to induce an ignorant scepticism. It is well, therefore, to remember this in dealing with superstitions that take a Christian form among religious Christians of the illiterate classes; and some wise words written many years ago may be recalled to mind. "Let us not be superstitiously afraid," said Alexander Knox, "of superstition. It shews great ignorance of the human heart, and the springs by which its passions are moved, to neglect taking advantage of the impression which particular circumstances, times, and seasons, naturally make upon the mind. The root of all superstition is the principle of the association of ideas; by which objects, naturally indifferent, become dear and venerable through their connection with interesting ones. It is true, this principle has been much abused; it has given rise to pilgrimages innumerable, worship of relics, and priestly power. But let us not carry our ideas of purity and simplicity so far, as to neglect it entirely" [Knox's *Remains*, ii. 448].

It may be added that some forms of intellectual scepticism involve superstition of a far more dangerous kind than that involved in the credulity of ignorant piety; and that such scepticism is often found going hand in hand with a credulity that is always ready to receive the "phenomena" of such absurdities as table-turning, spirit-rapping, &c. &c., while it scornfully rejects many well-proved articles of Christian belief.

SUPRALAPSARIANISM. A term used to denote the theory of Calvin, Beza, and others, who, supposing that nothing could happen independently of the Divine Will and purpose, maintained that God had *decreed* the Fall of Adam, which is the source and origin of all evil—a theory which seems necessarily to imply that God is the author of sin. [CALVINISM.]

SUPREMACY, PAPAL. An authority, partly spiritual and partly temporal, which the Bishop of Rome claims to exercise over the clergy (and, through them, over the laity) of the whole world. It is claimed on the ground that the Bishops of Rome are, in the fullest sense, successors of St. Peter, that they therefore inherit all the authority which was given by our Lord to that holy Apostle, and that the authority so given constituted St. Peter the supreme deputy of Christ. Hence the Popes claim to be, as representatives of St. Peter, the supreme spiritual sovereigns of the world.

There is no trace of any such claim as this being advanced by the Bishops of Rome, nor of any such authority being exercised by them until several hundred years after the death of St. Peter. At the Council of Nicæa [A.D. 325] a patriarchal authority over the churches of the "province" or "eparchate" of Rome is declared to be customary [σύνηθες], and a similar privilege is therefore declared to belong also, as an "ancient custom," to the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch. But there is no indication whatever in the convocation of that council, in its decrees, or in any writings contemporary with it, that up to that time the Bishops of Rome had exercised any authority beyond that of other metropolitans. Until then, the Church of Rome had only an honorary precedence allowed to it; and although, on account of the greatness of the see, the fraternal intercourse which existed between the churches of different countries had often taken the form of applications to Rome for information and advice, and of letters from Rome of warning and of censure, yet in this there was no concession of authority to Rome; and the very writers who used words of largest import regarding her precedency—such as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian—shewed in their writings, as well as in their actions, that submission to her was by no means recognised as a duty. On the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Empire, however, the Bishop of Rome rose at once to the rank of a great accredited functionary. He was the first Christian in the first city of the world, and that city was legally Christian. Within a very short time after this

official recognition of Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire, we find its metropolitan bishop assuming a much more important position than had ever before been assigned to him; and from that time his claims to supremacy began to be developed.

The course of its development was marked by the change of the fraternal admonitions and applications for advice, into a system of formal appeals to an acknowledged jurisdiction; the lineal descent from St. Peter, and the primacy of St. Peter being gradually put forward to supply the authority for that jurisdiction. Disputes in other churches were referred to the see which was first in rank, and its bishops gradually increased their power, sometimes by an honest defence of the right, sometimes by a dexterous management of the cases presented to them. When an officer of high standing is frequently chosen to be an arbitrator, he easily passes into a judge.

1. At the Council of Sardica [A.D. 347] a definite appellate jurisdiction was given to the Bishop of Rome. In the third Canon it is ordered that if any bishop was dissatisfied with the judgment given in any case on which he was tried within his own province, he might honour the memory of the Apostle Peter by writing to the Bishop of Rome, who, if he thought good, might order a fresh trial, and name the judges before whom it was to take place.

This canon (though of no authority, since it was made after the Eastern Bishops had left the council, and was never ratified) shews plainly that the Western Bishops were at that time ready to submit to the supremacy of Rome. The power of the emperors was exerted on the same side. Valentinian I. decreed that every bishop should possess the right of appeal to Rome, and that every metropolitan should be bound to appear when cited [Baronius, *ad An.* 381, n. 2]. Valentinian III. decreed that all bishops were bound to appear before the Bishop of Rome upon citation [*Ibid. ad An.* 445, n. 9], this latter decree establishing indeed almost an absolute judicial supremacy in the Holy See.

This system of appeals encroached, it will be at once perceived, upon the powers of metropolitans and their provincial synods. Much resistance was made by the metropolitans, who were not disposed to surrender their prerogatives, so that the papal authority remained for some time indefinite; nor was the appellate jurisdiction of Rome fairly established until the pontificate of Gregory, A.D. 590-604.

2. An appellate jurisdiction might have existed without other interference in the affairs of the churches. But the Romish notion of supremacy was different: and that notion was strengthened by the peculiarity of the Romish patriarchate proper, or vicariate of Rome, in none of whose ten provinces was there a metropolitan. As the office of metropolitan could not be abolished the aim of the popes was to make the holders of the office delegates of Rome. It was in this way that their encroachments began in Illyricum, Siricius appointing the metropolitan of Thessalonica his delegate to rule the province. Leo followed this precedent, not resting, however, his title to supremacy on his patriarchal power, or on the claim of the Western Empire to the allegiance of Illyricum, but grounding it on the universal dominion which belongs to the successors of St. Peter. Upon the same ground Siricius had affirmed that Rome was the head of the Church in Spain. Early in the fifth century Zosimus interfered in Gaul, and here we meet that limitation in the power of the metropolitan which was so constantly insisted on afterwards. Zosimus recognised the Bishop of Arles as metropolitan, but reserved to his own hearing the greater causes. His epistle begins authoritatively, "Placuit sedi Apostolicæ." And under Hilary Romish supremacy was established in Gaul, the Gallican bishops in their private contests seeking the support of Rome.

The subjugation of metropolitans was significantly marked by placing on their shoulders the yoke of the pallium. Hallam says, "Pelagius II. had, about A.D. 580, sent a pallium to the Bishop of Arles, perpetual vicar of the Roman See in Gaul. Gregory I. had made a similar present to other metropolitans. But it was never supposed that they were obliged to wait for this favour before they received consecration until a synod of the French and German bishops held at Frankfort in A.D. 742, by Boniface, a legate of Pope Zachary. It was here enacted that, as a token of their willing submission to the See of Rome, all metropolitans should request the pallium at the hands of the Pope, and obey his lawful commands. This was construed by the popes to mean a promise of obedience before receiving the pall, which was changed in after times by Gregory VII. into an oath of fealty." Gregory thus completed the destruction of the liberties of provincial churches, so that the Pope was to be not merely the supreme, but the sole ruler of the ecclesiastical body, the one bishop of the whole Church, all other bishops being only his deputies or vicars. [JURISDICTION.]

This perpetual control was maintained by legates. The metropolitans, as we have seen, were generally accredited as the Pope's vicars; yet as they could not but entertain some regard for the liberties of their own churches, and sometimes desire to regain their own rights, legates *a latere* were sent, suspending the office of the ordinary vicars, with an unbounded power over the churches where they resided. To such an extent did papal despotism proceed, that by a constitution of Alexander II., whose adviser was Hildebrand, no bishop in the Catholic Church was permitted to exercise his functions until he had received the confirmation of the Holy See.

The Papal supremacy was riveted upon England for several centuries by the selfish acts of the Norman dynasty, whose interests were much furthered by it. But during the times of the Planteganet dynasty there was a steady current of resistance to it, which was only hindered from coming to a climax by the troubles and weakness consequent on long civil wars. "If any one will

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look down along the line of early English history, he will see a standing contest between the rulers of this land and the bishops of Rome. The Crown and Church of England, with a steady opposition, resisted the entrances and encroachment of the secularized ecclesiastical power of the Pope in England. The last rejection of it was no more than a successful effort after many a failure in struggles of the like kind" [Manning *on the Unity of the Church*, p. 361, ed. 1845].

The course by which this continuous resistance finally culminated in the entire repudiation of the Papal jurisdiction is thus summed up by a recent historian of the Reformation :—

"1. In 1531 the clergy in Convocation petitioned the King for an Act of Parliament by which the payment of annates should be abolished; suggesting that if the Pope resisted the operation of such an act, England should withdraw from obedience to Rome. This declaration was nearly contemporaneous with the recognition of the royal supremacy by Convocation.

"2. A provisional act was passed in consequence, embodying the wishes and the suggestions of the clergy. This Act [23 Hen. VIII. cap. 20] did not come into operation for nearly three years, the King meanwhile endeavouring, but in vain, to bring about an amicable arrangement on the subject with the Pope.

"3. In 1532-3, an act was passed abolishing the appellate jurisdiction of the See of Rome, and vesting it in the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries of the Church of England. But by the 'Act of Submission,' which shortly followed, a final appeal was permitted to the King in Chancery.

"4. In 1534, the influence of the Pope in the appointments to English sees, and the profit which he derived from it, received its final deathblow from an act [25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20] which forbad the payment of first-fruits to him, and defined the manner in which bishops were in future to be appointed, by a *pro formâ* election of the person nominated by the King in letters missive accompanying the conge d'élire.

"5. In the same year an act was passed [25 Hen. VIII. 21] confirmed by another in 1536, by which, although all that had been done by the Pope in previous times was allowed to stand for the sake of the vested interests involved, no further authoritative documents from him were to run in England.

"6. Finally, the Convocations of Canterbury and York, the Universities, and all the clergy of England, endorsed—as they had suggested—the Acts of the State, by declaring that 'the Bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in this kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop.'

"Thus the jurisdiction of the Pope was finally abolished in this country, being transferred in spiritual things to the local episcopate, in temporal things to the Crown. What is called 'Roman Catholic Emancipation' has led to a restoration of it, by sufferance of Parliament, over that part of the nation which belongs to the Roman Catholic sect; but the Church of England has rejected it once and for ever" [Blunt's *Reform. of Ch. of Eng.* i. 277].

SUPREMACY, ROYAL. A constitutional prerogative belonging to the Crown of England, by right of which the Sovereign exercises a corrective jurisdiction over all members of the Church of England.

This ancient—and, indeed, inherent—right of the Crown was much encroached upon by the popes and their delegates during those ages in which the Roman pontiffs were able to carry into practice the Hildebrandine theories of their jurisdiction, but the constitutional struggles of the Reformation epoch brought about its entire restoration, and it is now established on a statutory foundation by 1 Eliz. cap. 1, sec. 17, which enacts: "That such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."

In the "Act of Supremacy" passed during the reign of Henry VIII. the sovereign is styled "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*," but this Act [26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1] was repealed by 1 & 2 Phil. and Mar. cap. 8, sec. 4, and the repeal was confirmed by 1 Eliz. cap. 1, sec. 4, the title being in use only from the year 1534 to 1553, and having been entirely dropped since the latter date. The style permanently expressing the Royal Supremacy is that of "supreme governor over all persons and in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as temporal within his [*or* "her"] dominions."

At the time of the Reformation the two points in which the Royal Supremacy was specially asserted and maintained were these :—*First*, that no English subject has the right of appeal from the Crown of England to the Pope of Rome; and *Secondly*, that no laws can be passed by the clergy in their Convocations without the consent of the Crown. These two points were statutorily established by the "Act of Appeals" [25 Hen. VIII. cap. 21], and by the "Act of Submission" [25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19], which, since their revival in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, have never been called in question.[1]

In recent times the point of chief interest associated with the Royal Supremacy is its exercise in the final decision of ecclesiastical causes.

[1] The consideration and construction of canons ecclesiastical lies within the ordinary power of Convocation, sitting for that purpose by the sovereign's license : but legal *status* is given to them by assent of the Crown in letters patent "publishing and promulgating" them. The action of the Crown in the matter is very clearly shewn by the letters patent which form the prefix and supplement to the Canons of A.D. 1603.

This is a development of the prerogative which arose out of the system of papal appeals foisted on the Church of England during the Middle Ages. The ancient course of appeals from a lower to a higher judge in ecclesiastical causes is set forth by the eighth of the Constitutions of Clarendon [A.D. 1164], which is as follows:— "Ab Archidiacono debit procedi ad Episcopum, ab Episcopo ad Archiepiscopum, et si Archiepiscopus defuerit in justitiâ exhibendâ, ad Dominum Regem perveniendum est postremo, cujus mandato controversia in Curia Archiepiscopi terminetur; ita quod non debeat ultra procedi, absque assensu Domini Regis" [Wilkins' *Concil.* i. 435]. The Archbishops' Courts were thus the final court of appeal in each province, the Crown interfering with them only in the form of a "mandamus," if the archbishop refused to hear the cause. An opening was, however, left by the last words of this constitution for appeals to the Court of Rome, if permission was given by the Crown: and though such permission was often refused, there is no doubt that appeals were often made down to the sixteenth century; and until they were entirely forbidden by the acts for restraint of appeals, the first of which [24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12] was passed in the year 1533. Thereupon, for a time, the Archbishops' Courts remained the final courts of appeal, except in cases touching the King, when the Upper House of Convocation in each province was substituted; but in the following year [A.D. 1534], the "Act of Submission" established an appeal to the King in Chancery, causes so carried up to him being heard by a special commission delegated by the Crown for the purpose, and hence called the "Court of Delegates." This court of delegates continued to be the highest court for ecclesiastical causes for three centuries, but in the year 1832 it was abolished, and its jurisdiction transferred to the Sovereign in Council by 2 & 3 Will. IV. cap. 92. By a subsequent Act [3 & 4 Will. IV. cap. 41], a "Judicial Committee of the Privy Council" was substituted for the Sovereign in Council, and this still remains the highest court for the decision of ecclesiastical causes.

To the above view of the supremacy of the Crown, it may be added that much confusion of ideas respecting it has arisen from failing to distinguish between the working of the Royal prerogative and the working of Parliament. The Sovereign's position, as supreme governor over all persons and in all causes in the Church of England, is well defined, and strictly limited by statute. Another supremacy has, however, sprung up in England, that of Parliament, which claims to exercise authority over everything civil and everything ecclesiastical, and which frequently overrides old constitutional principles in Church and State, substituting others of a novel, and perhaps opposite, character. The constitutional form of the Royal Supremacy never comes into serious conflict with any vital principles of Church authority, but there is much danger of such a conflict in the arrogant form which is sometimes assumed by the supremacy of Parliament. [JURISDICTION. Joyce's *Civil Power in its relation to the Church.* Blunt's *History of the Reformation*, i. c. 4. Pusey *on the Royal Supremacy.* Gladstone *on the Royal Supremacy.*]

SURSUM CORDA. This liturgical relic of the Primitive Church appears in the Greek Liturgies in the form Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας, Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, the Latin versicle and its response being "Sursum Corda, Habemus ad Dominum."

The "Sursum Corda" is referred to by St. Cyprian, in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer [A.D. 252], where he says, "It is for this cause that the priest before worship uses words of introduction, and puts the minds of the brethren in preparation, by saying, 'Lift up your hearts;' that while the people answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord,' they may be reminded that there is nothing for them to think of except the Lord." [Cyp. *de Orat.* 20.] St. Cyril of Jerusalem, a century later, also comments upon them in these terms: "After this the priest cries aloud, 'Lift up your hearts.' For truly ought we in that most awful hour to have our heart on high with God, and not below, thinking of earth and earthly things. The priest then, in effect, bids all in that hour abandon all worldly thoughts, or household cares, and to have their heart in heaven with the merciful God. Then ye answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord;' assenting to him by your avowal. . . . Then the priest says, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord.' For in good sooth are we bound to give thanks, that He has called us, unworthy as we are, to so great grace; that He has reconciled us who were His foes; that He has vouchsafed to us the spirit of adoption. Then ye say, 'It is meet and right:' for in giving thanks ye do a meet thing and right; but He did, not a right thing, but what was more than right, when He did us good, and counted us meet for such great benefits." [Cyril, *Catech. Lect.* xxiii. 3, 4.] These versicles are also referred to by St. Chrysostom [*de Euch., de Pœnitentia*], by St. Augustine [*de Dono Perseverant.* xiii.], and by Cæsarius of Arles [*Hom.* xii. xvi.].

SUSPENSION is a censure inflicted on a clerk, designed for remedial purposes, and taking away from him for a fixed time, or until he repents and makes satisfaction, the right of exercising his sacred functions in his office or benefice. The term is not earlier than the fourteenth century, but the discipline is far more ancient. Traces of it are found in councils of the sixth century; in some cases, as of an ordination before the canonical age, suspension was a penalty inflicted owing to the fault of another, as Honorius III. suspended a deacon until he should have attained the canonical age. There are three kinds of suspension: [1] ab ordine, where a clerk cannot exercise his ministry; [2] ab officio, where he is forbidden to exercise it in his charge or cure; [3] a beneficio, where he is deprived of the revenues of his benefice and any control over it. In all these cases the incumbent retains his order, rank, and benefice in distinction to the penaltie:

or solemn deposal and degradation, by which he forfeits all rights of his order and benefice. *Deposal* is a degradation from which on repentance the person punished may be restored; *irregularity* is where a person is deprived of the exercise of the order which he holds, and also of promotion to one higher; *interdict* is where a person is forbidden to enter within a church door for a certain time.

Suspension is either total or partial: that is, [1] it may involve temporary deprivation of both orders and benefices, or one or the other; or [2] it may touch only certain orders or an office separable from a benefice. Suspension in one church is continuous in all others; if it is inflicted for breach of duty in a lower order, it does not affect the discharge of the duties of a higher order, although if it suspend from lower orders received, it precludes the reception of the higher. Suspension must be inflicted only in cases which do not merit deposal, and those which can be punished adequately by its infliction. Every clerk is amenable to it, and specially where public rumour ascribes to him some crime worthy of deposal, in order that the charge may be sifted. All persons who can excommunicate can suspend. Suspension must be preceded by a monition, and its cause must be stated in the formal act; "forasmuch as you have been proved to have committed such and such things, therefore we suspend you from the office and execution of your orders." To disobey a sentence of suspension involves the greater excommunication; it involves *irregularity*, except in the case of minor clerks. Every act of jurisdiction, such as absolution, is null and void during suspension, if it has been publicly announced, but the ministration of Holy Baptism or of Holy Communion is valid.

Suspension is removed by absolution, by revocation of the sentence, by expiry of the time of its continuance, by dispensation. [André, *Du Droit Canonique*, i. 943; ii. 1110. Maillane, *Du Droit Canonique*, v. 352.]

SWEDENBORGIANISM. A very peculiar school of mysticism which has been gradually congealing into a sect, and which originated with Emanuel Swedberg, popularly known as Swedenborg, in the middle of the eighteenth century. Among its adherents Swedenborgianism is known as "the New Church," or "the Church of the New Jerusalem."

Swedenborg was the son of a Swedish Lutheran bishop of a noble (though not properly a titled) family, and was born at Stockholm in the year 1688. He was a man of high education and great powers of research, and pursued the study of philosophy and the physical sciences with such industry that his writings on those subjects fill as many as twenty-seven volumes. He was, however, a great theorist, and his logical faculty was, to say the least, imperfectly trained. This latter defect seems to have characterized Bishop Swedenborg also, for his ideas respecting the Holy Bible went to the extreme extent of disapproving the use of any names not taken out of its pages.

When he was far past the meridian of life, Swedenborg gave up his philosophical studies and all secular pursuits, and devoted himself to the development of what he believed to be a new revelation; his extremely ready pen being henceforth given up to theology. "I have been called," he wrote, "to a holy office by the Lord Himself, who most graciously manifested Himself before me, His servant, in the year 1745, and then opened my sight into the spiritual world, and gave me to speak with spirits and angels, even as I do to this day. From that time I began to publish the many arcana which I have either seen, or which have been revealed to me, concerning heaven and hell, concerning the state of man after death, concerning true Divine worship, and concerning the spiritual sense of the word, besides other things of the highest importance conducive to salvation and wisdom" [*Letter to Hartley*, A.D. 1769]. He retired from the service of the King of Sweden, with a full pension, after having been in office for thirty-one years; and from thenceforth, until his death in the year 1771, he looked upon himself as the inspired prophet of the "New Church." His *Arcana Cœlestia*, a mystical exposition of Genesis and Exodus, in eight quarto volumes, was published between A.D. 1749 and 1756. It was, like his other works, written in Latin, but was translated some time afterwards by Mr. Clowes, rector of St. John's, Manchester. Two years after its completion he wrote five works containing what professed to be a newly revealed Eschatology, his information on the subject of the unseen world being alleged to be founded on his experience of several visits there, and on his communications with angels and departed spirits. Just before his death he printed his *True Christian Religion, or the Universal Theology of the New Church*, which was translated by Mr. Hartley, rector of Winwick, in Northumberland, one of the earliest of the English Swedenborgians. When he lived in England his residence was in the East of London, near to the then Swedish chapel in Princes Square, Ratcliffe Highway, where he lies buried.

Swedenborg did not form a sect, but rather tried to do what Comte has since attempted, to found a new philosophy of religion, which should be absorbed by all sects and schools of thought, and assimilate them to his ideal of the "New Church." But after his death the influence of his writings began to extend, and a small community of his followers formed themselves into a sect in the year 1788, with a meeting-house in Great Eastcheap, London, and under the leadership of a Clerkenwell printer named Robert Hindmarsh. During the three quarters of a century which has since elapsed, the number of English Swedenborgians has never reached five thousand, but the writings of their founder have a certain attraction for many minds, and influence large numbers who do not actually join the sect. A Swedenborg Society was founded in the year 1810 for the publication of his writings, and it is chiefly by means of this Society that the sect is kept up. In late years they have adopted a

somewhat magnificent ritual, adapted from that of the Church of England and of the Lutheran communities. In Germany his mysticism has, at times, found many followers. Jung Stilling [A.D. 1740-1817] reproduced his spirit-seeing pretensions, and Oetinger [A.D. 1702-1782] much of his theosophy. Hagenbach says that Swedenborg's ideas "spread over a great part of Germany" [Hagenb. *Hist. of Doctr.* sec. 277] "in the course of the eighteenth century."

Swedenborg was not consciously an impostor, but a dreamy mystic, with such an overpowering self-consciousness as led him to believe that his religious speculations were special revelations: in which sense they are also accepted by his followers. He was probably, also, in some degree insane, for he professed at times to be so surrounded with spirits, visible to him, that he could scarcely find room in his study to move about among them. His peculiar mysticism seems to have been, at first, a reaction from Lutheran Solifidianism, and was all along very much coloured by his scientific speculations. He was extremely bitter against the dogma of Justification by faith alone, which he looked upon as provocative of Antinomian immorality; but he erroneously considered belief in that dogma to be a result of belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. His Antitrinitarian theories were similar to those of the followers of Praxeas and the early Sabellians, as regards the Person of our Lord, viz. that the One God appeared, at the time of the Incarnation, in the form of Christ; and the Holy Spirit he regarded as the Spirit of redeemed humanity. Among his other strange opinions, Swedenborg held that the Second Advent of our Lord had already come to pass, the Last Judgment having taken place in the year 1757, when the former heaven and earth, that is the Old Church, passed away, and all things entered upon a process of renovation through the foundation of "the Church of the New Jerusalem." He explained that Christ had not come in person, but "in the power and glory of the spiritual sense of His Holy Word, which is Himself." This Second Advent was effected by means of His servant Emanuel Swedenborg, before whom He manifested Himself in person, and whom He filled with His Spirit to teach the doctrines of the New Church by the word from Him." The resurrection of the dead he interpreted as merely the emancipation of the living soul from the dead body, the disembodied souls of good men becoming angels immediately after death, or (if not perfectly good) after passing through an intermediate state of purgatorial existence.

It may be doubted whether Swedenborg ever made acquaintance with Catholic theology, ancient or modern. His speculative mysticism looks very much like the result of long and deep original thinking in a mind biassed by Lutheran education in early life, and some tincture of materialistic philosophy in later days, but wholly unacquainted with any theology except that current among the Lutherans of his time. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

SYMBOL. A primitive name for the Creed, which is found, among other earlier writers, in St. Cyprian [*Ep.* 76], Ruffinus [*De Symbolo*], St. Augustine [*De Fide et Symbolo*], and St. Hilary [*De Trin.* xii.]. The ecclesiastical origin of the term is much disputed, but its most probable meaning was that of a contract, or bond of our faith. [CREEDS.] The term is also occasionally used for the "elements" used in the celebration of the Eucharist.

SYNCRETISM. Syncretism was a word coined by the inhabitants of Crete, a turbulent, quarrelsome race, who when any common danger threatened them acted *pro tempore* as hearty allies; "and this," says Plutarch [vii. 910, ed. Reiske], "was called by them συγκρητισμός." To derive the word therefore from συγκεράννυμι, and to make it equivalent to "Eclecticism," is a manifest error. It is a word that not unfrequently occurs in the writings of the German reformers, who, however greatly they varied among themselves, opposed a closely united front to the common foe. They learned it however first from Erasmus [*Adag. Amicitia*], who made use of the expression in writing to Melanchthon, "æquum est nos quoque συγκρητίζειν" [*Corp. Ref.* i. 77]. These tactics were commended by Bucer, Zwingli, Camerarius and Melanchthon [*Corp. Ref.* i. 917, ii. 485; *Opp. Zwinglii*, vii. 390, viii. 577; *Opp. Melanch.*, Wittemb. iv. 813], and raised the ire of Ursinus, "Syncretismus enim quidam et conspiratio est contra Deum et Christum ejus" [*Opp. Ursin.* ii. 305]. In the sixteenth century the word was "mediæ significationis," and both used and abused. Where the union that it denotes was practical, the term was adopted readily in a good sense; where such was impossible it was repudiated, as a name for all that was lax and unprincipled. In the seventeenth century [A.D. 1645] George Calixtus, a Lutheran divine of the University of Helmstadt, professing a deep veneration for primitive tradition, proposed the union of all who agreed in the fundamental verities of the Apostles' Creed, and to treat all other doctrines as non-essential, his great aim being union of churches and a wide toleration. He was violently attacked by the two opposite parties, the Romanist calling him Calvinistic, the Lutheran reviling him as a Papist, and both parties agreed in corrupting the term Syncretist into "Sünde-Christ," "Sin-Christian." Grotius had already imagined a similar fusion of religious thought in one common Christianity. The fight of Syncretism continued till A.D. 1686, the year in which Calovius died. The term may be held to apply to any well meaning but weak attempt to combine in one system opposite and contradictory theological opinions. The Jesuit Erbermann, in his Εἰρηνικὸν Catholicum, says that Calixtus endeavoured not only to unite discordant religious views in one body, but religions also themselves that were diametrically opposed to each other; "foris εἰρήνη intus ἐριννύς," as Dannhauer described it. [*Mysterium Syncretismi Detecti*, 1648. Calovii, *H. Syncretistica.* Herzog's art. by Henke. Hallam's *Introd. to L. H. Eur.* II. iii. 18.]

SYNOD. The term σύνοδος is interpreted by Cyril the Grammarian as συναγωγὴ, συνέλευσις, πολλῶν παρουσία. In classical acceptation it signifies a πανήγυρις, public feast, &c. It was used by the LXX. in 1 Sam. x. 5, for חבל, a "band" or "company," Jer. ix. 2, for עצרת, "assembly;" and by Symmachus in Psa. lxxxii. 1, for עצרה, "congregation," and Joel i. 14, "solemn assembly." In the Apostolical Constitutions [v. 19] it denotes the assembly of the faithful; while in the Apostolical Canons [Ap. Canons, III.] it is first ordained that a "synod" of bishops shall be held twice in the year [can. xxx. Councils, p. 158]; from which time the Councils of the Eastern Church were always termed "synods."

The history of the principal Councils down to that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, has been given in a former article; the present will epitomize the constitutional history of synods.

Synods may be arranged under eight heads:—

1. Œcumenical, to which all bishops and principal dignitaries of the Church were summoned; the Bishop of Rome, as "Primus inter pares," presiding either in person or by his legates. But a synod ceased to be œcumenical if prematurely stopped, or if it failed to carry its objects out to a definite conclusion, or if its deliberations were interrupted by violence, as was the case in the "Robber" or false Council of Ephesus, A.D. 449.

2. General, either of the Eastern or Western Church; such was the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, which was raised to œcumenical rank by the assent of the Western bishops who were absent.

3. National synods, as African, under the primacy of the Bishop of Carthage; Spanish, under the Archbishop of Toledo; or Syrian, under the Patriarch of Antioch.

4. Provincial, under the metropolitan and his suffragans.

5. United synods of several provinces, the incumbent of the principal see of the province in which it is held presiding.

6. Diocesan synods of the bishop and his clergy.

7. Casual synods, such as the σύνοδος ἐν δημοῦσαι of Constantinople, to which the patriarch summons "pro re nata" any bishops who chanced to be present in the metropolis.

8. Mixed synods of clergy and laity, by no means unfrequent in the Middle Ages, which were summoned and presided over by the king. Such was the Conference at Streneshalch [Whitby, A.D. 664], at which the Abbess Hilda was present; as was her successor Ælfleda, daughter of King Oswy, at a Northumbrian Council. These synods were frequently divided into two chambers, the prelates and nobility being separated, and the former alone taking cognizance of purely ecclesiastical questions. The result of these deliberations was usually embodied in a royal decree or constitution.

Local synods were summoned by the prince, or by the ecclesiastical head of the district or province, or in the case of a mixed synod by the incumbent of the principal see. Œcumenical synods were originally convened by the emperor, who was generally present either in person or by deputy; as in the first eight œcumenical synods, all of which were held in the East. The seventh of these was summoned by the Empress Irene, at the instance of the Patriarch of Constantinople [Nic. II. A.D. 787]. The custom of providing travelling expenses, equipages and maintenance from the royal exchequer dates from the example set by Constantine at the Council of Nice. Some of the synods summoned in later times by the Popes have been called œcumenical, but are only to be regarded as such in a very qualified sense.

The constituents of diocesan synods were [*a*] those whom the bishop was obliged to summon; [*b*] those whom the bishop might, if he pleased, cite; [*c*] those who were only summoned for some special purpose: all however who were cited were bound, if possible, to appear. Citation to general synods reached the suffragan bishops through the metropolitan, who appeared attended by a select few of those named. It was a peculiarity of the African Church that not only the ordinary clergy, but the laity also were present at its synods, though they had no voice either in deliberation or in voting. In later times the same practice was allowed in the Spanish and Gallican Churches.

At the Synod of Antioch [A.D. 264-5], which condemned Paul of Samosata, bishops attended with their priests and deacons [Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 28]; but they do not appear to have voted. He was judged by his peers. In synods of the succeeding century priests and deacons were also present, the latter not being allowed to sit; and in some few instances they signed the synodal decrees and acts immediately after their bishop, who added ὁρίσας, or "definiens," to his subscription as marking his right of voting. Priests who were the representatives of absent bishops had equal rights with the episcopal members. The notaries employed were usually deacons, though laymen were also employed. Learned men also were occasionally summoned as assessors. Thus Thomas Aquinas was cited to the fourteenth General Council by Gregory X.

It is impossible to deny that precedence was allowed in general synods to the bishops of Rome and their legates; and Hefele shews that they in general presided [*Concil.* i. p. 25-37]; the only true exceptions being the Council of Constantinople [A.D. 381], which was not originally œcumenical, being composed only of Eastern bishops. There Meletius, Patriarch of Antioch first, and on his death Gregory of Nazianzum, and afterwards Nectarius, presided. Also the fifth General Council, at which neither pope nor emperor were represented. Eutychius therefore, Patriarch of Constantinople, directed its proceedings. In the Council of Nice, Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, with Vitus and Vincentius, Roman presbyters, were the προέδροι of whom Eusebius speaks, and represented the Roman bishop [*V. Const.* iii. 13]. Gelasius of Cyzicum, writing in the next century a history of the Council of Nice, says, "Hosius occupied

the place of the Bishop of Rome at Nice, having the two Roman presbyters Vito and Vincentius as his assessors" [*Act. Conc. Nic.*]. Their signatures accordingly were first in order, taking precedence of all superior patriarchs and metropolitans [Hefele, i. p. 37]. All the Western councils after the eighth General Synod were held under the presidency of the popes or their legates. The acts of œcumenical councils were ratified conjointly by imperial as well as pontifical authority [Hefele, i. 38-43]. After the eighth General Council the papal influence was paramount, the imperial becoming scarcely perceptible.

The question whether the authority of an œcumenical synod ranged above or below that of the Pope was first opened out by the Councils of Constance [A.D. 1414-18] and Basle [A.D. 1431], which declared for the collective voice of the Church, the Gallican Church having since maintained this decision. Pope Eugenius IV. however reversed the decree by a special constitution of September 4th, 1439, in the Council of Florence. Synodal infallibility is claimed on the authority of John xvi. 13, xiv. 26; Matt. xxviii. 20, xvi. 18; Acts xv. 28. The same Councils of Constance and Basle decided that an immoral or heterodox pope might be deposed; which, however, Bellarmine restricts to the case of heresy, whereby the Pope would cease to belong to the Church, from whence immorality alone cannot expel him [Bellarm. *De R. Pont.* ii. 30; *De Conc.* ii. 19]. Another important alteration was introduced in the Council of Constance; that the voting which hitherto had been conducted numerically, owing to the great preponderance of Italian bishops, should be by nations. The Italian, Gallican, German, Spanish and Anglican nationalities represented single votes, although the majority decided the voice of each nation. A division also of the council into four great committees was a great improvement as regarded the dispatch of business: these discussed matters of faith, the peace of the Church, reform, and miscellaneous business. At Trent the council recurred to the old numerical system of voting, but discussed everything in committee, so that each question was virtually settled before it was put to the vote in the aggregate meeting. The solemnities to be observed on opening and closing a council are prescribed in detail by the fourth canon of the fourth Council of Toledo [Harduin, *Conc.* i. 6, iii. 580].

The earliest collections of synodal acts were those of Merlin, Paris, 1523; Crabbe, Cologne, 1538, and a second edition 1551; Surius, Cologne, 1567; Binius, Cologne, 1606, 1618, and Paris, 1636. The *Acts of the General Councils*, with an introduction by the Jesuit Sirmond, appeared at Rome, 1608-1612, and formed the basis for succeeding compilations, but omitted, by Bellarmine's advice, the acts of the Council of Basle. The *Collectio Regia*, Paris, 1644, greatly enlarged and improved them, and extended to thirty-seven folios. This was succeeded by the collection commenced by the Jesuit Labbé and completed by Cossart, and published at Paris, 1674, in seventeen folios; to which Baluze prepared a supplement in four vols., the first of which only was published. The Jesuit Harduin's edition, profiting by the labours of preceding editors, appeared at Paris in 1715, in twelve folios, but had a hard struggle for existence in its first years, owing to the editor's maintenance in the dedication of the Bull Unigenitus, and the consequent opposition of the Jansenists. It is an invaluable collection of synodal literature. Coleti's edition appeared at Venice, 1728-1734, in twenty-three folios, with two additional volumes of supplemental matter; enlarged subsequently by Mansi, 1748-1762, in six folios. Mansi's subsequent Florence edition of 1759, in thirty-one folio volumes, is far superior to all preceding collections, being enriched with many valuable notes and dissertations. It unfortunately reaches only to the fifteenth century, and being incomplete has no kind of index.

The acts of British and Irish Councils have been published by Spelman, London, 1639-1664; and more completely by Wilkins, London, 1734, in four folio volumes. [Cabassutius, *Not. Concil.* Labbé, *Synopsis H. Concil.* Walch, *K. Versamml.* Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* Migne, *Dict. d. Conc.* Suicer's *Thesaurus*, art. σύνοδος. Bingham, *Eccl. Antiq.* II. xvi. xvii., XVI. i. Dupin. Cave. Ceillier. Salmon. Hefele, *Conciliengesch.*, from whence the above account has been principally drawn.]

T

TALMUD. The Talmud is essentially the ground on which JUDAISM is built. If this basis were swept away the entire fabric would crumble into ruin. The history of the Talmud is the history of the people since the days of Ezra to that of the final completion of Gemara, at the close of the fifth century of the Christian era. The people had borne with them from the Jordan to the Euphrates very much the same character as the tribes that Joshua led into the land of promise. But three generations of captivity wrought a greater change in their nature than had been effected by twelve times that number of generations in the preceding ages, and new features were developed through contact with Magianism, the germ of which we seek for in vain in the Law and in the Prophets. The great men raised up by Providence to lead the Jews back to the land of their inheritance stamped upon them an apparently indelible character. A minute interpenetration of the whole daily life of Judaism by the principles of the Law was the object at which Ezra and Nehemiah aimed, and a scrupulous observance of its precepts, with Messianic hopes for the future, became the spirit of Judaism. As Moses represented the Law and the Prophets, so Ezra is the type of Talmudic and traditional religion. Ritualistic observance, in its most minute particulars, was made binding on the people, the bearings of the Law were readjusted by HALACOTH, while a more spiritual instruction was called forth in MIDRASHIM, or Scriptural expository addresses, under the Great Synagogue [B.C. 530-320]. The order of Scribes (Sopherim) was devoted to public instruction. It was the foundation of Rabbinism. Their dicta are quoted in the Talmud (Dibre Sopherim) as of higher import than the Law, and their successors were mentioned by our Lord as still sitting in "Moses' seat." Their office grew out of a precept of the Law, that stands in immediate connection with the Shema, "Hear, O Israel!" [Deut. vi. 4-10] whereby each man was bound to make himself acquainted with the Law, and serve as a guide to others. The learned body of men that hence grew up were separate from the "people of the earth" only by their great erudition: socially they were engaged in every kind of handicraft.

The Tanaim, or teachers of traditional lore, succeeded the men of the Great Synagogue [B.C. 320—A.D. 190]. The Jews had shewn considerable plasticity since the exile in adapting themselves to various phases of life. Many families of Israel had dispersed among the most thriving cities of the civilized world, and their rulers, dreading any hankering after pagan ways, hedged them in by a system of traditional principles and constitutions deduced from the written Law by succeeding generations of Tanaim. These HALACOTH, the groundwork of the Mishna, were applications of the Law to the living habits and religious instincts of the people. The causes that led to their embodiment in the MISHNA are found under that heading [see also MIDRASH]. The Mishna is the foundation of the Talmud, though this name is often restricted to the Gemara, which, together with the Mishna, forms the Talmud properly so called. The Mishna not having exhausted its material, the surplusage was collected by Rabbi Chaia and Rabbi Hoshaia in a compilation termed Tosaphta, "addenda;" passages of which, cited afterwards in the Gemara, are introduced with the distinctive word "Tana," 'he teaches,' meaning Judah the Holy, the compiler of the Mishna, or by "vetani 'aleh," 'thereupon it is taught.' The Baraitha, or "Extravagantes," as lying without the letter of the Mishna, is quoted more indefinitely by the heading "Tanu Rabbinan," 'our Rabbins have taught;' "Tani chada," 'a certain one has taught;' "Tannia," 'we have a tradition;' or "Mathnitha," 'it is a Mishna;' and these passages contain doctrine that is authoritative, unless traversed by the text of some Mishna. The books Sifra a Midrash on Leviticus, Sifri on Numbers and Deuteronomy, and the Mechiltha on Exodus are of the Baraitha. These outlying works, with the Mishna, formed subjects for daily discussion among the schools of Palestine and Babylon. After the date of the Mishna the teachers were no longer termed "Tanaim," but "Amoraim," or speakers; the Amora having been the Tana's mouthpiece to the class, as the Methurgeman, or interpreter, in the days of the Great Synagogue. The word "Eithmar," 'it is said,' serves to introduce the Amora's utterance in the Gemara. This addition, in due course, from "Gamar," 'to make complete,' denotes the completion of the whole code of the Jewish Law, whether written or traditional. The Mishna contains in shorter theses a digest of the whole body of Jewish civil and ecclesiastical law, framed upon the Hilkoth of the wise, and authoritative Midrashim; the Gemara consists of more discursive comments on the various Mishnaioth,

as expounded by different doctors of the rabbinical schools. It contains also the main body of Haggadoth, of which the Mishna has comparatively little. These Haggadoth have been collected and published, with a commentary, by Samuel Jafe [Venice, 1590], to which Löwe added a glossary of terms [Berlin, 1725]. Hence then in course of time it became absolutely necessary that this aftergrowth should be committed to writing. The addition of these commentaries on the Mishna, obtained principally from the school of Tiberias, constituted the "Jerushalmi" Talmud. The compilation of this work thus formed of Mishna and Gemara is assigned by tradition to Rabbi Jochanan ben Eliezer, otherwise known as Bar Naphcha, the blacksmith's son. It was probably commenced by him about A.D. 260, but completed by succeeding hands, A.D. 340. It is termed in the "Babli" Talmud "the Doctrine of the land of Israel," and "the Gemara of the sons of the West." The Gemara is an elaborate discussion in Socratic form on the words of the Mishna; its meaning is cleared, and antagonisms are resolved [Jarchi]. But the Jerusalem Gemara was incomplete. Of the six Mishnic Sedarim only four were elaborated: Zeraim, Moed, Nashim, and Nezikin. The treatise Nidda is also added, and sundry fragments in keeping with the similar addenda of the Mishna. The language of the Jerusalem Talmud is Mishnical Hebrew, with a rough strain of the Western Aramaic dialect of Palestine, shewing how rapidly the language had degenerated since the date of Judah the Holy. This also gives probability to Jost's conjecture, that one reason why the Mishna was ever written, contrary to the precept of the elders, was that the Hebrew language might be preserved from total deterioration. The text of the Mishna was kept in close accordance with that of Judah the Holy, from which the Babylonian departed under the corrections of Eastern Gemarists. But the Jerusalem Gemara was not sufficiently exhaustive, or altogether outspoken on the subject of Christianity. A second Gemara therefore was put forth at Babylon, which with the original Mishna forms the authoritative Talmud, the growth of many centuries. If the Jerusalem Talmud is of uncertain origin this was not the case with the "Talmud Babli." It was the work of Rabbi Ashi [Isaiah] ben Simai, who was born at Sora, A.D. 351, and the term Talmud was first accredited in the name by which he was distinguished, "Master of the Talmud" (Moreh Talmud). But matter still went on accumulating. At the early age of twenty-three Ashi was appointed head of the school of Sora, and a long rectorship of fifty-two years gave him time for the preparation of the Eastern or Babylonian Gemara. His rise was coincident with the fall of the school of Tiberias, which never again rose to eminence; and the oppressed Jews of Palestine then migrated in large numbers to Sora and Pum-Baditha.[1] His first care was to enlarge the school buildings, and to attract to it students; and Sora soon became the high school of Babylon and the most renowned seat of Rabbinism in the East. He then undertook the formidable task of reducing to order the entire body of traditional law. In every year from A.D. 370, at the great feasts, he assembled the most learned men among the Jews of the East, and questioned them with respect to their traditional practices and expositions. A vast mass of material thus came under his hand. Next, in every half-year, he took a particular treatise of the Mishna, and set down the various data furnished by his class as current in their respective localities. Thus he went through the Mishna section after section, the testimony of the majority being decisive, and rough hewed out the Babylonian Gemara. The Jerusalem Gemara, as the Abbé Chiarini observes, shews by internal evidence that it was written for an agricultural community, that of Babylon for a nation of merchant traders. The Mishna being composed of sixty-three treatises, the work was spread over thirty years. At the end of this period he revised the entire collection, carefully correcting errors and supplementing omissions, during twenty-two years, so that when he died in his seventy-fifth year, the Gemara, as it now stands, had been created by him, with the exception of a small remnant of matter that was added by his friend and helpmate in the work of recension, Rabbi Abina. Other rabbinical testimony [Rabbi Gedaliah, *Shalsheleth Hakkabala*, and Sherira Gaon, *Juchasin*] asserts that the Gemara was only completed by Rabbi Jose in the twenty-fourth year of his rectorate at Pum-Baditha [A.D. 500]. But in any case Rabbi Ashi was to the Babylonian school what Jehudah the Holy had been to that of Palestine. He created the Mishna, Rabbi Ashi the authoritative Gemara. Each, therefore, was distinguished by his own peculiar title of honour; Jehudah was Rabbi or Rabbenû, Ashi was Rabban. The Massechtoth Ketanoth, or minor treatises, form an appendix to the Gemara. They are seven in number, to which are sometimes added "Hilkoth eretz Israel," directions for slaughtering meats, and a commentary by Rabbi Nathan on the Treatise Aboth, in lieu of its Gemara, which is wanting.

The language of the "Talmud Babli" is debased with foreign and barbarous terms and grammatical solecisms in a much higher degree than its Western predecessor. The Haggadic narratives resemble more closely the vernacular Aramaic, shewing their origin in ordinary folk-lore. The Halacoth are in Mishnic Hebrew, carrying evidence of higher date. The style is so exceedingly concise as to make the sense that it contains a microscopic study. The difficulties indeed of the Gemara are so great, that no one need expect to master them thoroughly who has not drawn in Gemara with his mother's milk. The study of the Talmud presumes a thorough knowledge also of the Hebrew Bible, a single word often indicating an entire passage. The wonderful moral confusion of the Talmud, the mixed character of which may be detected in every page, is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than

[1] So named from its position on the debouchment (Pûm, mouth) of the canal (Baditha) of communication between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

in the prayer put by the Gemarist into the mouth of Rabbi Nechoniah ben Hakkana [*Berachoth*, 28, B.], on entering the school, or Beth Midrash, and quitting it again in the evening. In the morning, the prayer runs: "I beseech Thee that no scandal may occur through fault of mine, and that I err not in matters of Halacah, so as to cause my colleagues to exult. May I not call impurity pure, or purity impure; and may my colleagues not blunder in matters of Halacah, that I may have no cause to triumph over them." The prayer is worthy of an honest rabbi, and there is something of the publican's humility in its sentiments. The evening prayer is wholly that of the harsh and arrogant Pharisee: "I thank Thee that Thou hast given me my portion among those who have a seat in the Beth Midrash, and that Thou hast not cast my lot among those who sit in the corner. I early rise, and they early rise; but I rise to the service of the Law, they rise for vanity. I labour, and they also labour, but I labour and receive a recompense; they labour, but receive nothing. I hasten, and they also hasten; but I hasten in the direction of the world to come, they hasten towards the pit of destruction." The sweet water and bitter can scarcely have flowed from the same source. Mahomet, notwithstanding his antipathy for the Jews as a people, borrowed many of his ideas and expressions from the Talmud, as shewn by Geiger [*Was hat Mahommed aus dem Judenthume genommen*]; while its medical lore was largely drawn upon by Averroes and Avicenna.

Such then is the Talmud. In its origin it was the result of an almost necessary development. Starting with the axiom that the law of Moses is binding on the children of Abraham in every generation, its precepts have been applied to the changing habits and customs of the Jews in different ages and under various climates—by a literal interpretation when possible, otherwise on the *ci-près* principle, rarely by giving a new direction to its enactments, as instanced under the HILLEL *régime*. It is this application of the Law to the needs of Jewish society, by a process slow and gradual, that has made each successive stage of development, in Jewish opinion, more valuable than its predecessors. Thus if the Law has been likened to water, the Mishna, which gave a later direction to its precepts, is as wine; and the Gemara, declaring as it does the sense in which the Mishnic Hilkoth are to be taken, is as hippocras. It is not that the Law is less, or that the traditional decisions and expository matter are more sacred, but the latest phase of judicial interpretation is the most binding; and where the rule of action is clear and decisive, no antecedent utterance need trouble the inquirer. Yet the Talmud has always been antiquated. It has never known the sunshine of youth. It has still been the mouldering moss-grown ruin. In its origin it presupposed vital action where there was nothing but death; Temple service with the Temple hopelessly in ruins, "not one stone upon another;" sacrificial rites that were impossible without an altar, and for which certain prayers were substituted, carefully numbered out, and made binding on the individual in lieu of public offering. To the Jews of the dispersion it spoke in like manner of duties that could only be discharged in ancient Palestine. It bound, indeed, each shred of Judaism in its position; threads crossing each other, and decussating in every community throughout the world, formed web and woof that enveloped every part of the system as in a tabernacle, coarse in nature but beyond measure strong. The Talmud stood at first on holy ground, and its ordinances were framed accordingly; the observance of which has become impossible within the boundaries of Gebal and Ammon and Amalek. But nothing can be more completely out of place than strict Talmudism amid the complications of modern society; it is impossible to make its precepts consist with the social and political duties of the highly educated Jew. Our Lord, Who came not to destroy the Law but to fulfil it, has pointed out those modes of dealing with the Law in its higher and more spiritual bearings, that in the end must be accepted by Israel as his truest wisdom. Rabbinism, which before the completion of the Talmud possessed the organism and plastic energy of life, has become since that date stiff and stark as a petrifaction. There is no longer any room for freedom of will or independence of judgment. Everything must be made square with the "oral law."

The following is a brief conspectus of the contents of the Talmud:—

Sedarim.	Massichtoth.	Perakim.	Mishnaioth.
Seraim	11	75	654
Moed	12	88	681
Nashim	7	71	572
N'sikin	10	74	689
Kodashim	11	91	590
Taharoth	12	126	1001
	63	525	4187

The chequered fortunes of the Jewish people in Europe have caused MSS. of the Talmud to be rare. The late Dr. Pinner, after a six years' search through the libraries of Europe, could find only one that was complete in all its parts; it was written in the fourteenth century, and is preserved in the Royal Library at Munich. Another that belonged to Reuchlin is defective, and is part of the Grand Ducal Library at Carlsruhe. The libraries of Spain have yielded no copies to the plunderer; but the Polish Jews, who only give their daughters in marriage to competent Talmudists, may possibly be able to produce MSS. of venerable antiquity. The Talmud has been repeatedly printed, but the same causes that have made the MSS. so rare have thinned down the earliest editions. Separate treatises were printed as early as A.D. 1464 at the press of the Soncini. The first complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud was worked off by Bomberg at Venice, A.D. 1520, in twelve large folio vols. Froben followed, A.D. 1579, with the Basle edition. In the next centuries editions appeared at Cracow, 1603; Lublin, 1617-22; Amsterdam, in 4to, 1644, and other places down to 1847, in which year the Venetian edition was published. It is a copy of the uncastrated text; for in many of

the earlier editions all passages hostile to the Christian religion, as well as the entire treatise, Avoda Zara, were carefully expunged by the censor. The copy formerly owned by Selden, still preserved in the Bodleian Library [II. *Arch. Seld.* 7-19], appears by its numerous erasures to have been prepared for the press. The first impression of the Jerusalem Talmud appeared at Venice soon after the Babylonian, A.D. 1523; an earlier edition without date was printed at the same place by Bomberg.

Four excellent translations of the Mishna exist; that of Surenhusius in Latin; of Abraham ben Ruben in Spanish [1606, Venice]; of Rabe in German [6 parts 4to, 1760, Ausbach]; and that of Jost in German [6 vols. 4to, Berlin, 1832]. Several of the treatises are to be found in an English form; such as the Shabbath and Eruvin by Dr. Wotton, A.D. 1718; the Pirke Avoth in the Jewish Prayer Book by Rabbi Young; and a volume of selected treatises by the learned Rabbis De Sola and Raphall. The French translation of Berachoth by the Abbé Chiarini is also of great use; the general reader may see in it the structure of the entire Talmud. Treatises of the Jerusalem Talmud, with Latin translations, are to be found in vols xvii. xviii. xx. xxv. xxx. of Ugolino's *Thesaurus;* and in vols xix. xxv. the treatises Zebachim, Menachoth and Sanhedrin, from the Babylonian Talmud, also with Latin translations. The Yad Hakhazakah, by Maimonides, in six vols fol., and the Perush Hammishna, in four vols fol., from their extreme bulkiness are impossible books to ordinary students; but his preface to the treatise Zeraim is a valuable help to the rabbinical student, as is also the introduction to the Talmud by Rabbi Shemuel Hannagid. Dr. Pinner has embodied the substance of these two last works in his *Einleitung in den Talmud,* Berlin, 1842. There is also his useful *Compendium d. Talmud.* Schröder's *Satzungen u. Gebräuche des Talm.* may also be mentioned as a serviceable book; as also Dr. Pinner's preface to the Berachoth. A defence of the Talmud is found in Salvador's *Jésus Christ et sa Doctrine.* See also the exhaustive article in Herzog, *Thalmud,* and articles to be found respectively in the *Quarterly Review* for October 1867 and in the closing number of the *Christian Remembrancer.*

TARGUM. When the Jews were driven as captives to Babylon, they returned to the early cradle of their race. The fifty generations that had passed away since the call of Abraham had made comparatively little change there in language. But that of the migratory Hebrew stock had become stained with the variation of each soil, in Canaan, in Egypt, and again amid the seafaring tribes of Philistia. The written word at length, as in the case of our own translation, gave fixity to the language. Three generations lived during the Captivity, and the younger stock that returned were Chaldee in their language, though that language only acquired its definite bearings after the return to the land of promise; but Hebrew continued to be the sacred tongue of Scripture, and was still used by the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, with an inter mixture of Chaldee in Daniel and Ezra. Hence the Chaldee or Aramaic dialect of Jerusalem was not one with that of Babylon, while that of Antioch on the Orontes at a later period differed from both. It now became necessary that the sacred books should be interpreted for synagogue use. This was done in the modern vernacular dialect, and traditional glosses and interpretations increased in number as the Hebrew fell more into desuetude. It was forbidden at first to commit them to writing [Maimonides], as in the case of the Halacoth that eventually formed the written Mishna; but at length they were written. Their use was partly for instruction in the Beth Midrash, or school, and partly for a guidance to the Methurgeman, or interpreter of the Law in public service; partly also to serve as a check on the rapid influx of the hated Greek learning. Thus the written paraphrase originated. The Jerusalem Targum, as will be seen, gives just the idea of such a congeries of glosses and paraphrastic expositions on selected verses and passages of the Law. Though comparatively recent it was made up of older materials. As Targums multiplied the text has degenerated, one Targum being mended by another. The Targums are pointed in the Masoretic way, but not with the systematic regularity of the Hebrew Scriptures. Buxtorf, for correcting the punctuation of Onkelos in his rabbinical Bible, was accused of doing violence to the text.

The word Targum means "interpretation." Tirgem is "he interpreted," and Methurgeman is the interpreter, called also Turgeman (*unde* dragoman), Amora, or "spokesman," and more lately Darshan, "expositor." The office of Methurgeman rose to primary importance, and he was regularly appointed to his ministry. His exposition was extemporaneous, but in due course these interpretations and oral glosses upon the sacred text were collected together, and formed the basis of the various Targumim. The Talmud speaks of such translations [*Tr. Jadaim,* iv. 5], and prescribes the style and language that is suitable for them [Gemara on *Tr. Shabbath,* 115 A.]. In the same passage a Chaldee version of Job is mentioned as existing in the time of St. Paul's instructor Gamaliel, and it doubtless must have been preceded by some similar exposition of the Law [Hävernick, *Einl.* i. 79]. The Targum became a necessary accessory to the synagogue. Sections of the Law were read of convenient length, and then translated; the reader and the Methurgeman speaking "by course" [Zunz, *Gottes d. V.* p. 8]. But a freer scope was gradually assumed, which led to the more diffuse Midrash, when the exposition of the Law was once more restricted by the thirteen exegetical canons. [Mishna.] Thus what the LXX. had been to the Alexandrian Jew, the Targum was to the Aramaic. Both grew out of the same necessity, and in very much the same manner. In both cases the first books to be translated were those of the Law, as of daily administrative use. The synagogue service required also a translation of

the prophets, which in due course followed; and from the prophetic burthen the Darshan took the theme for his discourse. Our Lord's ministration in the synagogue at Nazareth is an exact representation of the Jewish service of the day. He "stood up for to read," and "there was delivered unto Him the book of the prophet Isaiah," when He proceeded according to custom to expound in it a particular passage. The particular section was the Haphtarah, corresponding with the fiftieth section of the Law, which would be read on the third Sabbath before the Rosh Hashanah, or commencement of the year with the November new moon.

The Targums were quite beyond the reach of the Fathers of the Church, neither did the Jews apply them in controversy; there is no room for wonder therefore that we hear nothing of these Chaldee paraphrases in the ecclesiastical writings of the Primitive Church. They were of no real authority, and the translator of the Peshito, as a Christian scholar, makes no use of them. The later Targums rather made use of the Peshito.

The oldest Targum is that of Onkelos on the Pentateuch. The author is mentioned in three or four places of the Talmud, but is confused with the Greek translator Aquila. "Onkelos, a proselyte, wrote a Targum on the Law" [*Tr. Shabbath*, 8]. One account makes him a disciple of Gamaliel, whom he buried sumptuously, having burned aromata to the amount of seventy minæ [*Avoda Zara*, 11, A.]. Another [*Zohar*, 131] makes him a pupil of Hillel, father of the Simeon who received our Lord in his arms on His presentation [Luke ii. 25], which assigns to him too early a date. He was probably a contemporary of our Lord, and wrote his paraphrase from the materials that a traditional exegesis had handed down. The comparative purity of style, approaching more nearly to the Biblical Chaldee of Ezra and Daniel, is evidence of its high date; also possibly that Babylon was the place of its birth; and the outspoken way in which it gives their true Messianic interpretation to Gen. xlix. 10 and Numb. xxiv. 17 agrees well with the supposition that it was compiled on the banks of the Euphrates, before the accomplishment of those prophecies in the Saviour of mankind had been generally known. As a version it is close, agreeing almost in the number of syllables with the original, and it is far less paraphrastic than its successors. It has few Greek terms, and nothing whatever of Latin. The poetic passages are amplified, and they are perhaps the earliest fragments around which the main context afterwards gathered.

The LXX. had already set the example of softening down the harsher anthropopathic expressions of the Hebrew Bible. Onkelos took the same course, and speaks throughout of the divine revelation being made mediately by the Word of God [*Mimra da Jah*], the Shechinah, glory, angel, &c. [*cf. Targ. on Exod.* xxxiii. 23]. Anything like juxtaposition of man with God is avoided; thus "Behold the man is become as one of us" [Gen. iii. 22], becomes, "Adam of himself is unity in the world," מִמֵּנִי being rendered with equal propriety by the third as by the first personal pronoun. "The people believed the Lord, and Moses His servant" [Exod. xiv. 31], becomes wholly limited to faith in God, by inserting "the prophesying of" Moses. In a critical point of view the agreement of this Targum with ancient versions, where they diverge from the received text, is an important mean for determining the ancient text of the Hebrew Scripture; yet ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are often represented by some equally obscure Chaldaism, and difficulties are left without explanation. The *Philoxenus* of S. D. Lusatta is an indispensable guide to its obscurities [Vienna, 1830]. Winer [*De Onkeloso*] has given an account of the known MSS. of this Targum. It was first printed at Bologna, A.D. 1482, and it occupies a position in the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglotts. It is also printed in the Rabbinical Bibles in a parallel column with the Hebrew text.

The earliest Targum on the historical books and prophets was written by Jonathan ben Uzziel. He is mentioned in the Talmud as the greatest of twenty disciples of HILLEL, who held a middle position between thirty, on whom, as on Moses, the Shechinah rested, and thirty others for whom the sun might stand still [*Baba Bathra*, 134, A; *cf.* also *Succa*, 28, A]. A bird flying over him while engaged upon the Law, was burnt up as by fire; and when his Targum was published the earth quaked through a district of four hundred parasangs, and the Bath Col was heard saying, "Who hath revealed my secrets to the sons of men?" [*Megillah*, 3, A]. It is also stated, by an anachronism of three centuries, that he received his paraphrase direct from Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; though this may merely mean that the Targum was given with the original, and handed down traditionally. Nothing for certain is known with respect to the time at which Jonathan lived, for no reliance can be placed on the later testimony of the Talmud. The style of his writing marks a later date than the Targum of Onkelos; though its purity, as compared with the other Targums, still shews that it may claim a high antiquity. Berthold refers it to the later part of the second century, and passages that bear the stamp of a yet later date are probably interpolations. Greek words, *e.g.* ἡγέμων [Judg. ix. 13], are found in it, but no Latin. The Targums give a modern application to ancient names in Scripture; and in this way Jonathan identifies Edom with Rome [Isa. xxxiv. 9], Gomer with Germany [Ezek. xxxviii. 6], though גרמניא, as in Targ. Jer. Gen. x. 2, may be the true reading; still even these instances need not imply a later date than the destruction of Jerusalem. The strange interpolation with reference to the host and camp of Sennacherib [Isa. x. 32] and of Sisera [Numb. v. 8] was not found in MSS. from whence the Complutensian text was printed. And Rashi warns us [Ezek. xlvii. 19] that the text has suffered from all the usual causes of corruption. Jonathan resolves poetical figures into the plainest prose, as was doubtless the practice of the Methurgeman, while the later prophets in their diffuse

rendering assume an Haggadic character.[1] Like Onkelos he tones down all instances of anthropopathia; thus the "train" of the Lord [Isa. vi. 1] becomes His "glory," as adopted also by St. John [xii. 41]. Hävernick [*Einl. A. T.* sec. 80] gives satisfactory evidence of the unity of the several books of this Targum. Parallel passages are rewritten in the same words [*cf.* Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix. with 2 Kings xviii. 13, &c.; and Isa. ii. 2-4 with Micah iv. 1-3]; and the general likeness of the Haggadic touches indicate the work of the same hand. The strange three hundred and forty-threefold multiple of the solar strength, being the cube of seven [Isa. xxx. 26, and 2 Sam. xxiii. 4], could scarcely have suggested itself to two writers. It may be added that the fragmentary theory of Eichhorn, Berthold and Jahn, referring the several portions of this Targum to different writers, has been effectually disposed of by Gesenius [*Comm. on Isa.* § 11]. The writer's Christology is of a peculiar cast. He refers Isa. liii. to a suffering Messiah, Who should be wounded for His people's transgression and bruised for their iniquities, and submit for a moment to indignity that He might lead them on to a glorious destiny; an idea that was more fully worked up in the Talmud. Many passages are referred to the Messiah in this Targum which have their fulfilment in Christ [Gesen. *on Isa.* pp. 77, 78]; many also that have nothing Messianic about them are so interpreted. So again it agrees at times with the New Testament exegesis [Isa. xlii. 1; Matt. xii. 17], but elsewhere diverges [Zech. xii. 10]. The Targum Jonathan first appeared A.D. 1494 [Leiria], it next formed part of the Bomberg and Buxtorf rabbinical Bibles, and was adopted by the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts. Detached prophecies, variously combined, have been printed by the brothers Stephanus, as also by Van d. Hardt and J. D. Michaelis.

The two Targums of Jerusalem and Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch are of homogeneous origin, and were known to the ancients as the Palestine or Jerusalem Paraphrase [Hävernick, *Einl.* sec. 81]. The Jerusalem Targum appears to be a cento of marginal glosses and scholia on the Targum of Onkelos; containing also Haggadic elements from various rabbinical sources. As containing legends noticed by New Testament writers [compare 2 Tim. iii. 8 with Targ. Ex. vii. 11, and 1 Cor. x. 4 with Targ. Numb. xxi. 16], they may represent earlier fragmentary Targums. Of the two the Jerusalem Targum was probably the original; dealing with single words and isolated texts, and those in no connected order, to which the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan gave consistency. In this way modern criticism [Zunz, *Gottes d. Vortr.* 66-72; Carpzov, *Crit. Sacr.* 448] resolves the latter into a mere development of the former, which was itself a collection of glosses on the Targum of Onkelos. In Deut. xxxiv. the paraphrase of Jonathan is a close copy of the Jerusalem Targum. In much the same manner the Gemara grew out of the refuse salvage of the Mishna. The later form cannot be earlier than the middle of the seventh century [Zunz, 73], and exhibits many intermediate marks of date between this period and the middle of the third. It mentions the Mishna, and speaks of Constantinople [Numb. xxiv. 19, 24], Lombardy, unknown as a name before A.D. 570, and borrows from the domestic history of Mahomet the names Chadidja and Fatima [Gen. xxi. 2].

The way in which MSS. vary indicates the patchwork character of these Targums, and the multiplicity of explanations that it offers on the authority of "ת"א, "other Targums," proves the same thing. Anthropomorphic expressions are toned down as in Onkelos. Thus "ye shall be as gods," rendered by Onkelos, "princes," becomes in the later Targum, "prince-angels," מלאכין רברבין; unless, indeed, the word "angels" come in from the margin. The stories are of the grossly absurd type of post-Talmudic Rabbinism; though some of its Haggadic myths are borrowed from the Gemara. Its angelology is that of the Cabbala, and ascribes the slaughter of the first-born in Egypt to a host of angels nine hundred strong; of whom Samuel was the generalissimo. Its description of a penal Gehenna is rabbinically graphic. Latin, Greek, and Persian words are freely intermixed in its texture, and modern ethnographical names occur in it. Its language is the most degenerate type of the Western Aramaic dialect, and abounds with barbarous words; as an exegetical work its only merit is that it is in some measure an exponent of the ideas of Onkelos. The style of the Jerusalem Targum is nearer to that of the Mishna, and the later Targum may be said to hold the same relation to it, both in respect of language and Haggadic matter, in which the Gemara stands to the Mishna. The Jerusalem Targum first saw the light in print, A.D. 1518, in the Bomberg Bible; it was also published in the London Polyglott, vol. iv. The Pseudo-Jonathan Targum was first printed, with Onkelos, Jerusalem Targum, and Rashi's Commentary, at Venice A.D. 1590, 1594; also in the London Polyglott, vol. iv. For critical information on these Targums Petermann should be consulted, as also Winer and Seligsohn.

The Talmud speaks of several Chaldee versions of the Hagiographa. Those that still exist may be divided into [1] the Targum on Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, falsely ascribed to Joseph the one-eyed [Zunz, 65], head of the school at Sora [A.D. 322]; [2] the five Megilloth—Song of Solomon, Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes; [3] Daniel, Chronicles, and Ezra, though the sacred books that contain an admixture of Chaldee were not usually handled by the Targumist, lest portions that were written in Chaldee should be mistaken for the authoritative Hebrew text.

[1] Internal evidence shews that the Targums on these three books were written by the same hand [Hävernick]. Zunz limits this identity to time and country. That on the Psalms, which is

[1] Compare Targ. on Isa. xii. 3, xxxiii. 22, lii. 7, lxii. 10; Jer. x. 11, where the Chaldee text also is paraphrased, xii. 5; Ezek. xi. 16, xvi.; Hos. iii. 2; Amos viii. 5; Mic. vi. 4; Hab. iii.; Zech. xii. 11.

slightly polemical, shews signs of a Syriac text: it speaks of Constantinople [cviii. 11], and terms angels "angeli," as does that of Job [x. 5, 15, xx. 27, xxxv. 10; Zunz, 64]. Both the books of Psalms and of Job are treated in a free paraphrastic manner, and are full of Talmudic stories. The former borrows occasionally from the Targums of Pseudo-Jonathan and of Jerusalem, and betrays a chequered origin by its frequent indications of א"ת. The Targum on Proverbs is close and free from Haggadic trash. Its general agreement with a Syriac original is remarkable. Hävernick [see also Eichhorn, *Einl.* ii. 106; and Berthold, *Einl.* ii. 600] accounts for this from the close word-for-word style of either translation, and from the philological analogy between the two dialects. Dathe's supposition, however, that the paraphrast was indebted to the Syriac for aid, is probably correct [*De Consens. vers. Chald. et. Syr. Prov. Salom.*]. The points of Syriac analogy involve divergence from the Masoretic text, paraphrastic peculiarities, additions, and "variæ lectiones." Instances by way of explanation may be seen in Dr. Volck's article in Herzog, *Thargumim.*

Class [2] exhibits Targums that are more than paraphrases, and use rather the freer handling of the Midrash. They are written in a dialect that stands midway between the Eastern and Western Aramaic, such possibly as was used at an earlier date by the Jews of Antioch. They contain the same marks of a low date as the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, and are equally profuse in later Haggadic illustration. The Targum on the Song of Solomon anachronizes disgracefully, and is throughout an uninteresting glorification of Judaism. Esther has always been a favourite book with later Jews, though earlier Rabbinism admitted it with difficulty into the canon of Scripture. Hence its MSS. and Targums abound. Of these the Targum found in the Antwerp Polyglott is close and concise. A second and third were published by Tailer, London, A.D. 1655, the former of which [T. prius] was printed in the London Polyglott, the latter [T. posterius] runs more to legend.

[3] The Cambridge *Cod. Erpenius* contains a Targum on Chronicles, the existence of which was long unknown even to the Jews. Two other MSS. of it exist at Erfurt and at Dresden. Its date ranks later than the Jerusalem Targum, of which it makes use, though both may have drawn their materials from some "tertium quid."

ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ, *Perfecti.* A name given in the early Church to communicants, those who had gone on to perfection through the stages of catechizing, baptism, and confirmation, and had now arrived at the climax of Christian grace, the reception of τὸ τέλειον, the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. The term seems to have been in use in St. Paul's time, who writes ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα [Heb. vi. 1], and Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις [1 Cor. ii. 6]; and the latter words seem to shew that the full disclosure of Christian doctrine was made only to the baptized even in the time of the Apostles. [Disciplina Arcani.]

ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ. A name for the Holy Eucharist, explained by the preceding article.

TEMPTATION, Πεῖρα. Trial and temptation have the same meaning, "trial" being Anglo-Saxon, and "temptation" derived from the Latin "tentatio." The distinction made between them, by using one for the trial and increase of faith, patience and strength, and the other for seductions to evil, is of modern growth, and therefore we find that in the Authorized Version of the Bible the words temptation and trial are used indiscriminately, sometimes with reference to the afflictions with which God visits men, and at others for persuasions to sin which Satan is at hand to suggest. There are five kinds of temptation, of which some are of the former and others of the latter kind; [1] Those whereby one man tempts another; [2] Those whereby men tempt themselves; [3] Those whereby men tempt God; [4] Those whereby God tempts men; [5] Those whereby Satan tempts men.

I. *Temptations whereby one man tempts another.* The intention of these may be to discover excellencies, as when the Queen of Sheba came to prove Solomon (ἦλθε πειράσαι) with hard questions [2 Chron. ix. 1]; or to find out men's hypocrisy, as when the Church of Ephesus is commended for having tried (ἐπειράσας) those who say that they are apostles and are not [Rev. ii. 2]; or else to discover some ground of accusation, as when the Jews tempted our Lord [Luke xx. 23].

II. *Temptations whereby men tempt themselves.* This, in the way of self-examination, is commended by St. Paul; "Examine yourselves" (ἑαυτοὺς πειράζετε) "whether ye be in the faith" [2 Cor. xiii. 5]; but a man may tempt himself sinfully when he presumptuously places himself in the way of temptation, or when he is drawn aside (πειράζεται) by his own lusts and enticed [Jas. i. 14].

III. *Temptations whereby men tempt God.* The Children of Israel are often said to have tempted God in the wildnerness when by their rebellion they tried His patience and provoked His wrath [Exod. xvii. 2; Numb. xiv. 22; Mal. iii. 15; Acts xv. 10]. The tempting of God may be a presumptuous trying of God's Providence, as when the Devil tempted our Lord to cast Himself from the pinnacle of the Temple, and He answered, "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God;" or it may be the presuming on His forbearance, whereby men provoke Him to wrath. [Wrath of God.]

IV. *Temptations whereby God assays men.* God tempted Abraham to prove his obedience [Gen. xxii. 1]. He tempted Hezekiah when He left him to himself to try him, that He might know all that was in his heart [2 Chron. xxxii. 31]. Dean Stanley, in suggesting that Satan may have tempted Abraham to offer up Isaac, says, "That the temptation or trial, through whatever means it was suggested, should in the sacred narrative be ascribed to the overruling voice of God, is in exact accordance with the general tenor of the Hebrew Scriptures. A still more striking in-

stance appears to be contained in the history of David, where the same temptation which in one book is ascribed to God is in another ascribed to Satan; "The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and He moved David to say, Go, number Israel" [2 Sam. xxiv. 1]: "Satan provoked David to number Israel" [1 Chron. xxi. 1]. But for the pronoun "he" in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, the margin substitutes "Satan," and such an omission or ellipsis is strictly in accordance with the Hebrew idiom, which frequently omits the subject or noun when it can be plainly understood from the context [Malan, *Philosophy or Truth*, p. 159; Bishop Patrick, *in loco*]. Dean Stanley asserts that God would have tempted David to sin, but this assertion is directly contradictory to the words of St. James, "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man" [Jas. i. 13]. The temptations which we receive from God are not temptations to sin, but trials and afflictions which are sent "to try our patience for the example of others, and that our faith may be found in the day of the Lord laudable, glorious, and honourable, to the increase of glory and endless felicity; or else to correct and amend in us whatsoever doth offend the eyes of our Heavenly Father" [*Office for the Visitation of the Sick.*] The temptations to which our Saviour alluded when He said to His disciples, "Ye are they that have continued with Me in my temptations" [Luke xxii. 28], were not the temptations of the Devil which He endured alone in the wilderness, but the sorrows and trials which He experienced from the contradiction of sinners and the want of faith of His disciples. It was in the endurance of these afflictions, as well as in the temptations with which the Devil assailed Him, that He learned His perfect sympathy with men, "for in that He Himself hath suffered, being tempted, He is able to succour them that are tempted" [Heb. ii. 18]. And these trials are truly called temptations, for they try what manner of spirit we are of; for the same afflictions which, when meekly borne, exalt and purify the soul, harden yet more the hearts of those who murmur and repine beneath God's chastening hand.

V. *Temptations whereby the Devil tempts men.* This is the Devil's chosen work. He is the Tempter, ὁ πειράζων [1 Thess. iii. 5]. He tempts us either by inflaming the evil lusts which lurk within us, or else by the positive suggestion of sin. In the cases of Adam and our Lord the temptations of the Devil were of the latter kind, because there were no sinful lusts in Adam before the Fall, and our Lord, though made like unto us in all things else, was without the stain of sin. Therefore, when the Devil came to Christ, he had nothing in Him [John xiv. 30]. Temptation is the common lot of man, and it is so by the permission of God. The temptation of Job throws some light upon this mysterious subject. Satan could not touch Job until he had obtained the permission of God, and this appears to have been given that Job's uprightness and submission might rebuke the pride of the evil one. The circumstances recorded in the first chapter of Job might be transferred to the history of Adam, and might help to explain how Satan obtained permission to enter the garden of Eden and seduce our first parents to sin. Temptation was a part of the probation in which they failed, and henceforth it became a part of that probation to which every child of Adam is made subject. The life of the Second Adam was in all its particulars a reversal of that of the first. As sin and death came by the first Adam so righteousness and life came by the second. The first was tempted and fell: the second was tempted and conquered. There was a similarity also in the temptation. The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life were in each case appealed to. In the case of Adam, the fruit was good for food, pleasant to the eyes, and to be desired to make one wise. The desire of food, the pomp and splendour of the kingdoms of the world, and the renown which any one would have gained if he had cast himself unhurt from a pinnacle of the Temple, were the motives used by Satan in the successive temptations with which he assailed our Lord, but Christ obtained as complete a victory over Satan as Satan had done over Adam and Eve.

The question still remains, Why, if Satan was overcome, should he still be permitted to tempt the people of Christ? The reason is obvious, that, as they are called to follow their Master in all things else, so also in the combat with temptation, that they may share not only the toils of warfare, but the glories of victory; but they who would be conquerors must be so through Christ Who helpeth them. When He encountered the Devil, He did so as Incarnate God, but the strength with which He resisted is imparted to His people, who are made partakers of His nature. Therefore, to those who fear temptation, the promise "My grace is sufficient for thee" [2 Cor. xii. 9] points to the source from whence strength may be obtained. In the Lord's Prayer we are taught to pray, "Lead us not into temptation." In this petition we acknowledge God's supreme power and providence, which sets bounds even to the malice of the Devil. We pray [1] that we may not be placed in circumstances in which the trial might be beyond our strength. The martyrs prayed not for martyrdom, lest their strength should fail them in the hour of trial, but when it came they rejoiced that they were counted worthy of so glorious a crown. We pray [2] that instead of running into danger, God will remove from us the occasions of sin. [3] That God's grace may preserve us from those sins by which we might try His patience and provoke His displeasure. [4] That we may be delivered from those afflictions with which God visits us: although at the same time we must be prepared to submit to His will, after the example of our Master, Who, when in Gethsemane, He prayed that the cup might pass from Him, added "nevertheless not My will, but Thine be done." "Wishing, not struggling to be free," we may yet "count it all joy when we fall into divers temptations, knowing this,

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that the trying of our faith worketh patience" [Jas. i. 3; Rom. v. 3]. Lastly [5], we pray that if God should permit Satan to tempt us, He will furnish us with strength by which we shall be able to resist, and that with the temptation He will make a way of escape that we may be able to bear it [1 Cor. x. 13]. Humility prompts the prayer, although temptation must not be regarded as evil, since it is the appointed probation by which we may prove our strength and courage. "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life which the Lord hath promised to them that love Him" [Jas. i. 12].

TER SANCTUS. The Triumphal Hymn[1] of the ancient Liturgies, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory," &c.

The first revelation of this "song of the angels" is in Isaiah vi. 3, and it is repeated in Rev. iv. 8. It is an anthem constantly sung by the Church at her most solemn service, there being no really ancient liturgy in which she did not "with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven," thus offer praise.

"The footsteps of the Ter Sanctus, to say the least, are found in the old prayers of the Jews" [Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* i. 229]. In the "Service of the Sabbath Eve," "the congregation rise upon tiptoe three times, and repeat the words, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts, the earth is full of His glory.'"

In all ancient liturgies the Ter Sanctus comes near, but before, the prayer of consecration, and is sung by the choir and people. "The pontiff who is to celebrate approaches the altar, and praises the works of God, and, giving thanks for all, associates himself with the angels, and vociferates with them the triumphal hymn, the Holy, Holy, Holy: and the people also recite it, typifying the equality of peace which we shall hereafter enjoy with the angels, and our union with them" [*Comm.* of Symeon of Thessalonica on the *Lit. of St. Chrys.* Neale's transl. p. xxix.].

The Ter Sanctus formerly concluded with the words, "Hosanna in the highest, blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest." This is the case in the Liturgies of St. James, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, the Malabar, Mozarabic, and Sarum. In that of St. Clement the Sanctus and Hosanna are separate, and the Mozarabic has the further addition, "Hagios, hagios, hagios, Kyrie o Theos."

Out of a multitude of authorities for the use of this anthem it may be sufficient to cite St. Cyril of Jerusalem [*Catech. Mystag.* v. c. vi.]; St. Chrysostom [*Hom. in Seraphim* and *Hom. in Iesa.*]. It is mentioned also by St. Gregory Nyssen, Origen, Tertullian, and others. The Council of Vaison [A.D. 529] ordered, "Ut in omnibus missis, sive matutinis, sive quadragesimalibus, vel quæ in defunctorum commemorationibus fiunt, semper Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, eo ordine quo ad missas publicas, dici debeat, *quia tam dulcis et desiderabilis vox, etiamsi diu noctuque posset dici, fastidium non potest generare*" [Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* vii. 394].

The "Prefaces" of the Ter Sanctus are very various, being adapted to different festivals and seasons. But they invariably end with the doxological form represented by the "Therefore with angels and archangels," &c. of the Prayer Book. In all liturgies the Preface is sung or said by the celebrant alone, the choir and people joining in at the hymn itself. Hence, in the Sarum Missal, followed by the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552, the Sanctus is printed as a separate paragraph.

TESTAMENT, NEW. St. Paul's expression, ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη [2 Cor. iii. 14], descriptive of the Books of the Old Covenant, naturally led to the expression ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη to describe the Books of the New. The New Testament is so called by Origen [*De Princip.* iv. 1], as it is styled "Novum Testamentum" by Tertullian [*Adv. Marc.* iv. 1]. For this use of the Latin word *testamentum*, see art. on OLD TESTAMENT.

Following a division apparently first employed by Marcion of Pontus [see art. on CANON], the Books of the New Testament were parted into two classes, τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον (or Εὐαγγελικόν), and ὁ Ἀπόστολος (or Ἀποστολικόν)—"The Gospel" and "The Apostle." "The Gospel" was the collection consisting of our *four* Gospels; for, originally, the term *Gospel* signified the summary of all Christian doctrine [*e.g.* Gal. i. 6, 7], no one of the Books proceeding from the four Evangelists representing that doctrine in all its completeness, each containing something peculiar whereby the other three were supplemented. Consequently, these Books were not originally styled absolutely *Gospels;* St. Justin Martyr, *e.g.*, naming them ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, just as we say "Xenophon's Memoirs of Socrates." Subsequently, the titles "The Gospel *according to* (κατά) Matthew," or Mark, &c. (*i.e.* so far as each of the four Evangelists imparted the *one* Gospel) became usual; but the perfect summary was called τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον.

"The Apostle," comprising the Apocalypse and the Book of the Acts, was made up of the remaining historical, didactic, and prophetical Books. Somewhat later, the Epistles were divided into the Pauline and the Catholic: 1 St. Peter and 1 St. John being at first reckoned with the Pauline collection, but, since the fourth century, belonging to the collection designated "the Catholic Epistles" (ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαί). The later ecclesiastical writers[2] explain this title as if it were simply equivalent to ἐπιστολαὶ ἐγκύκλιοι, implying that these Epistles were addressed not to particular communities, but to the Church at large. This, however, does not suit 2 and 3 St. John, although, no doubt, something to this effect was what was intended. One can scarcely

[1] See the striking words of the *Lit. of St. James:* τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς σου δόξης λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ ἅδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα, καὶ λέγοντα. So in the *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*, and others.

[2] *E.g.*, Œcumenius, *Prolegg. in Ep. Jac.;* Leontius, *De Sectis*, a.

accept the explanation of Hug,[1] that by the "Catholic Epistles" we are to understand merely that collection which comprised the didactic writings of all the Apostles except St. Paul.

For the distinction between the parts of the New Testament termed ὁμολογούμενα ("universally acknowledged"), and ἀντιλεγόμενα ("spoken against"—*i.e.* by some), as also for the terms *proto-* and *deutero-canonical*, see the article on the CANON.

TESTAMENT, OLD. In 2 Kings xxiii. 21 we meet the expression ספר הברית, "the Book of the Covenant" (viz. between Jehovah and His people), which is rendered in LXX. βίβλος τῆς διαθήκης [*cf.* 1 Macc. i. 57]. In 2 Cor. iii. 14, where Exod. xxxiv. 29 is referred to, we meet the expression ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη. Hence, accepting one of the meanings of διαθήκη (*a will* or *a covenant*) we find Tertullian using the phrase, "Vetus Testamentum."[2] He also refers to the "Vetus instrumentum," and "Evangelicum instrumentum,"—*i.e. document* or *public writing*. Lactantius[3] offers an explanation of the term *Testamentum* thus used, resting on the ambiguity by which some expound Heb. ix. 16. A will, or testament, he argues, first becomes known and receives its value after the testator's death; so, through the death of Christ, the mysteries of the Old Testament, for the first time, became intelligible, and were perfectly fulfilled.

The Old Testament is that collection of Books received as sacred and inspired by the ancient Jewish Church, and, on this testimony, accepted as such by the Christian Church; for, as the Apostle writes [Rom. iii. 2], to the Jews "were committed the oracles of God." According to an ancient classification these Books were divided into "the Law, the Prophets, and [other sacred] Writings"—תורה, נביאים, כתובים. We read of "the Law" in John xii. 34; of[4] "the Law and the Prophets" in Acts xxviii. 23; of "the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms," in Luke xxiv. 44, where our Lord is the speaker. The earliest notice of this classification is to be found in the Prologue to the Book of Ecclesiasticus, where we read τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. In this last class—entitled in Hebrew *Kethubim*, in Greek *Hagiographa*,[5] the Psalms, as being placed first, stand for the whole.[6] This class comprises the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. "The Law" consists of the five Books of Moses. "The Prophets" include the remaining Books. Of this classification no satisfactory reason has ever been given: it is not noticed by Josephus, and the knowledge of the reasons which led to it seems to have been lost at a very early period. The common notion, borrowed from the Jewish Rabbins of the Middle Ages, viz., that the different "degrees of inspiration" under which the various Books were imagined to have been composed caused this distinction,—has been shewn, with great probability, by Hävernick,[7] to have been borrowed from Mohammedan sources. [CANON.]

THEANDRIC OPERATION [θεανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια]. A theological term first used in the seventh century, and intended to express that unity of operation in the two natures and the two wills of our Lord Jesus Christ by which they act as the natures and wills of one indivisible Person, God and Man. It was called a novel term by the Council of Lateran [A.D. 649], and discouraged as such in its fifteenth canon, which speaks of the "heretics" who had introduced it (τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ θεανδρικῇ καινὴν ῥῆσιν): which makes it seem likely that it had been used by some of the Monothelite sect in justification of their principles. St. John Damascene [*De Orthod. Fide*, lxvi.] thus explains the term: "The theandric operation then signifies this; that when God became Man, both His human operation was Divine, that is, deified, and not void of participation in His Divine operation; and His Divine operation was not void of participation in His Human operation, but either is contemplated in connection with the other. And this manner is styled 'periphrasis,' when a person embraces any two things by one expression. For as we call the divided cauterizing and the inflamed incision of a heated knife the same thing, but call the incision one operation and the cauterizing another, calling them operations of different natures, the cauterizing of fire and the incision of iron; so also, speaking of one theandric operation of Christ, we understand the operations of the two Natures to be two, the Divine that of His Divinity, and the Human that of His Humanity." [COMMUNICATIO IDIOMATUM.]

THEISM. Theism is a term of religious philosophy rather than of theology. It was first used by Kant to designate thinkers who, rejecting the notion of revelation, allow the controlling action of Providence, and believe that the Deity, having a personal existence, stands in a closer connection with us than the "Deus melior de tranquillitate" [Tertullian] of the Gnostic and of the Stoic. Theism then may be defined as speculative theology. It issues from the positive pole of speculative thought, as Deism, Pantheism, and Atheism, determine the current from the negative pole—all stand in voltaic connection in the laminated pile of infidelity. There is some degree of life in the reasonings of the former, there is the coldness of death in the latter group; for Theism at least teaches in the positive way that "God is," and that He upholds all things in the moral as in the physical world by the word of His power. It inculcates a sense of responsibility to a personal God, and on this foundation the superstructure of revealed religion may be carried up. It is the converse therefore of atheism. The definition of Theism is best given in the terms of its principal

[1] *Einleitung*, ii. sec. 603.
[2] *Adv. Marc.* iv. 1, 2; *cf.* St. August. *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 4.
[3] *Inst* iv. 20.
[4] Cf. Joseph, *De Maccab.* 18.
[5] Ἁγιόγραφα and γραφεῖα—see St. Epiphan. *Hæres.* xxix. 7; *De Pond. et Mensur.* 4.
[6] *Cf.* 2 Macc. ii. 13, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ.
[7] *Einleitung*, Th. i. Abth. i. sec. 66.

hierophant, J. H. Fichte, editor of the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Philosophische Kritik* [Halle, 1856, xxix. 229, and not to be confused with the philosopher of the same name]. He terms the Deity the Absolute Creator Spirit (Welt princip), which, he says, is no blind unconscious power neither falling under the category of an universal substance, nor of an abstract impersonal reason; but its correct idea is that of a Being existing of and for itself, absolute self-consciousness; that the cosmic harmony is as little dependent on accident and blind chance as on necessity, and that the marks of design which it contains shew that the prescribed order is highly developed and perfected according to the idea of the Good and Beautiful; that an empirical examination of the isolated facts of nature, by a wide induction, leads the metaphysical inquirer on to the sure idea of an absolute designing cause of all, whose properties thus read on the face of creation can only be termed Perfect Thought and a Will for Good. Now, assuming with Descartes that the idea of God is innate in the soul of man, what are the arguments, *à priori* and *à posteriori*, that shew such assumption to be reasonable, and at the same time demonstrate the distinct personality of the Deity? for to profess belief in a God, and to deny His personal existence, is a virtual denial of His existence at all, otherwise than in a pantheistic sense, or as the mundane soul of the Stoic. Placing ourselves for the present in the Theist's point of view, and applying the principles of his theodicy, or rational theology, it is proposed [1] to examine the various ontological proofs of the Divine existence by the *à priori* method; [2] to give brief but sufficient instances of the method *à posteriori;* a subject that can only just be touched, where every blade of grass might supply its contingent; and [3] to indicate the more recent phases of Theism as emanating from Hegelianism.

I. No *à priori* argument thoroughly satisfies the reason. Hence the method was coldly regarded by the severe dialecticians of the Schools. This shews the absolute necessity for revealed truth, and *in tanto* it is an argument for the antecedent probability of a revelation. The principal arguments *à priori* are those connected with the systems of Plato and Aristotle, with Anselm in the scholastic period, and with Descartes at the dawn of modern philosophy.

The argument "de contingentia mundi," suggested by Plato [*De Leg.* x.] and developed by Aristotle [*Phys.* vii. 8; *Metaphys.* xii. 7], establishes a first cause of all from the unbroken sequence of secondary causes that are in operation around us. Thus Aristotle instances the phenomenon of motion; and since all motion involves the idea of moving power, we get back ultimately to the motionless mover, κινοῦν ἀκινητόν, who is the originator of every other impulse, that is, to the idea of God. And the same reasoning holds good if we substitute any other series, whether of secondary causes or derived substance. But the impossibility of a perpetual chain is assumed, and the reasoning is philosophically defective.

A more satisfactory proof is that which Plato has founded on his universal and necessary ideas; which Augustine transmitted to Anselm and Malebranche, and which Bossuet and Fenelon have commended to Catholic acceptance in modern times. The true object of science, according to Plato, was not the pursuit of fleeting matters of interest and speculation, but of those eternal and necessary ideas that the thinking mind is able to assimilate to itself, the ideas of the beautiful and just, the true and good; they are links whereby man becomes united with the eternal source of all goodness and truth. This method has met with general acceptance; its simple truth commending itself to the conscience of all who have found points of weakness in every other phase of the argument *à priori*.[1]

Anselm in his *Proslogium* gives his famous metaphysical demonstration of the Divine existence in the following terms, faith however in the Deity being presupposed:—"I believe, O Lord, that Thou art such as that it is impossible to imagine a greater than Thou. Can such a nature cease to exist because 'the fool hath said in his heart there is no God?' But of a truth the fool himself when he hears these words, *a Being than whom nothing can be conceived that is greater*, the fool comprehends that which he hears: and that which he hears is in his intellect, even though he comprehends not that the Being of whom I speak to him has existence. For it is one thing to have an idea in the mind and another thing to conceive that it exists. Thus, when a painter meditates upon a subject that he is about to work out, he has in his intellect the idea of his work, knowing that the work is not really achieved; but when the picture is completed the painter at once conceives the idea of it and knows that it is really accomplished. The fool then is convicted of having in his thought, at least, that Being than whom nothing greater can be conceived; since he comprehends these words when they are uttered, and that which he comprehends is in his intellect. But it is impossible that the Being which is greater than anything that can be conceived should exist only in the intellect. For if it existed only in the intellect, one might think of this same Being as existing at one and the same time in the intellect and in reality, which is more than mere existence in the intellect. If, therefore, the Being than which nothing can be conceived that is greater, exists only in the intellect, it follows that the being than whom nothing can be conceived that is greater is also the being than whom a greater is conceived, which is impossible. We may conclude, then, beyond all doubt that the Being than whom nothing greater can be conceived exists at the same time in the intellect and in reality."[2] "Et hoc es Tu, Domine." Further, he adds this other proof: "It is impossible to conceive that God does not exist, for by

[1] See Bossuet, *Traité de l'Existence de Dieu et de soi-même*, iv. 5, 6, 7; Fenelon, *Traité de l'Existence de Dieu*, I. iv. 3.

[2] *Proslogium, seu Alloquium de Dei Natura Fides quæres intellectum*, c. 2, 3, 4.

lefinition God is a being such as no greater can be conceived. But I can conceive a being such as that it shall be impossible to think that it is non-existent, and that being is evidently superior to one whose non-existence is conceivable. Therefore, if it be conceded that it is possible to think that God does not exist, there would be a being greater than God, that is, a being greater than the being than whom no greater can be conceived, which is absurd." Next, God being everything that is most excellent, His attributes are methodically worked out by Anselm with an unction that combines the fervour of the mystic with the exactness of the dialectician. This argument, which however should be taken in connection with the principles worked out in the *Monologium* from Augustine, has ever since been a fruitful subject for discussion. It was at once attacked by Gannilon, a monk of Marmoutier (Martini Monasterium), as spokesman for "the fool;" not that he adopted "the fool's" theory, but as being unable to resist the temptation of breaking a lance with the Archbishop of Canterbury. To the realism of Anselm he opposes the empirical spirit of conceptualism, and makes experience the sole basis of knowledge; his is altogether the sensualistic argument.[1] The Schoolmen in general rejected Anselm's reasoning, including Thomas Aquinas and Gerson, who treated it as a paralogism, "en quoi ils ont eu grand tort," as Leibnitz said.[2] At the dawn of modern philosophy, Descartes, who was no reader of books and had a considerable contempt for the lights of the dark ages, stumbled upon the same argument, having received it, as Leibnitz supposes, from the Jesuit College of La Flèche, where he was a student in his early years.[3] Descartes reasons as follows: "I am a creature full of imperfection; yet from the bosom of this imperfection I rise, by the energy of thought and heart, to the idea of a supreme perfection, possessing every attribute of excellence of which I perceive faint traces in my own being and in others around me. Whence comes to me this sublime conception? It cannot originate in my own weakness, neither can I discover it in the world of which I form a part. It must come, therefore, from the All-perfect, Who has stamped it on my being, as the artificer sets his trade-mark on the work of his intelligence."[4] This argument was no sooner broached than it met with the same opposition as did Anselm's in the tenth century; and from such close reasoners as Hobbes, Huet, and Gassendi. Descartes answered very much as Anselm replied to Gannilon, that the idea of perfection must involve the idea of existence; it is not human thought that creates any matter of external necessity, but the necessary existence of that which is external to it impresses itself upon the thought. The idea of infinity could never be gained by a finite being unless an infinite being had vouchsafed it. It is not the philosopher who works himself into the light that is denied to the rest of his race, but the same light is vouchsafed to all; the idea of God is innate in man, and *à priori* reasoning only lays bare that which of necessity is. Hence, as an infinite series of second causes ascends to the notion of one first cause, and as the various finite gradations of beauty and fitness imply one source of all harmony, so the conception of the infinitely perfect is the symbol and guarantee of the real existence of infinite perfection. The cause of a necessary idea must have as real an existence as its effect. Descartes has condensed his reasoning into the following syllogism: "To affirm that any attribute is contained in the nature or conception of a thing, is to affirm that such attribute is true of the thing, and that it is surely contained in it; but necessary existence is contained in the nature and conception of the Deity, therefore necessary existence is a true attribute of the Deity, or God of necessity exists" [*Rep. aux Sec. Obj.*]. The metaphysical argument of Anselm, thus endorsed by Descartes, was accepted by Malebranche, Bossuet, Fenelon, and Leibnitz, the latter having added the proof that possible and actual existence in the Deity are identical, the weak link in the Anselmo-Cartesian reasoning. It was then subjected to a crucial critique by Kant, who, however he may have disposed of the syllogism of the Schoolmen, was unable to shake the ground of reason on which it was built up.[5] Both Anselm and Descartes only spoke as Plato had spoken before. But where Kant has condemned as inconsequent, Hegel has interposed a plea in arrest of judgment; for a system that seemed to identify subject, object, thought, and being, was welcomed by him as an ally. Down to the present day, therefore, from the tenth century, the reasoning of Anselm, borrowed in its essence from Augustine, has exerted its influence on the profoundest thinkers of the human race. But it is impossible to deny that it has encouraged pantheistical reasoning; even Fenelon is not wholly free from the taint. Kant thus sets out the argument that he undertakes to refute, and which was first termed by him ontological: "I can form the notion of an All-perfect Being; but existence is a perfection; therefore I must attribute existence to this Being." Here, he says, the idea of existence is arbitrarily interposed, and the added idea of existence is no development of the original notion; it may cover integrally the subject and all its predicates, but it is in itself no predicate. The idea of a hundred crowns that I have, is identical with that of a hundred crowns that I have not. Further, if in accordance with the principles of Leibnitz, and to reduce the syllogism to more perfect order, it be modified by saying

[1] Gannilon, *Liber pro Insipiente*. For further information on this controversy the reader is referred to Bonchitte's work on the metaphysical argument of Anselm; Hauréau, *H. de la Scholastique*, I. viii.; Saisset, *De Varia S. Anselmiin Proslogio Argumenti Fortuna;* Franck, *Anselm Dargestellt;* Billroth, *De Anselmi Proslog. et Monolog. Diss. H. Crit.;* and compare Thom. Aq. *Summ. Theol.* I. qu. 2, a. 1.

[2] *Nouv. Ess. sur l'Entendm. Hum.* IV. x. 7.

[3] *Ibid.* Bayle, however, considers that Descartes had a deeper knowledge of scholastic philosophy than he cared to avow.

[4] *Medit.* iii.

[5] Compare Cousin, *Leçons sur Kant*, p. 250; and see Fenelon, *Traité de l'Existence de Dieu*, II. ii.

that the Divine existence is possible, and therefore of necessity, possibility with Leibnitz involving the inevitable reason of a thing, the syllogism would run thus: "Everything in which essence and existence are inseparable have a necessary being, but in God essence and existence are inseparable; therefore God has a necessary being." Here the necessity, Kant says, is of our own devising, and does not involve the necessary reality of that of which it is here affirmed. If God be Almighty, the predicate is inseparable from the subject; but what compels us to affirm either? It is thus that the metaphysical argument of Anselm is said by one set of disputants to involve a "petitio principii," while by others it is upheld as the quintessence of subtle reasoning. But the notion of supreme existence is of necessary consequence, according to the reasoning of the *Monologium*. The argument of the *Proslogion* is based on that deduction, and the conception of the Deity becomes no arbitrary fiction of the intellect with Anselm, but a necessary result of reason. The *à priori* essence of the argument consists in proving the Divine subjective existence,[1] antecedently to the objective proofs of His being in creation, and not in first imbuing the mind, prior to all notion of a Deity, with the verity of the Divine existence. As regards the Cartesian view, the idea of the Deity is marked on the soul in characters that are indelible, and that in no respect originate in any faculty of the mind.

Hegel, it has already been observed, could altogether assent to the ontological proof; for though it did not go the length of fusing together thought and being, it was by no means inconsistent with his method. Kant's illustration, he said,[2] of the hundred crowns seems to be telling, but it is only so in appearance; it is the property of the finite to have its being separate from its idea; the Infinite can only be conceived as existent, and conception of the notion of the Infinite is a true reflex of its being.[3] Schelling also claimed a kindred view of thought in Anselm, as having first indicated dimly the identity of thought and being; Descartes favoured the same view in his "Cogito, ergo sum," and in his argument for the Divine existence from the fact of its notion being conceived by the thinking mind. The ontological argument that Kant found faulty, though not altogether on sufficient grounds, was fully allowed by Hegel and Schelling, who, whatever may have been the tendency of their respective systems, were at least consistent reasoners. In other respects there is the widest possible gulf between the reasoning of Anselm and the Hegelian theory of universal identity, which means pantheism.

A different order of *à priori* proof is connected with the names of Sir I. Newton and Dr. Samuel Clarke. Newton first indicated it as so much assertion rather than proof, Clarke reduced it into methodical argument. The words of Newton are, "Deus æternus est et infinitus, omnipotens et omnisciens; id est, durat ab æterno in æternum et adest ab infinito in infinitum; omnia regit et cognoscit quæ fiunt aut fieri possunt. Non est æternitas vel infinitas; non est duratio et spatium, sed durat et adest. Durat semper et adest ubique, et existendo semper et ubique, durationem et spatium, æternitatem et infinitatem constituit" [*Princ. Schol. gen. fin. vers.*]. Clarke argues here that we can conceive space without limit, a time without beginning or end. Neither space or time of whatever degree are substances, they are accidental properties and attributes; but properties and attributes must have their concrete subject, and that subject, as regards time and space, is God.[4] But Leibnitz did not fail to observe that time and space are in no sense to be regarded as attributes of the Divine Being; for remove the idea of both, and the idea of God still remains where it was. Space has parts, then if it be a property of the Deity, the Deity has parts. Time is a succession of changes. We never bathe twice in the same stream was a saying of Heraclitus, all is movement, all is flux. If time therefore be of the Divine Substance, it subjects it to change. The immenseness of the Deity fills all things, time and space included; how then can they be attributes of that substance that fills them? The immensity of God is independent of space, as the eternity of God is of time. But time and space are a finite reflex image of the Infinite. An impassable gulf separates them from their origin and cause. We can assign to them no limits, yet space, however extended, will never reach the immensity of Him who spread it out; time, however we multiply age upon age, will never sum eternity; yet the vastness of the one and the continued aggregation of the other, although they cannot give an independent testimony to the truth of the Divine existence, are considerations that, like everything else that is create, help out the proof.

II. As the idea of the Divine existence *per se* constitutes the ontological or metaphysical proof, so the knowledge of God derived from the works of creation is the physico-theological proof. The schools, from Thomas Aquinas onwards, discouraged the former method as generally unsuggestive and meagre for all whose minds have received no metaphysical training, whereas the rich vein of argument that rises to the mind under the latter method,[5] from the order of the world and the action of second and final causes, is in the highest degree convincing. It is therefore termed the argument *à posteriori*, as being supplied by the induction of experience. The harmony of the works of creation is so manifestly the result of arrangement and contrivance and predetermination, the mutual adaptation of one part to the wants of another is so clearly marked, the

[1] "Ce n'est qu'un moyen de prouver l'existence de Dieu *à priori* par sa propre notion sans recourir à ses effets." [Leibnitz, *Nouv. Ess.* iv. 10.]

[2] *Encycl.* I. *Log.* p. i. a. 51, and Works, vi. 112.

[3] Schelling, *Neue Zeitschrift für Spec. Physik*, i. 88; Hegel, *Encycl.* i. 98.

[4] S. Clarke *on the Existence and Attributes of God*, c. 4; Leibnitz, ed. Jacques, ii. 414.

[5] Compare Aristot. *Analyt. Post.* II. ii.; Clem. Al. *Strom.* V. xii.

even tenor of nature's operations is so invariable, that it can only be through a most vicious condition of the intellect, an ἀπολίθωσις τοῦ νοητικοῦ, that educated man can fail to trace in them the hand of God. "Affirmo parum philosophiæ naturalis et in ea progressum liminarem ad atheismum opiniones inclinare; contra, multum philosophiæ naturalis, et in ea progressum penetrantem ad religionem animos circumferre."[1] The evidences of design are everywhere and in everything, and our perception of them is only limited by the limited scope of our faculties. Our senses without external aid can only convey sensations from the surface of things, and from immediate contiguity. But extend their range ever so little, and we find ourselves in a new world. An unlettered peasant would hear incredulously that vast mountain chains rise up from the lunar surface; that it is blistered by volcanic action; that it is studded over with cup-like hills which at some time poured forth their streams of liquid fire; but increase the powers of vision ever so little, for little enough is added by the most powerful telescope, and the doubter would see for himself a seamed surface—mountains that cast their shadows on the lunar plain, and craters that tell their own history, their serrated edges being projected as shadows on the opposite side. Generally, therefore, seeing our own imperfection, we must be content for the present to behold the scheme of Providence only as through a glass darkly; but dark and dim as the Divine ἴχνη may appear, we are certain that they are only relatively so by reason of our imperfection, not absolutely in themselves. It is sufficient for us to trace the sure working of design, so far as our faculties for observing reach, in order that we may infer the same design everywhere and in everything. We must be content only to know in part, but that partial knowledge is pregnant with safe induction; it is the gauge of our ignorance in matters that lie beyond.

What evidences of complicated design do our organs of sense present? The eye, for example, does not simply receive the impress of visible objects, as a mirror may receive the spectrum, but it exhibits so many points of adjustment to varying circumstances, as to be a signal proof of contriving wisdom; and "the more complex any constitution is, and the greater variety of parts there are which thus tend to some one end, the stronger is the proof that such end was designed" [Butler, *Serm.* ii. *on H. Nat.*]. The pencil of light that falls on the outer transparent coating of the eye contains an infinity of separate rays; and these after entering the iris pass through the crystalline lens, where each separate ray is bent or refracted to a definite direction; and by some mechanical adjustment not yet well understood, at the exact focal distance impinges upon the retina at the back of the eyeball. Each ray, therefore, having received its proper direction, the entire fasciculus is projected in order upon the network of nervous tissue, which conveys the sensation to the brain, giving an exact miniature representation of each object in the field of vision. Without this refraction of each individual ray they would all fall upon the retina in one confused mass of light; it is the refraction of each taken singly, and its consignment to one exact focal point, belonging to itself and itself only, that produces in the aggregate an accurate facsimile within of the great world without. Then the narrow space within which all this marvellous adjustment of infinite complexities takes place, marks the work of Him in whose estimate our relative ideas of small and great are equally nothing.

Rays of light that stream in from a field of vision embracing the half of a hemisphere, are depicted upon the space of less than a square inch at the back of the eye. Whatever proportion, therefore, any object on which we fix the eye bears to the whole field of vision, that same proportion does its image bear to the picture of the entire field projected upon the retina. As the apparent diameter of the moon, for instance, is to the entire portion of the sky that we can behold at once without moving the eyeball, so is the image of the moon upon the retina to the square inch representing that sensitive surface. If we descend to the smaller animals, the minuteness is proportionately increased. Now, by what chance can it have happened, not only that each animal should have been provided with an organ for converting the light of heaven into its chief source of comfort and happiness, but that the organ of vision itself should have been exactly adapted to its purpose by functions of such incredible delicacy? Then, again, the crystalline lens is no less wonderfully designed to obviate one of the greatest difficulties with which the practical optician has to contend, the production of an achromatic spectrum, tinged with no adventitious colour beyond its own. The rays of light being resoluble into the prismatic colours, and variously refrangible, on passing through a refracting medium, easily become sensible to the eye as coloured rays, unless indeed their unequal dispersion be met by some corrective process. The difficulty which the mechanic obviates in the peculiar composition and combination of the various lenses is fully met in the mechanism of the eye. The different humours of the eye partly subserve this purpose, but the corrective process in a far higher degree is perfected by the crystalline lens itself. It was evidently made for this diffractive property of light, for it is not homogeneous as the telescopic lens; its structure is laminated like a bulbous root, one coat overlaying the other, and these increase in density from without inwards, so that there is a considerable difference between the density of the first grumous gum-like layer without and the more solid nucleus within. It is the graduated density of these pellucid laminæ, and the variously diffractive character of the lens in consequence of this structure, which causes the rays of light to be passed through to the retina, subject to no other colouring than that of the object from whence they are reflected. Other instances of design

[1] Bacon, *Med. Sacr., de Atheismo.*

may be instanced in the metallic brilliancy wherewith the inner coat of the eye is burnished in night-feeding animals as an aid to vision, and in the muscular apparatus of the eye, whether externally shifting the field of vision as required, by means of the various muscles and tendonous pulleys in connection with it, and giving the idea of relative distance, and consequently of magnitude, by means of the angle subtended by the object viewed; or internally regulating the amount of light thrown upon the sensitive retina by means of the ciliary muscles of the iris that are themselves affected by the action of light, and expand or contract the pupil in proportion to the degree of intensity of the rays. Every portion and contrivance of the organ of vision is so completely illustrative of creative design as to cause it to have been said, with no rhetorical hyperbole, "It is a machine of such exquisite and obvious adaptation to the effects produced by it, as to be of itself, in demonstrating the existence of the Divine Being who contrived it, equal in force to many volumes of theology. The atheist who has seen and studied its internal structure, and yet continues an atheist, may be fairly considered to be beyond the power of mere argument to reclaim."[1] [Brown, *Phil. of Mind, Lect.* 28.]

And if chance could never have assumed the semblance of design, neither could it uphold the world in the steady course which it has maintained ever since the day of its creation. It is this fully as much as the marks of design that are patent in the face of creation, that speaks to us of the existence of Him Who "upholdeth all things by the word of His power." Take but a few of those objects which are requisite for everyday life. A minute deviation from the one standard established by Him Who gave nature her laws would cause utter destruction. Cereal grain, man's chief subsistence, depends upon the starch which it contains for the continuance of its species, in supplying the requisite nourishment to the embryo plant. When the grain is sown, the starch in nature's laboratory becomes converted into sugar, the pabulum of the tender germ: for coincident with the first growth of the cotyledon is the formation of a small quantity of a white soluble substance from the gluten named diastase. It is by combination with this substance that starch, which is insoluble in water, and therefore unfit to form the sap of plants, becomes converted into dextrin, which is highly soluble. Mix common starch with water containing a little sulphuric acid, and a soluble gummy substance is the result, which is dextrin. This dextrin, or transmuted starch, is taken up by the sap into the plant, and acquiring from the sap an excess of water, or, chemically speaking, of oxygen and hydrogen in the definite proportion in which these elements exist in water, becomes converted by a further process into sugar, the taste of which is familiar in green wheat. Further, as the plant approaches maturity, this sugar through the agency of nitrogen becomes reconverted into starch in the ripened grain, which is in this way prepared again for the manifold increase of another year; while in the woody parts of the plant the sugar nitrogenized in a similar way takes the form of cellular fibre. It may be added that when once the vital action is aroused in the seed, and the process of the conversion of its starch into dextrin and sugar has commenced, if the vital energy be not supported continually, it wholly evaporates, and no art of man could quicken it again. Of this arrested vitality, and of the conversion of starch into sugar, malt is the familiar type. Now we may bear in mind that starch and the chemical developments of starch, dextrin and sugar, are only very slight modifications of the selfsame chemical elements. Starch and dextrin consist of carbon forty-eight by weight, and water sixty, while sugar differs from them only in containing a larger element of water, viz. sixty-six. Upon what a gossamer thread then does the staff of life seem to hang! Were it not for the first nitrogenized element of diastase, the embryo plant, though surrounded with its first food in the starch of the grain, could not assimilate it. Were it not for a further addition of oxygen and hydrogen, the saccharine matter so indispensable for the growth of the plant could not be formed, and the various vessels would be clogged with gum. So again, were it not for the presence of nitrogen, the sugar of the plant could not be converted into the starch of the ripened grain. Miscarriage at any of these points would be destruction to the individual, and if the defect were general the species would be annihilated. The quantitative analysis of the two kindred substances of sugar and starch given above will have shewn how easily the one type would glide into the other, if all depended upon chance, to the utter destruction of vegetable life. In the disease known as diabetes a vitiated modification of the proportional quantities of oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon in the urea, converts it into sugar, and death is the certain result.

The function of respiration supplies another instance of God's providental care for His creatures. The oxygen withdrawn from the air each time the lungs are filled is exactly an equivalent in bulk to the volume of carbonic acid gas evolved in the ensuing expiration; that is, it is returned charged with its chemical equivalent of carbon. Hence, when the atmosphere is permanently vitiated by animal respiration, the blood ceases to be properly decarbonized, and disease is the never-failing consequence of the crowded state of our large towns. In a besieged city as many fall from impure air as from hostile cartridges. How then does nature restore the tainted purity of the air? By the simple law that the vegetable creation should require for its nourishment the carbonic element of the breath emitted by animals. While the vegetable world

[1] Instances of the *à posteriori* argument, of varying interest and cogency, form the staple of the Bridgewater Treatises. Bell, *The Hand;* Buckland, *Geology and Mineralogy;* Chalmers and Kidd, *Adaptation of External Nature to the Constitution of Man;* Prout, *Chemical Action;* Roget, *Animal and Vegetable Physiology;* Whewell (instar omnium), *Astronomy and General Physics.*

appropriates the carbon, it evolves again from myriads of leaves the oxygen which is to enter into the animal economy through the lungs, and to return once more to the plant charged with its equivalent bulk of carbon. Further, since it requires bright sunshine to generate this gas by vegetable digestion, the rich vegetation of the tropics is a never-failing laboratory; and when emitted, the various currents of the atmosphere, and the known property of gaseous elements to diffuse themselves speedily and equally around, soon convey it to the destination indicated by animal demand. It is thus that a constant equilibrium is maintained between the antagonizing forces of nature, and the more carefully we consider such instances of design and mutual adaptation, the more shall we find it impossible to see the first cause of all these secondary and final causes anywhere but in God. As Paley has said, "After all the schemes and struggles of a reluctant philosophy, the necessary resort is to a Deity. The marks of design are too strong to be gotten over, and design must have a designer; that designer must have been a person; that person is God."

It remains to be seen that there is a real connexion between modern Theism and the Pantheism of Hegel.

III. The definition of the Creator Spirit, or world principle, given by Fichte, that it exists "of and for itself," has a definite bearing on the Pantheism of Hegel, according to whom the Divine principle is self-existent, but unconscious, like the Demiurge of Gnosticism, it first gains self-consciousness in the works of creation, and in the knowledge that the human intellect acquires of its being. Thus German Theism adopts the general principles of the Hegelian theory, but variously modifies this monstrous contradiction of an unconscious Deity first gaining consciousness in the human intelligence with which it is identified; and the Theistical school only differs in its component elements, according to the closer or more remote resemblance in other respects to Hegelianism pure and simple. Throughout, the universe is represented as emanating from the real Being of God, as the self-objectuation, self-expression, self-intuition, and self-perfection of the Divine Essence. The cardinal point of difference with thorough Hegelianism is always the same, that the self-consciousness, and thence the Being of God in its subjective relation, exists "of and for itself," and does not depend on the world or on the presence of human intelligence. Its relation with Deism is rather more remote; which represents the Deity as the Absolute, and by virtue of its absolute power, wisdom, and goodness, the eternally perfect Spirit, existing in essential opposition with the conditioned, that has its being only in the progressional development of the mundane principle. Theism then stands midway between Deism and Pantheism. With the former it allows the existence of an absolutely self-conscious being; with the latter it derives every phase of the conditioned from the Absolute. For instance Schelling, in his philosophical treatises, satisfies the definition of Theism in describing the Deity as the Lord of Being, "existing of and for Himself;" but the world is considered by him as being developed concentrically as it were around the Deity, which is its mid-point of evolution and cosmic principle, and as such is all but identified with the mundane substance. He closely touches on the confines of Pantheism. Ch. H. Weisse, adopting, indeed, the method of Hegel, but repudiating his Pantheism, brings into dialectical form the three principal methods of proof of the Divine existence;[1] the ontological proof, which so easily led to Pantheism; the cosmological proof, in antithesis with the former, which establishes Deism in the first instance, but easily encourages new forms of Pantheism; and the teleological proof with which the pure Theistical idea stands in connexion, and is the bond of union whereby Pantheism and Deism are to be, as he hopes, mutually harmonized. Everything in the world has a moral purpose; but the deviser of moral purpose must be a person; not a personal unit in the Deistical sense, but a triple personification of the Divine unity. For the idea of personality involves that of relative individuality as compared with other individuals of the same impersonated species; wherefore the Deity can only be considered to be a Person in Triune Being. The absolute purpose can be nothing else than the one Divine personality formally existing in temporal and historical actuality, it is its very presence, involving a necessary existence. The Second Person of this Theistic Trinity is the Son; the Divine impersonation that marks the eternal origin and real possibility of creation in God; that opens out with the opening creation, pervades it in its whole nature, and devotes itself to its maintenance; not identified with it in a Pantheistic sense, but ruling with sovereign authority; "Self" and "I" as God is "Self" and "I;" the very inner self-objectivity of God. The Spirit is the third element ("moment"), the Divine will, the free character of which is love and harmony, binding the Divine Substance in one. The cosmogony of this system is equally fantastic with its theology, and need not be followed out. This phase of thought is only noticed as exhibiting the strange phenomenon of a Trinitarian Theism. The intellects, however, that have set themselves to the task of reforming Hegel are of far inferior calibre to the great high priest of Pantheism, and the hybrid character of their imaginings has either the grotesqueness of Jacob Behmen or the repulsiveness of Feuerbach and Strauss. To the English reader they are madness without method. [Saisset, *Essais de la Phil. Relig.; Manuel de la Philosophie.* Remusat, *S. Anselme de Cantorberi.* Dorner, *Gesch. d. Wissenschaften in D.* Harvey, *Hist. and Theol. of the Creeds.* Herzog, *Theismus,* and *Religions Philosophie.*]

THEODICY. This term was coined by Leibnitz in vindicating the Divine intelligence and goodness from the Fatalism of the Cartesian

[1] *Die Idee der Gottheit.*

School and the Pantheism of Spinoza. His *Essais de Theodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, et l'origine de mal*, appeared at Amsterdam, A.D. 1710, as an answer to the sneering scepticism of Bayle. Since that time the term has been used in German and French and American metaphysical writings, the object of which is a justification of the Divine government of the world from those who impugn its wisdom on the score of the existence of evil and manifold imperfections. Three of the latest of these writings are Sigwart, *Das Problem des Bösen, oder die Theodicée*, Maret's *Theodicée Chrétienne*, and Bledsoe's *Theodicy, or Vindication of the Divine Glory as manifested in the constitution and government of the moral world.* [*Dict. of* SECTS, HERESIES, *and* SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT, art. *Leibnitz.*]

THEODOTIANS. [MONARCHIANISM.]

THEOLOGY is the science of God; of His Being, Attributes, and Providence; in other words, of God in Himself and of the universe in relation to Him. As a science theology is not co-extensive with religion, though substantially it deals with the same facts. Religion deals with God and the universe in relation to Him so far as they can be the ground of duties and actions: theology deals with these facts so far as they can be matter for conscious and articulate thought. Accordingly, all the important acts which we perform without knowing what we do or why we do it, whose number varies directly as the simplicity and perfection of the character, are necessarily included in religion, not necessarily included in theology. Theology, again, is not normally co-extensive with faith, *i.e.* both the Church and the individual Christian as a rule believe more than they are able or anxious to reduce to articulate thought; and those facts which faith leaves without explanation, inference, or analysis, are not part of the proper matter of the science of theology. This points to a further distinction: the whole of our mathematical knowledge rests ultimately on mathematical science, the whole of our geological knowledge rests ultimately on geological science, the whole of our chemical knowledge rests ultimately on chemical science; but the whole of our historical knowledge does not rest upon historical science, the whole of our political knowledge does not rest upon political science, the whole of our linguistic knowledge does not rest upon linguistic science, and the whole of our theological knowledge does not rest upon theological science. Accordingly, sciences like history and theology recognise all that is known of their subjects, but, as a rule, historical problems and theological difficulties lie outside of historical and theological science; while mathematical anomalies and planetary perturbations are, even before they are explained, within the limits of mathematics and astronomy. A more important consequence of this distinction is that in the former class of sciences it is natural to begin at the beginning, and to build up everthing from the first foundation: in the latter class (to which theology belongs) very much has to be done before this is possible, and the starting-point may be entirely arbitrary, because we approach the study in the possession of a considerable mass of knowledge. Thus at the outset of the sentences of Peter Lombard we find all goods classified as ends or means, goods which we *enjoy* and goods which we *use*, and then having established that we are made to *enjoy* God, and that He uses us, the Master proceeds to his doctrine of God. Of course, the theological knowledge which we bring with us to the study of theology is derived from education, and ultimately from authority, in this sense, that the first Christians were not scientifically convinced of Christian truth by the first preachers of Christianity. It follows that we cannot maintain with Erigena and Abelard that in the temporal order authority is prior to demonstration, but that in the logical order demonstration is prior to authority, for authority established itself in the first instance without demonstration. This is not a unique characteristic of theology, for to say nothing of ethics, the data of political science are certainly given independently of conscious reasoning; on the other hand, though political institutions are not based on political reasoning, they may be modified thereby, whereas no part of the contents of revelation can be modified by the conclusions of theological science. At the same time it is quite possible *à priori* that theological science may be independent, though subordinate, in this sense, that human reason may traverse the whole of the ground of revelation, and verify and classify all the data of revelation by its own enlightened and sanctified powers; and when we examine the historical development of catholic theology, we see that this has in fact been done with most of the mysteries of the faith, so that nothing now can be said to rest entirely on authority, except, perhaps, the sacramental principle; and even the authority on which this principle rests may reasonably be exhibited as a deduction from conclusions of independent science, though as regards this principle and all others the proper ground of belief to the individual is not a scientific conclusion but an authority appealing to his best desires.

SPECULATIVE THEOLOGY seems to come naturally before dogmatic, because it is part of the necessary development of Christian thought; whereas dogma is itself in some sense a necessary evil, the result of heresy, which, though inevitable, is abnormal. Speculative theology is, in the first instance, absolutely free, because it professes to deal with open questions only, or to ascertain what questions are open. In other words, speculative theology deals with such truth as is matter of opinion, or while it is matter of opinion. Hence Origen, who is the father of speculative theology, begins with an enumeration of the points determined by ecclesiastical tradition, and so begins to handle the questions which in his day ecclesiastical tradition had not answered. Of course, in handling these questions, he continually has to return upon the points which he regards as certain, in order to interpret and to harmonize and to reconcile any apparent divergencies. The method

of speculative theology is twofold, inductive and dialectical; inductive so far as the theologian accumulates the data, scriptural and other, which bear upon his subject, and frames an hypothesis to account for them; dialectical in so far as he tests the ideas of which he is already in possession by applying them to the data, and at the same time arranges the data with reference to these ideas. In this double process the theologian has constantly to consider which he shall interpret by which, because until the ideas have been applied and tested they cannot be precisely grasped or understood, while the data cannot be intelligible till they have been arranged. The verification of this tentative process is to be found in the permanence of its results, which are at first provisional, and in the universal acceptance of the tentative conclusions of the individual thinker.

Nor is this method an unique characteristic of speculative theology; any science which is not able to proceed upon fixed and limited data is compelled to adopt substantially the same method. In geology, for example, the uniform action of natural agents is an idea of precisely the same order as the unchangeableness of God in theology; in both cases the extent and bearing of the idea has to be ascertained by its application, in both cases the question is continually arising whether a given fact is to be subordinated to the idea as hitherto apprehended, or whether the idea is to be further defined in accordance with the fact. Like geology, speculative theology is a progressive science in this sense, that a number of mutually supporting theories, each resting on its own independent series of probabilities, gradually acquires solidity and cohesion, and becomes a tradition among students of the subject. At the same time, it is to be noted that the progress of theology has been extremely intermittent. Its almost total collapse after the completion of St. Augustine's great works on the Trinity and the City of God was due to the collapse of civilization as much as to the repressive tendencies of suspicious orthodoxy. After that collapse, speculative theology has been in abeyance in every branch of the Catholic Church except one, where it revived in the beginning of the twelfth century and maintained its activity far into the fourteenth. Then, for the second time, speculative theology collapsed, and the grounds of its collapse deserve closer investigation than they have received. Much is due to the fact that speculative theology had become a semi-hereditary profession, much to the decline of the spiritual life of the Western Church; much also is due to the gradual emancipation of the natural man, which kept pace with that decline, so that even when spiritual life revived it was difficult to believe that spiritual subjects were sufficiently certain to bear free handling; but perhaps most of all is due to the fact that after the victory over the German Quietists, speculative theology had become too purely speculative and had no visible meaning as a defence of the Christian life. The proper function of speculative theology is to make intellectual activity a safeguard instead of a danger to faith. Thus the great Schoolmen embody the victory of Christian thought over the superficial dialectical rationalism of Roscelin, and the Pantheism of Averroes, and the Manichæism of the South of France. Thus also the Spanish Schoolmen, the contemporaries of Suarez, represent the victory of Catholicism over the heresies which accompanied the great division of the sixteenth century. The reason of this is that thought is at once quickened and guided by having to defend the integrity of an ideal which appeals to the affections and the imagination, whereas purely otiose questions, only started for the sake of being answered, soon subside in an impression that the matter in hand consists of conventional abstraction, not living realities; the rather that on such subjects all abstractions are inadequate. In its result speculative theology continually passes beyond itself, for as soon as a conclusion has met with general acceptance, it naturally takes its place in the ordinary instruction of the faithful, and becomes an aid to devotion, and when this point has been reached faith resents its disturbance. And this itself is a proof to those who admit the Divine guidance of the Church and of devout souls, that such a theological conclusion has an organic and inseparable connection with the faith once for all delivered to the saints. For the canon of St. Vincent of Lerins, as interpreted by himself, allows unbounded progress, the only limitation being that it must be a progress, not an alteration; whatever we acquire we must hold fast what has been professed everywhere, always, by all, and reject any theories which would loosen our grasp on them.

Dogmatic Theology is the rationale of dogma, that is, of the sum of the decisions which seemed good to the Church. Hence it is a peculiarity of dogmatic science that it starts from fixed conclusions rather than fixed premisses; its business is to establish an intellectual necessity, where the Church has already recognised a moral necessity, and declared it as binding on the consciences of the faithful. The decision itself may have intellectual grounds, but these are never binding on the consciences of the faithful or on the intellect of orthodox doctors. For example, the peril of polytheism certainly weighed with the Fathers at Nice, when the Church decided that the Son was of one substance with the Father; but unless Arianism had been false *aliunde*, this difficulty might have been adequately met by a theory of secondary worship. The decision was nevertheless binding in virtue of the authority of the Church immediately, and also on the co-ordinate authority of Holy Scripture, mediately or immediately, according to the lights of individual believers. The evidence of dogmatic theology, when it attains the highest point, coincides with the evidence of speculative theology when that also has attained its highest point, so that it is quite conceivable that if communication were accidentally suspended between two orthodox churches, the same belief might be held in both with full assurance of faith, by one as the free result of pious inquiry, by the other as a decision

of authority necessary for the repression of impious error.

Except for the central truths of Christianity, which can be approached upon many sides, and corroborated by convergence of many reasons, this certainty can seldom be attained by the student of dogmatic theology; more commonly he has to be content with deductions from propositions intellectually unverified, or from premisses which, though not arbitrary themselves, are arbitrarily selected. For example, in defending the orthodox doctrine of the Last Things, it is not an arbitrary premiss to argue from the necessary truthfulness of Christ's word, but neither is it arbitrary to argue from the infinite nature of God's Love, or from the unfailing efficacy of the Atonement. The tact which decides which of these premisses will bear pressing in what direction is purely spiritual, and no intellectual gauge has been discovered for it. Perhaps the nearest approach to such a test is to be found in the history of doctrine, for this shews us a presumption independent of our wishes and of human piety for supposing that some consequences are real and others only verbal. But dogmatic theology, which undertakes to shew the internal harmony of all dogmatic decisions, to trace them into their consequences, and to shew that they are worthy of the independent assent of finite intellects, must after all be an imperfect though a progressive science, and is constantly reduced to protect its liberty by confessions of ignorance.

THEOLOGY, NATURAL. [Theism.]

THEOLOGY, SCHOLASTIC. The theology of the Middle Ages, that is of the seven centuries that intervened between the close of the patristic period and the rise of new phases of religious thought at the Reformation, is distinctly separable into two heads; the theology of the early period of the Carlovingian schools, and that of the schools properly so called, of which Anselm [A.D. 1095] marks the rise, Thomas of Aquino [A.D. 1250] the culminating period, and William of Ockham [A.D. 1330] the decay. England, France, and Germany were the three strongholds of scholasticism. The course of study in these schools embraced the "trivium," pertaining to words, or grammar, dialectics and rhetoric; and the "quadrivium," referring to things, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music. These schools were engrafted on the conventual and cathedral institutions, some member of which was the scholasticus or teacher of the young. Law and physic were added in time to divinity and philosophy, and the aggregate of these various faculties with their classes became the universities of Oxford and Paris, "studium generale or universale." The students of Paris exceeded its citizens in number. Cologne, Fulda, and Prague had similar schools of learning, though of inferior renown. The Papal court perceived the vast influence that these schools were about to exercise, and at once extended to them its distinguished favour. In the earliest of these schools John Scotus Erigena became the precursor of Spinoza and Hegel, as Ockham was of Luther and Melanchthon in the later. The mystical Neo-Platonicism of Dionysius (wrongly termed the Areopagite), reproduced in Maximus, gave rise to the heartier mysticism of the canons of St. Victoire, which, however distinct in nature, was minutely interwoven with the substance of scholastic theology. The dialectics of Aristotle, translated by Boëthius, were as the life-blood of scholasticism, and suggested to Anselm the notion of converting theology into an exact science; yet dialectics only served for hair-splitting distinctions; fundamental verities are incapable of verbal demonstrations.

The term "scholastic" in later Greek signified one who devoted himself to science and philosophy; it was more generally applied to the teacher, but sometimes also to the pupil. Quinctilian uses the term of disputants in the former; and it was also applied, in general, to "men of letters." No better name, therefore, could have been hit upon to designate the principals of the Carlovingian Schools, such as Alcuin, John Scotus Erigena, &c. The instruction in these schools had a direct relation to the teaching of the Church, but with a certain philosophical direction given to it, which was inevitable where the chair of the philosophical and of the theological faculties were filled by the same doctor. This close union of theology and philosophy is the distinctive feature, or rather it constitutes the very essence, of scholasticism. Theology, however, was queen over all; "fides præcedens intellectum;" it was as the Beatrice of Dante, followed by philosophy with adoring regard. The discussion of the question of transubstantiation in the middle of the eleventh century, and the collision of two such spirits as Lanfranc and Berengarius determined the immediate development of scholasticism. Dialectical reasoning was the weapon employed by both. While Lanfranc insisted on the paramount authority of tradition as the end of all controversy, Berengarius claimed the right of human reasoning to be heard, and would recognise nothing as Christian truth that was incapable of dialectical demonstration. The way was thus prepared for Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, the real founder of scholastic theology.

Christian doctrine, an expansion in the first five centuries from the germ inherent in the Church, was considered to be finally determined; hence the authority of the ancient Fathers was all-sufficient in the opinion of the schools. But as these doctrines were in many cases the result of human reasoning from scriptural data, the element of reason was by no means ignored, though Scripture and tradition were exalted to the principal place. Reason can only have its issue in systematic arrangement and order, therefore it became the business of the schools to harmonize and classify the doctrinal products of preceding ages, and to claim for theology the exactness of science. Scripture was the avowed basis of the scheme, but it was Scripture of the Vulgate translation as received by Church authority, and interpreted by tradition; thus while implicit reverence was paid to Scripture, the foundation of scholasticism was really laid in ecclesiastical authority and tradition.

I. Of scholastic theology, as a definite system, Anselm must be considered to be the originator. The relations of faith and reason were determined by him; faith did not ignore the function of reason, neither did reason in his system transgress its legitimate boundary lines or interfere with the province of faith, which was the error that he combated in Roscelin. Yet the verities of faith he held to be discoverable by scientific reasoning, as Alan of Ryssel [d. 1202] also maintained, but later schoolmen denied. Thus Anselm declared that the dogmata of positive religion might be argued out as matters of necessary deduction [*De fide Trinitatis*, and *Cur Deus Homo*], to the conviction not only of Jewish, but also of heathen unbelief. Thomas Aquinas seems to have had this notion polemically in view [*Summa Theol. Sec. Sec.* i. 5, 8; and in Boeth. *de Trin. Proœm.* ii. 1]. Anselm's *Monologium* was a first approach towards a systematic *Summa Theologiæ*.

The next pair of scholastic gladiators were Bernard of Clairvaux and Abelard; Bernard was the earnest Churchman grounding his system on faith, yet preparing the way for the warmer mysticism of the Victorian school, by insisting upon the living operative qualities of a loving faith, and claiming for it such high ecstatic flights as prepare the spirit of man on earth for the glorious realities of heaven, "inopinatis excessibus avolare interdum contemplando ad illa sublimia consuevit." Abelard was the rationalist of his day, with a tendency towards Pelagian notions of man's free power for good; as a pupil both of William of Champeaux and of Roscelin, he agreed wholly with neither as regards the doctrine of universals, but settled down upon that *tertium quid* which has found acceptance in later times, Conceptualism. [Ritter; Cousin, *Œuvres inédits d'Abelard;* Hauréau.] He expresses much contempt for the non-reasoning qualities with which the schools were beginning to invest the notion of faith, "Fervor fidei, qui ea quæ dicuntur antequam intelligat credit, et prius recipit quam quæ ipsa sint videat." Like Anselm, he professed great respect for tradition, but it was a tradition limited to the teaching of Scripture, and the scriptural deductions of the creeds. He seems to have intended to destroy the authority of the Fathers in his work *Sic et Non*, in which the "yea" of one father is opposed by the "nay" of another, and no attempt is made to reconcile the antagonism, or to shew how two writers viewing the same subject from different points of view may exhibit differences that are only of an external character, the nucleus of truth in either case being one and the same. His canon as regards the study of the Fathers is sound, where he says that they are to be read "non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum judicandi libertate." By applying his metaphysical principles to positive theology, Abelard laid himself open to a charge of teaching tritheism, and was condemned at Soissons [A.D. 1121]. He was an intrepid dialectician, never shrinking from any length to which syllogism might lead him; but his really brilliant qualities were somewhat spoiled by an overwhelming opinion of his own intellectual power. Hugo a Sancto Victore, canon of St. Victoire, the founder of the Victorine school [A.D. 1140], also made Scripture and tradition the basis of his system of theology. His *Summa* is the first system of doctrinal theology that has descended to us from the schools. It took the form of a digest of patristical sentences, synodical definitions, &c., and led the way to the "Sentences" of Robert Pulleyne, Archdeacon of Rochester, and next to the great work of the Master of Sentences. His work not only cites digested passages, but indicates the counterhitting of opponents, and then, unlike the *Sic et Non* of Abelard, disposes of each question by a determination based always upon authority and tradition. His work *De Sacramentis*, written in free style, is one of the most considerable contributions of the schools to theology. His method gave a useful direction to that of Peter of Lombard and Thomas of Aquino, while his mysticism derived through Maximus from the Pseudo-Areopagite, gave a tone to the kindred writings of Bonaventura and Gerson. His pupil Richard a Sancto Victore [A.D. 1173] excelled him in the more showy and brilliant qualities of intellect, but fell far short of his geniality and simplicity of character. Theology was placed by both these canons of St. Victoire as the centre and sun of all other sciences and arts, which only shine by its reflected light, and are as its satellites, "omnes artes naturales divinæ scientiæ famulantur." The sententiarii, or compilers of "sentences" digested from the authoritative writings of the Church, were headed by Robert Pulleyne in the first half of the twelfth century, whose eight books of sentences, however, were almost immediately eclipsed by the exhaustive *Liber Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard. This work was intended to put an end to all controversy among the "scrutatores et garruli ratiocinatores" of the schools, meaning more especially such disputants as Abelard; but in effect it only enlarged the arena of discussion by the suggestion of an infinity of topics. The magnitude of Lombard's plan and the width of its range secured for him the title of "Master of Sentences;" a host of scholiasts and commentators followed in his wake, who were themselves masters of renown, such as Alexander of Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor, Thomas of Aquino, Duns Scotus, Ockham, &c. But perpetual syllogistic wrangling is wearying, and Walter of St. Victoire inveighed against the four labyrinths of France, Abelard and Gilbert of La Porrée, Peter Lombard, and his namesake of Poictiers, and attempted to abate the nuisance by hard words, which John of Salisbury performed much more effectually by his wit.

II. The introduction of translations of various works of Aristotle, who had hitherto been known to Europe only as the supreme authority in dialectics, gave an entirely new direction to scholastic thought. But they were translations at fourth hand, coming over through Syriac, Arabic, and Latin versions. Fresh life was thereby given to the schools, which then rapidly attained their culminating point. The use, however, of trans-

lations, into which Mahommedan translators had imported their own philosophic glosses, was like playing with edged tools, and Aristotle became charged with the Pantheism that emanated really from Avicenna [Ibn Sinna], Alpharabius [El Farabi], Avicebron [Ibn Gebirol], and Averroes [Ibn Roshd]. Amalric of Bena and David of Dinanto found this to their cost. It was during this period that many of the distinctive tenets of the Roman Church and Pelagianizing theories of the schools were developed; such as the "treasury of grace" that issued in the sale of indulgences, and the Immaculate Conception, both of which dogmata were first floated by Alexander of Hales, though the latter is indicated in the Epistle of St. Bernard to the canons of Lyons [A.D. 1245]. His theology was a practical science modified by mysticism. A greater name is that of Albertus Magnus [A.D. 1205], natural philosopher and theologian, whose massive learning and experiments of the laboratory obtained for him the character of a magician. In theology the highest faith was regarded by him as a "fides formata;" theology itself was "scientia de his quæ ad salutem pertinent," and therefore eminently practical, although there was something of the Pantheism of Ibn Gebirol in his notion of a gradually descending emanation of all things from God.

Thomas of Aquino, greatest of the Schoolmen, was born A.D. 1225, and died at the early age (considering the bulk of his writings) of forty-nine [A.D. 1274]. These works were composed during the last twenty years of his life, from the time of his advance to the doctorate. The first five volumes are commentaries on the works of Aristotle; commentaries follow on the sentences of "The Master;" next another volume of theological questions, the *Summa*, commentaries on Scripture, and seventy-three minor pieces, among which are some "dubiæ fidei," while others are evidently notes of lectures.

Thomas refused the archbishopric of Naples, augmented with the revenues of the monastery of St. Peter "ad aram," begging of Pope Clement IV. that he might be allowed to remain faithful to the vows of poverty and humility, and the garb of his order. It was under Clement's pontificate that the *Summa Theologiæ* was written, consisting of three parts, 1. Natural theology, and on the nature of God and of His creatures; 2. Prima secundæ, the general principles of morals, and Secunda secundæ, vices and virtues in detail; 3. Of the Incarnation and the Sacraments. It is a work that has always been regarded as the most perfect body of Divinity, as well for its doctrinal excellence as for its methodical arrangement. The author sets forth with the assertion that the vision of God is man's highest good; but this transcends the finite reason of man, and can only be attained in a mediate manner through His works in creation, the highest aim and attainment of ancient philosophers. Natural theology however, is only the "preamble of faith," and is capable of mathematical demonstration. But above this is the region of faith, which man can only penetrate by supernatural inspiration and with the aid of Scripture. Theology is a science, as other generalizations of human knowledge are sciences; but it has faith for its guiding light, as these latter are determined by reason. As other sciences are based upon axioms the germ of all after-development, so articles of faith are the axioms of theological science from whence one dogma after another has been evolved. Theological science is speculative rather than practical. This relegation of theology to a higher region makes all real antagonism with philosophy to be impossible. They cannot really clash with each other; both of them emanating from different phases of divine truth; "gratia naturam non tollit sed perficit," and as grace is the perfecting of nature, so reason in the natural world, and sensible substance (res sensibiles) bear an imitative resemblance to things divine (aliquale vestigium in se divinæ imitationis retinent). Like his teacher Albert, he was a follower of Dionysius in his notion of a continuous emanation of all things from God; but whereas Albert derived creation direct from the Being of God, and so verged closely on Pantheism, Thomas in a more guarded manner represented the active will of God as the source of all things, which as Thought wills and creates. It is a different side of the same sunken rock. On the whole the great work of Thomas Aquinas is for the cause of theological truth a κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί. His friend the Franciscan Bonaventura was completely eclectic. Aristotelian in his philosophy, he was also influenced by the traditions of Platonicism, more especially as they were reflected in the mystical school of St. Victoire, and was the devoted scholastic follower of Maximus and Dionysius. He was loyal to the scholastic system, but was less bound by its trammels than others, and conveyed his teaching in a freer, because a less dialectical form than his predecessors. There was a practical piety also in all he said and wrote, that was the more striking from its contrast with the general aridity of scholastic reasonings; as the kindred spirit Gerson said of him, "Bonaventura is as far removed as possible from minute trifling (curiositate); not introducing matter foreign to his subject, nor, as is the custom of others, obscuring doctrine by philosophical terms; but while he has a regard for the enlightenment of the understanding, he makes all have reference to piety and religious affection." Bonaventura is a fair specimen of the better light thrown upon the schools by mysticism; for it gave a freer scope to the contemplative principle, and raised his reasonings into the domain of wisdom to which the mere dialectician could scarcely ever penetrate.

Raymand Lully, of the same period, had greater originality, which he shewed in a syncretic fusion of principles that amounted to something far more than eclecticism. Strife was already setting in between rival schools of thought, but he took far wider ground than the mere hope of reconciling wrangling schoolmen, and aimed at confuting Moorish philosophers and converting Saracens by means of his "ars generalis;" a conglomerate of the first principles of diffusive truth

in the whole encyclopædia of sciences. Aristotle and Averroes, the Cabbala and the Gospels, all supplied their contingent; and if the wild scheme attracted a school of followers known as Lullists, it shews how completely the human spirit had begun to yearn for something more Catholic and genial than the narrow spirit of the schools. Such a demand for reform was the sure herald of the decline of scholasticism.

Duns Scotus, born A.D. 1274, was named from Duns on the Scottish border, his native place; he was of the Franciscan order, and the determined opponent of the Thomist or Dominican scheme. But he had the same reverential regard for Church doctrine as Aquinas. The points of difference lay rather in metaphysical subtleties. He argued every question himself in a fearless, self-dependent spirit, and objected to Thomas Aquinas his servile devotion to Aristotle. This drew upon him the wrath of the Dominican fraternity; and the wars of the rival schools led in direct course to the dissolution of scholasticism. Duns Scotus was the champion of human and divine liberty of action, both of which had been called in question in some degree under preceding systems; while the Thomists were the advocates of grace. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was a prominent feature in the Scotist system. The theory was not first started by Scotus, for Alexander of Hales had already avowed it, and before him St. Bernard indicated its existence; but it was brought into public notice by him at Paris, and the principle was firmly rooted by his preaching in the mind of the people; though in point of exact definition it was vague as yet and undetermined. It is commonly asserted, he said, that the Virgin was born in original sin; he disputed the point, and concluded by declaring that had He so willed God might have saved the Virgin from every trace of original sin; or He might have redeemed her from it after a momentary contact; or He might have allowed her to continue for some time under this common condition of humanity, and then set her wholly free from it. "Which of these three hypotheses, he says, be the true one God alone can know, but it seems most suitable to ascribe to the Blessed Virgin the more excellent condition, provided that it militates not against the authority of the Church or of Scripture." Of all logicians Scotus was the most severely dialectical, and for this reason he was known as the "subtle doctor," though the Thomists called him "Quodlibetarius" in allusion to his "quodlibetarian" method of stating the pro and con of important arguments, and leaving his hearers to draw the conclusion for themselves, as Abelard had already done as a "sententiarius" in his *Sic et Non*. If Duns Scotus approached more nearly to any of his predecessors it was to William of Champeaux, founder of the dialectical school of St. Victor and preceptor of Roscelin. His system was built upon Aristotle, in his day sufficiently well known in various translations; but Platonicism also lay at the foundation, the two great sources of Christian philosophy having always been combined in the Neo-Platonic scheme that descended to the schools through Porphyry and Boethius. Theology was considered by him to be as much a science as philosophy; but it was a practical not a speculative science, "operatio eorum quæ persuadentur," which was the converse of the Thomist theory. He took a completely material view of original sin; it was not concupiscence, for that from the first was connaturally in man; but it was "ex fomite." Our fleshly nature is tainted and poisoned in natural procreation. The punishment of original sin lay in the deprivation of the Beatific Vision. With every intention of being severely orthodox, he gave a Semi-Pelagian tone to the doctrines of grace. The two penitential conditions of ATTRITION and CONTRITION, which are combined by Thomas Aquinas under the latter term, were first disjoined by Scotus, and his followers ever afterwards carefully separated the one from the other [Sec. IV. dist. xiv. qu. 2]. In other respects, while expressing himself as a zealous Catholic, he enounced a philosophy whose principles were wholly heterodox. But his metaphysics were obscure, and did no harm to the many, while his theological terms carried a Catholic sound, and he was safe. In philosophy he prepared the way for modern scepticism; the formula of realism, to which he gave fresh life, was the same at the close as in the first rise of the philosophy of the schools, "unity of substance, plurality in its manifestation." Descartes and Spinoza affirmed the same, each according to his own modification [Rousselot, *H. de la Ph. du Moy. Age*, iii. 19-27]. He had learned from Avicembron to believe in the materiality of all existent substance, in which he was followed by Hobbes. With greater soundness he announced the inductive principle, in anticipation of Bacon and Newton [*Comm. Sent.* i. 3]. Thus, in more than one aspect, he was the connecting link between the philosophy of the schools and of more recent times. He died A.D. 1308, aged only thirty-four years. Apoplexy was the cause of death, but the monks of Cologne buried him perhaps with too much haste. The words inscribed on his tomb tell his history in brief outline,—

> "Scotia me genuit, Anglia me suscepit,
> Gallia me docuit, Colonia me tenuit."

Roger Bacon, known as the "admirable doctor," was another who led to the decay of scholasticism by his hardy innovating spirit. Scholasticism could only run in the groove to which it had been fitted. Neology was its destruction. The curriculum of Bacon's studies had been very discursive, stretching away over the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, poetry, rhetoric, history, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, chemistry, jurisprudence, theology, to which may also be added astrology and alchemy; gunpowder, if not actually discovered by him, was known to him. His mind was "strongly compounded of almost prophetic gleams of the future course of science and the best principles of the inductive philosophy, with a more than usual credulity in the superstitions of

his own time" [Hallam, *Introd. L. Eur.* ii. 33]. Lord Bacon had evidently made much use of his namesake's writings. Bacon was accused of heretical teaching, and was condemned to imprisonment by the general of his order. He died after six years' confinement at Oxford, A.D. 1284.

Durandus a St. Porciano, a convert to nominalism from the realist party, made a more complete severance of theology from philosophy; theology, as with Duns Scotus, being purely a practical science. The right knowledge of God, he said, can never be attained by *à priori* reasoning, but only from the word of God as interpreted by the Church. It is not the province of theology to lead man to a knowledge of God as He is, but to shew him the way to everlasting life, and for that reason to generate within his soul faith towards God; this being determined by the will, the theology that is built upon it is resolved into a creation of the will of man, and is a purely practical science. The severance of philosophy from religion was evidently meant by him to tend to the glorification of the latter.

III. William of Ockham, a Franciscan nominalist, "the wittiest of the schoolmen," as Hooker terms him, and the best writer on ecclesiastical authority before the revival of literature, as Selden says, himself no great admirer of that authority, was born about A.D. 1290 at Ockham in Surrey. He was a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and a pupil of Duns Scotus, and was a politician rather than a divine. The scholastic term of "gratia de congruo" was created by him, though it is substantially one with the "dispositio ad gratiam" of Thomas [I. dist. xli. qu. 1. art. 3]. His hardihood of assertion led him to make use of Pelagian expressions that were frequently noticed by the leaders of the Reformation. In the more congenial atmosphere of politics he was a turbulent demagogue, and for that reason he stood in higher favour than any other schoolmen with reformers. Luther terms him "carus magister meus," and Melanchthon speaks of him as "deliciæ quondam nostræ." He was the reviver of nominalism. The realist theory had become so completely interwoven in the entire texture of the scholastic system, that its period of decay prepared the way for the breaking up of the entire web. Ockham hastened the process. He was mainly instrumental in the public burning at Paris of the papal bull "Ausculta fili," addressed to Philip the Fair. He was, as an agitator for papal reform, a continual thorn in the side of Boniface VIII. and John XXII. He inveighed bitterly against papal avarice [*Defensor. adv. John XXII. Papam;* Brown, *Fascic. Rer. Fug. et Exp.*], and demanded the return of his order to its original constitution of poverty. For this he was cast off by the "Angelic order," and pursued by the Pope with such unrelenting hostility as to force him to take refuge at the court of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. Ockham was engaged upon an attack on his persecutor when death stopped his pen, A.D. 1347. The Augustinianism of Bradwardine, and the revival of mysticism, in a practical rather than philosophical application to divinity, by Gerson, are the only two remaining features that redeem scholasticism from insignificance until the dawn of the Reformation.

For a more detailed history of the subject the reader is referred to the DICTIONARY OF SECTS, HERESIES, and SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT. [*Hist. Lit. de la France,* Bened. Ritter, *Gesch. d. Phil.* Cousin, *Œuvres inédits d'Abelard.* Hauréau, *Phil. Schol.* Neander and Gieseler, *K. Gesch.* Baur, *Dogmen Gesch.* and *Versöhnung.* Jourdain, *Traductions d'Aristotle.* Standenmaier and Christlieb, *Erig.* Remusat and Hasse, *Anselm.* Renan, *Averroes.* Bishop Thirlwall's *Life of Aquinas. Encyc. Met. Biogr.* Lawrence, *Bamp. Lect.* iii. and notes. Rousselot. Baumgarten. Crusius, *De Real. et Nom.* Cave, *Hist. Lit.*]

THEOPHANY, in patristical language, is synonymous with EPIPHANY, and signifies the manifestation of God to His servants under the Old Covenant; the Birth of Christ, and His Baptism, both of which were formerly celebrated on the same day [CHRISTMAS]. Thus Gregory of Nazianzum, in his homily on the joint feast of the Nativity and Epiphany [*Or.* 38], says, ὄνομα δὲ τῷ φανῆναι μὲν θεοφάνια, τῷ δὲ γεννᾶσθαι γενέθλια [see CHRISTMAS]. The term also signifies the future advent of Christ as Judge of all; so Chrysostom on Tit. ii. 11. "He here designates two Epiphanies; and in truth they are twofold, the first of grace, the second of retribution and justice." Similarly, Theophylact on v. 13. The word occurs in classical Greek only as a neuter-plural, meaning an exposition of the collective images of the gods [Herod. 1]. In ecclesiastical Greek the same form is found, also the neuter-singular, but it occurs more frequently as a feminine noun; so Suidas, ἐπιφανεία, ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ φανέρωσις, θηλυκόν· οὐδετέρως δὲ πληθυντικὸν; τὰ θεοφάνεια· ἢ εὐθεῖα τὸ θεοφάνειον. In either form it means only the manifestation of the Deity; if it finds any parallel in classical Greek it would be in the term Ἔλευσις. The term can never involve the notion of a self-manifestation of the Deity in His inscrutable Being. Every revelation of Himself to man must be limited to spiritual revelation; for God is Spirit, and His Nature is absolutely of impossible conception to man, "Whom no man hath seen nor can see" [1 Tim. vi. 16], "No man hath seen God at any time" [John i. 18], "There shall no man see Me and live" [Exod. xxxiii. 20]. Spirit can only communicate with spirit. The spirit which God gave to man, when He breathed into his being the breath of life, is the sole medium of communication between man and his Maker. None of the Theophanies, therefore, of the Old Testament, in which God is said to have appeared to the bodily senses of His more favoured servants can be understood of the Absolute Nature of the Deity. In condescension to the limited faculties of man, such manifestation of His Presence as they could receive was made to them, either immediately by dream or ecstatic vision, or mediately by the intervention of some angelic being, invested for the time with the Divine

authority and plenary excellence. So Dionysius [*Pseudo-Areopagita de Cœl. Hierarch.* iv.] says, "Theophanies were vouchsafed to the saints in modes of expression suitable to the nature of the Deity by certain holy visions proportionate to man's being." Upon which his scholiast, Maximus, notes, "By theophany is meant, not a manifestation of the Deity, disclosing His Being (ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστι), for that can never be; but because His saints were thought worthy of a Divine irradiation (ἐλλάμψεως), by means of holy visions congruous to them (αὐτοῖς ἀναλόγων), which he says were conveyed to them by angelic means." So also Theodoret: "God, on rare occasions, appeared to His people of old, in such manifestations as they were able to bear [συμμέτρους τοῖς ὁρῶσι τὰς ἐπιφανείας ποιούμενος. *Serm.* vi. *De App.*]." Hence John Damascene [*Orth. F.* iii. 1] terms these manifestations Θεοφανείαι τυπικαὶ, as being symbolical and not revealing the very substance of the Deity, which is impossible.

The Fathers so generally assert that the Logos appeared to holy men of old, that we may accept this as the positive faith of the Church, "Patriarchis varie visum" [Tert. *de Præsc.*] But it could only be as some angelic form that the Second Person of the ever-blessed Trinity could have appeared. The Word pre-existed in the mere glory of the Son of God, affected as yet by no personal union with the manhood; "before Abraham was I AM." If God, then, "at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the Fathers by the prophets," and by vision, this would seem more especially to refer to the operation of God the Son, Whose authority and more immediate presence were imparted to the angelic excellence that announced His will. As of old, "holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and as the same divine influence still leads the devout heart on "from grace to grace," so we may imagine that a yet more substantive manifestation of the Divine Presence was vouchsafed, when God by His blessed angels made known His will to man. They were His spokesmen, as the Lord Himself declared of Aaron, "He shall be thy spokesman unto the people; and he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be to him instead of God" [Exod. iv. 16; see Mal. ii. 7]. Some distinction also may be observed between any ordinary manifestation of God's Will by ministering spirits [Gen. xvi. 7; Acts xii. 7] that stand about His throne, and those more solemn utterances when the Deity vouchsafed to descend for His own all-wise purposes to closer communion with the creatures of His hand. Still, wherever a visible appearance is mentioned, we must imagine the presence of those ministers of His, whose pure nature, as "flaming fire,"[1] is far more spiritual than man's; yet far more closely allied to that weak nature, than to the infinitely distant and wholly incomprehensible substance of the Deity. That they have a body, though of spiritual substance, is very evident from Scripture, and therefore they have ever acted as mediators to convey to man a knowledge of the Divine Will [Acts vii. 53. Angels].

The foregoing observations may serve to explain most of the passages in the Bible in which God is said to have appeared to man. The preface to the Book of Job is prelusive to the dramatic action of the dialogue that follows; the warning of Micaiah the son of Imlah [1 Kings xxii. 19] may have been founded upon vision, or even upon a clearsighted forecast of evil arising out of present complications. The reproach of Cain [Gen. iv. 6, 7] may have been the voice of God speaking with him through the conscience. The account of the creation may have been communicated by an angel to our first father, as Milton has supposed [*Paradise Lost*, vii. 110]; or by vision to Moses, which is Hugh Miller's idea [*Testim. of Rocks*]. But that which the sacred writers record as having witnessed themselves stands on very different ground. That they were sensibly impressed with the reality of the manifestation made by them is most certain, but how that reality was so impressed upon their senses may have varied in different instances. Such revelations as those in Ezekiel [i.], Isaiah [vi.], Daniel, and Zechariah, were evidently made by vision; the vision of Cornelius [Acts x. 3], and the ecstatic manifestation [2 Cor. xii. 4; see Acts xviii. 9, xxii. 17] with which St. Paul was favoured, are similar instances; when St. John in the Isle of Patmos was "in the Spirit on the Lord's day" [Rev. i. 10], it was the inner sense, and not the seeing eye or hearing ear, that conveyed the impression of heavenly things home to the brain. The Urim and Thummim was another channel of communication between the Most High and His servants. But it is impossible to have faith in the Bible, and to doubt whether or no the three angels appeared unto Abraham "as he sat in the tent door" on the plain of Mamre [Gen. xviii. 1], or that one of them of higher dignity than the other two ministering spirits spake with authority [3, 13, 17, 20, &c.], even as the Lord Jesus after His resurrection was first seen with two attendant angels [John xx. 12, 14]. Elsewhere myriads of heavenly beings form the bodyguard of the Lord of Hosts, whom Moses represents as coming with ten thousand of His saints [Deut. xxxiii. 2; see Jude 14]; and as in the vision of judgment, "thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him" [Dan. vii. 10; see 2 Kings vi. 17]. The administrative angel of the Lord [Acts xii. 7] conveyed a manifestation of God's continued presence [Exod. xxxiii. 14, 15, xxxiv. 5; Isa. lxiii. 9], as "the angel of the covenant" [Mal. iii. 1], the symbol of whose presence was the cloud of darkness and pillar of light, suggestive of penal terrors and the glory of loving-kindness; "gracious to whom He will be gracious, and shewing mercy to whom He will shew mercy,"

[1] Τοὺς θρόνους φησὶ πυρίνους εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑπερτάτους Σεραφεὶμ ἐμπρηστὰς ὄντας, ἐκ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐμφαίνει, καὶ τὴν πυρὸς ἰδιότητα καὶ ἐνεργείαν αὐτοῖς ἀπονέμει, καὶ ὅλος ἀνῷ καὶ κάτω τὴν ἐμπύριον τιμᾷ ἐκκρίτως τυποπλασίαν [Dionys. Areopag. *Cœl. Hierarch.* xv. 2].

"keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty" [Exod. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 7]. But since grace and truth have come by Jesus Christ, "the only-begotten Son Which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him" [John i. 18]. He alone is "the way, the truth, and the life;" and as He has already revealed Himself in His glorified body to His more favoured servants [Acts vii. 55; Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14], so we believe that He shall come again with all His holy angels, and the glory of that Theophany can never again be veiled in darkness. The day of mists and uncertainty will have passed away, the day of God will be there.

THEOPHOROI. A mystical name assumed by some of the early Christians, signifying that they were the temples of God. It is not unlikely that it had a special reference to the Presence of Christ, God and Man, in those who faithfully and devoutly received the Holy Eucharist. St. Ignatius, in the inscriptions of his epistles, designates himself Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, and it is recorded in the Acts of his martyrdom [Grabe, *Spiceleg.* ii. 10] that he adopted the same title in his replies to the Emperor Trajan when on his examination. On being asked by Trajan what the word meant, Ignatius answered, "one who carries Christ in his heart;" and on being asked if he, then, carried the Crucified in his heart, "Even so," replied the martyr, "for it is written, I will dwell in them and walk in them." The name is shewn by Bishop Pearson [*Vindic. Ignat.*] to have been used in this mystical sense by several of the Fathers. It was probably not common at any time, but is an illustration of the manner in which the orthodox followers of our Lord always called themselves after His Name, and kept keenly in view the union which He establishes between Himself and the members of His Mystical Body.

THEOSOPHY. This name is given to a quaint system of philosophical mysticism originating in modern times with Jacob Böhm or Behmen [A.D. 1575-1624], a shoemaker of Görlitz, a town of Prussia, half way between Dresden and Breslau. Böhm's theories were largely derived from Paracelsus, the Swiss alchemist and mystic; and Paracelsus [A.D. 1493-1541], again, had learned at the feet of the Neo-Platonists, Plotinus, Jamblichus, and Proclus.

Theosophy claims to be the knowledge of God and of Divine things attained by contemplation, and consequent illumination, as distinguished from theology, which is the name given to similar knowledge attained by reasoning from revelation. It also claims the power of penetrating into many secrets of nature—viewed as the Divine Cosmos—by the same gift of illumination. The whole system is, in fact, a strange mixture of the physical with the spiritual; material forces being often credited with spiritual power.

The life of Jacob Böhm was one of very narrow experiences, as has been the case with many deep thinkers among the Germans, yet his works have had much influence upon the religious life of large numbers both in Germany and England. The first of them was the *Aurora*, which he published in the year 1612, and which was shortly followed by a work entitled *The Three Principles*. These books brought Böhm into much notice with the learned, and into much trouble with the Lutheran pastors of his neighbourhood. He continued to write, however, for the remaining twelve years of his life; and his collected works were published in 1730, under the title *Theosophia Revelata*, in six volumes. An English translation of them was made, in two quarto volumes, by William Law, whose mysticism was that of Böhm de-Germanized, and had great influence on the mind of Wesley. Böhm was also a favourite authority with Sir Isaac Newton, among whose papers were found large extracts from his works, which Law believed to have been the foundation of many of Newton's own speculations. Much of Schelling's philosophy is also drawn from the same source.

The central idea of theosophy is that of emanation, Böhm's mysticism all tending to a demonstration that finite existences of every kind are an efflux from the One Infinite Existence, and that such an efflux is a necessary attribute of God's own being. All things come from a working-will of the holy, triune, incomprehensible God, Who manifests Himself through an external efflux of fire, light, and spirit. Angels and men are the true and real offspring of God, their life originating in the divine fire, from which light and love are generated in them. This triune life in God is the perfection of being, and the loss of it constituted the Fall of angels and men. Thus man having been made a living image of the Divine Nature and endowed with immortality, he exchanged the light, life, and Spirit of God for the light, life, and spirit of the world. He died to the influences of the Spirit of God on the very day of his transgression, but remained subject to all the external influences of the world: and the restoration of the influence of the Spirit constitutes the work of redemption and sanctification. Christ restored to men the germ of their paradisiacal life, which is possessed by all through new birth and His indwelling. No son of Adam can be lost, except by the wilful loss of this paradisiacal germ of the Divine Life; and its development is the development of salvation.

In the hands of Law (a man too little appreciated), the theosophy of Böhm assumed a much more reasonable form than that in which it had been clothed by its author, whose language was a medley of alchemy, obscure analogies, and false etymologies. It was then exhibited as a philosophy of redemption and spiritual life which only wanted the key-stone of sacramental psychology to make it a firm system of truth.

In recent times a volume has been privately printed by Mr. Christopher Walton, a goldsmith on Ludgate Hill, entitled *Notes and Materials for an adequate Biography of William Law, comprising an elucidation of the scope and contents of the writings of Jacob Böhm, and of his great commentator Dionysius Andreas Freher,*

&c.; 1854, which contains an immense body of information on the subject; and although presented in an undigested, and so unreadable, form, this work (which has been given to most public libraries) will be found very useful to any student who ventures upon the subject of theosophy.

THEOTOKOS. Θεοτόκος, *Deipara, Mater Dei, Mother of God.* [1] A title of the Blessed Virgin Mary. [2] An ecclesiastical term, adopted at the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, to assert the doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord's Person. The title was adopted not so much with a view of paying honour to the Blessed Virgin, as to her Divine Son.

The truth which it was designed to teach is that although two natures are united in one Christ, yet there are not two persons but one. Our Blessed Lord was a Divine Person from all eternity, and when He became incarnate He did not cease to be the Person He had been before. There was therefore no change or interruption of His identity, for the Godhead became incarnate, not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God. That which He took was not a human person, but human nature. If He had taken a human person two persons would have co-existed in one, which would have involved a contradiction, or, if it had been possible, the human nature attaching to the human person would have belonged to that person alone; but by taking human nature into the Godhead, He sanctified a common nature of which His people are made partakers [Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* v. 52, sec. 3; Wilberforce *on the Incarnation*, c. vi.]. When He took our flesh upon Him, He did not become another person than He was before, for then He could not have said "Before Abraham was, I AM." The consciousness which is an attribute of identity remained undisturbed by the taking of the manhood into God, and therefore personality must be ascribed not to the human, but to the Divine nature of our Lord. Although the nature which He took of the substance of His Mother was human, the person who was born was Divine, and this was the truth declared in the adoption of the term θεοτόκος. It is not of course meant that the Blessed Virgin was the mother of the Godhead of our Lord, but that the human nature, which He assumed of her substance, was so united to the Divinity that the person begotten of her was God as well as man. In this sense she might be called the mother of God. Further than this, if it be alleged that, since the Godhead was not derived from the substance of the Virgin, but existed from all eternity, the title Mother of God expresses more than the Church meant, it may be answered that it is in accordance with the well-known *usus loquendi* in Scripture, whereby God is said to have purchased the Church with His own blood [Acts xx. 28], and the Son of Man is said to be already in heaven whilst yet on earth. This Communicatio Idiomatum is only intelligible on the principle that whatever may be predicated of our Lord in either of His two natures belongs to Him as one Christ, *i.e.* that the properties of both His natures are the properties of His Person. In the same sense as St. Paul could attribute crucifixion to God, could the Church attribute to Him birth of a human mother. The phrase θεοτόκος is implicitly sanctioned by the phrase αἷμα Θεοῦ [Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 258, *note*, 2nd ed.].

Although the word θεοτόκος is not itself found in Scripture, its equivalent is seen in the words of Elizabeth, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου. Equivalent expressions are also used by Irenæus and Ignatius [Waterland, vol. v. 414]. Alexander of Alexandria uses the term θεοτόκος, as does also St. Athanasius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and Origen. The denial of our Lord's Divinity by the Arians brought the title into more common use than it had before obtained. It was used by Gregory Theologus in his discourses on the Nicene Faith, and in a letter addressed to the priest Cledonius in which we read, "If any man believe not Mary to be Theotokos, he has no part in God." The Nestorian heresy was, however, the cause of its being accepted by the Church as an article of faith. Like other heresies this was a recoil from others which had gone before. The Arians had denied the divinity of our Lord, and the Apollinarians had so confused the two natures that they lost sight entirely of the distinctive peculiarities of His humanity. Recoiling from this error there were some who so insisted on the distinctness of our Lord's humanity as to regard it in the light of a separate personality. Amongst these was a priest Anastasius, who in a sermon preached at St. Sophia's at Constantinople, in Advent A.D. 428, said, "Let no one call Mary Theotokos, for she is a human creature of whom God could not be born." Nestorius the archbishop was present, and approved, and on the Christmas day following he preached a sermon, in which he called the title heathenish, and spoke of Mary's son as "a mere man, the organ employed and the vesture worn by God." A controversy having been provoked, in the following January, Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, took occasion in his seventeenth Paschal homily to set forth the unity of Christ's Person without naming Nestorius, and to speak of the Blessed Virgin as Theotokos. To trace the history of the controversy belongs to another place. [*Dict. of* Sects *and* Heresies.] It is sufficient here to say that at the outset the intention of each party appears to have been misunderstood by the other. Cyril attributed to Nestorius a revival of the errors of Paul of Samosata, and Nestorius charged Cyril with Apollinarianism [Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 32].

When the controversy had increased to such an extent as to attract the attention of the whole church, Cœlestine, the Pope, convened a council at Romé, August 11th, A.D. 430. The homilies and letters of Nestorius were then read and condemned, and the letters of Cyril approved. Cœlestine delivered an address, proving from the Fathers that the Blessed Virgin is truly Theotokos. Especially he quoted a line from the Christmas hymn of St. Ambrose, "Talis decet partus Deum," which was equivalent to the expression derided by Nestorius. The decree of the council was that

those who denied this faith should be deposed from the ministry; and the Pope wrote to Cyril requesting him to act on his behalf, and requiring Nestorius to retract within ten days from the receipt of a monition. John of Antioch, wishing to act as peacemaker, endeavoured to persuade Nestorius to subscribe the term with an explanation of his meaning, but he could not be persuaded to retract what he had once advanced. He asserted his orthodoxy, and said that he had proposed Christotokos as a medium between Theotokos and Anthropotokos, and that he should appeal to a general council.

Cyril now carried out the directions of Cœlestine, by assembling a council at Alexandria in November A.D. 430. The result of this council, at which Nestorius did not appear, was a synodal letter and twelve anathematizations asserting the Divine Personality of the Incarnate Word. When the messengers from the Alexandrian Council came to Constantinople, Theodosius the Emperor, at the request both of Nestorius and his opponents, summoned the metropolitans of the empire to meet at Ephesus on Pentecost following [A.D. 437]. On the 7th of June, Cyril arrived at Ephesus, and found Nestorius awaiting his arrival. They waited for the arrival of John of Antioch, but before the opening of the council discussions between the two parties commenced. In the course of these, whilst arguing with Theodotus of Ancyra, Nestorius several times asserted, "For my part, I cannot say that a child of two or three months old was God." This was enough to disprove his fair pretensions and to expose his heresy.

On the 21st of June, a fortnight had already elapsed since the day fixed by the Emperor for the opening of the council. John of Antioch sent a message begging that, if he was delayed, Cyril would proceed with the business. The following day the council was opened, but Nestorius refused to appear. The opinions of Nestorius were condemned, and all who adhered to them deposed. The term Theotokos does not, however, occur in the Ephesine canons.

The fourth Œcumenical Council was held at Chalcedon in A.D. 451, to confute the heresy of Eutyches, who acknowledged only one nature in our Lord's Person. The synod not only expressed its adherence to the rule of faith laid down at Nicæa and confirmed at Constantinople, but it "embraced the exposition of the faith set forth at Ephesus by Cyril of blessed memory, when Nestorius was condemned," as well as "the letter addressed by the blessed and apostolic Leo, Archbishop of all the Churches, condemning the heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches." A definition of faith was also synodically set forth, in which, after the recital of the Constantinopolitan Creed, the following passages occur: "For as much as they who endeavoured to make void the preaching of the truth have by their particular heresies given rise to vain babblings, some daring to corrupt the mystery of the Lord's Incarnation for us, and refusing to the Virgin the appellation of Theotokos, . . . the present holy, great, and Œcumenical Synod has decreed that the faith of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers should remain free from assault." . . . "We, then, following the holy Fathers, all with one consent teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; the same perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood; truly God, and truly man, of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like unto us without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and for our salvation, *born of Mary, the Virgin Mother of God* (τῆς θεοτόκου), *according to the manhood;* one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only Begotten, to be acknowledged in two Natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably, the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one person and one subsistence, not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son, and only begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Prophets from the beginning have declared concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ hath taught us, and the Creed of the Holy Fathers hath delivered to us."

The Council of Constantinople, held June 10th, A.D. 553, called the fifth Œcumenical Council, anathematized a letter said to be written by Ibas of Edessa to Maris the Persian, which denies that the Word was incarnate of the *Holy Mother of God* and ever Virgin Mary, which accuses St. Cyril of being a heretic and an Apollinarian, and which blames the Council of Ephesus for having deposed Nestorius without examination.

This title *Holy Mother of God* is accepted by the Church of England, inasmuch as the decrees of Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople are incorporated into her own laws. The Statute 1 Eliz. cap. i. xxxvi., A.D. 1558, provides that the commissioners appointed under that Act "shall not in any wise have authority or power to order, determine, or judge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as heretofore have been determined, ordered, or adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the *four first general councils*, or any of them." The Homily speaks of "those six councils which were allowed and received of all men." Six are mentioned here instead of four, because the fifth and sixth were virtually complements to the third and fourth.

Θεοτόκος was rendered in Latin Deipara, Genetrix Dei, and Mater Dei. Bishop Pearson considers θεοτόκος more theologically correct than Mater Dei, although the only English equivalent is Mother of God [Pearson *on the Creed*, ii. 145]. Amongst Anglican Divines the infrequency of this term in common use has not arisen from any bias towards Nestorianism, but from a mistaken notion that the title may imply that the Blessed Virgin Mary is something more than human. Those who fear this may remember that the discussion in its origin touched not the honour of the Mother, but the nature of her Son There

was no difference respecting the estimation in which she should be held, but the discussion turned entirely on the person of Him Who was born of her. [Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.*, bk. v. ch. 52. Bright's *Hist. of Church*, A.D. 313-451, p. 311-339. Socrates, *Ecc. Hist.* vii. 32, 34. Evagrius, *Ecc. Hist.* b. i. ch. 2-7. Bishop Forbes, Bishop Harold Browne, and Bishop Beveridge on Second Article of RELIGION.]

THOMISTS. [THEOLOGY, SCHOLASTIC.]

THURIFICATI. [LAPSED.]

TITHES. The tenth part of the produce of land, or stock, or profits of any occupation, assigned for the maintenance of the clergy and support of the Church. In the Law of Moses this tenth was prescribed [Numb. xviii. 21; Deut. xiv. 22; Lev. xxvii. 30]. It was claimed by God, and by Him given to the Levites [Numb. xviii. 24]. But before this written law tithes were paid, as we know from the vow of Jacob [Gen. xxviii. 20], and from the meeting of Abraham and Melchisedech [Gen. xiv.]. We find also abundant proof of heathen nations recognising the duty of devoting a tenth to religious ends. Crœsus advised Cyrus to station guards at the gates so as to secure the payment of tithes to Jupiter.[1] Xenophon instances payment of tithes to Diana.[2] The Carthaginians are said to have paid tithes of all their profits.[3] The Roman generals used to devote tenths of the spoil to Hercules. Camillus, before the assault on Veii, vowed a tenth part of the spoil to the Pythian Apollo.[4] From this known practice of heathen nations it was held by the early Christians that the offering of a tenth of one's substance to God was of natural right; not a merely local command to the Jews, abrogated with other parts of the ceremonial law, but of perpetual obligation. It is agreed that tithes were not recognised or regularly paid in the Christian Church till late in the fourth century. Various reasons are given for this.[5] There was a community of goods, rendering tithes unnecessary and superfluous: there were no means of enforcing payment: the ruler and all the people must be Christian, to enable the Church to claim them as lawful and to secure their payment. St. Paul testifies [1 Cor. ix. 11] to the Divine right of ministers to live of the Gospel. The early Fathers wrote earnestly exhorting to the payment of tithes, and always represented them as due, not merely offered, to God.[6] Tithes were occasionally granted for special religious ends: as those given for the crusade [A.D. 1188] to King Henry II., and those given by Pope Paul III. [A.D. 1534] for the suppression of pirates at Tunis. One of the constitutions of Archbishop Odo [c. A.D. 942] prescribed giving of tithes.[7] Those given before the parochial distribution of the country were divided into three parts; one for the services of the Church, one for the clergy, one for the poor. But though the payment of a tenth was recognised as a duty, the special person to whom it was due was not prescribed. Hence men paid to whom they would. And it was not till a decree of Pope Celestine III. [A.D. 1195] that the payment of tithes to the clergy of the parish was rendered obligatory. But this parochial payment was afterwards considered, by those who wrote in defence of the payment, as by no means of the essence of the obligation. So one author, in explaining his not touching on the Jus Divinum, says, that had been done before, and he subscribes to the tenet with this distinction, that tithes are due not to the person of one single incumbent, but to the Church, in whose name he receiveth them.[8]

Tithes were distinguished as [1] personal and [2] prædial. In the first were included all lawful gains in art, science, trade, or merchandize: in the second such as arise from the ground, as corn, hay, fruit, increase of cattle, fowls, &c.; but the last were sometimes considered as a third sort called mixed tithes. Many statutes have been passed to enforce the payment of tithes. Those of 27 Hen. VIII. and 32 Hen. VIII. both referred to ecclesiastical laws and customs.[9] Both these acts were confirmed and extended by the Statute 2 & 3 Edw. VI., and tithes payable within the last forty years were recognised and legalized. This Act also named in particular (which had not been done before) what kinds of profits were subject to tithes. Upon the supposition that personal tithes were often neglected in a man's lifetime, nearly all wills in the Middle Ages left a sum "for forgotten tithes:" and mortuaries, as Selden shews, first became due on this presumption. The triple division of tithes noted above became a quadruple one after the division of the land into fixed parishes, because the whole had formerly been under the control of the bishop and his clergy, but was now administered by the parish priest. One quarter was therefore now assigned to the bishop, one to the parish priest, one to the Church services, and one to the poor. The bishop's part was soon allowed to remain unclaimed, and so at last was forbidden. Hence lay patrons, gradually inferring that one-third of the offerings was sufficient for the supply of the Church, first undertook to distribute the remaining two-thirds themselves, and at last in many cases seized them and appropriated them to their own uses. And when the restitution of these tithes to the Church took place, as frequently happened, it was seldom made to the parishes from whence they were taken, but to the religious houses, to the great prejudice of the parochial clergy.

[1] ὥς σφεα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Δί. Herod. i. 89; see also ix. 81.

[2] ἀεὶ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὡραῖα. Xen. *Cyropæd.* v. 3, 9.

[3] εἰώθεισαν . . . δεκάτην ἀποστέλλειν τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν εἰς πρόσοδον πιπτόντων. Diodor. Sic. xx. 756; quoted in Hutchinson's *Xenophon*, p. 248, where are other authorities.

[4] Livy, v. 21, 23. There was great difficulty in discharging this vow.

[5] Bingham's *Antiq.* V. vi. 2.

[6] Origen, *Hom.* xi.; Aug. *De Temp. Serm.* 215: "Decimæ enim ex debito requiruntur; et qui eas dare noluerit, res alienas invasit." [Chrys. *Hom.* xliii. *in* 1 *ad Cor.*]

[7] "Præcipimus ut omnes studeant de omnibus quæ possideant dare decimas, quia speciale Domini Dei est."

[8] Cornelius Burges, *A New Discovery of Personal Tithes*, 1625.

[9] The canon on the payment of personal tithes alluded to was passed in Convocation, 23 Edw. I.

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Tithes in England are divided into great and small. The former include the more important prædial tithes, as corn, &c.; and the latter the mixed and personal, together with the less valuable prædial tithes. The great tithes belong to the rector, the small tithes to the vicar. According to the terms of the original division, the small tithes were expected to amount to one-half of the great tithes. But in some parishes, from local circumstances, the small tithes are much the larger of the two. Easter offerings, which were variable, and to a certain extent capricious, were included in the small tithes. The principle of a commutation of tithes was early in practice. In some places the custom has prevailed beyond memory of paying a certain sum in money per acre instead of tithes. So certain insignificant tithes were commuted into a small annual payment called a "mayneport."[1] The recent Commutation Act was passed, 6 & 7 Will. IV., though alterations have been made in it of later date. A sum varying according to the average price of corn during seven years, ascertained from a table published by authority every January, is now paid to rectors and vicars in lieu of all tithes in kind. The object of this arrangement, and the effect, is to make tithes appear a rent-charge instead of a tax. The great or rectorial tithes have been in many places alienated, by reason of their having been seized and retained in lay hands. The vicarial tithes, in the nature of things, could not be so diverted. [Selden's *History of Tithes;* Kennett's *Case of Impropriations.*]

TOLERATION. Under the title Nonconformity have been noticed the Acts by which the State endeavoured to retain the whole people within the bounds of the National Church. We shall here [1] notice the changes introduced into English law by the Act of Toleration, and subsequent Acts of a like nature, down to the repeal of the Test Act in 1828; and [2] guided by the principles of these Acts, but not being theoretically bound by them, we shall state in general the nature of religious toleration.

I. The Toleration Act [1 Will. and Mary, c. 18] frees from the penalties of Nonconformity those who take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and who subscribe the declaration against popery of 30 Car. II. ii. c. 1, reserving in force 25 Car. II. c. 2 and 13 Car. II. c. 1, the Acts, that is, for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants, and for preserving the king's person and government by disabling papists from sitting in Parliament. Assemblies for religious worship are to be with open doors. Nonconformists are not exempt from tithes or Church dues, or from prosecutions to enforce such payments. Dissenters scrupling the oaths of office of high constable, petit constable, or any parochial office, may execute such office by deputy. Preachers taking the oaths and subscribing the declaration before named, and subscribing the Articles of Religion, except XXXIV. XXXV. XXXVI. and the clause of XX. regarding the power and authority of the Church, are freed from the penalties of the Acts of Nonconformity, and Baptist preachers are excused the part of Art. XXVII. touching infant baptism. Such preachers are exempt from serving on juries, and from offices in parishes and hundreds. Quakers, upon making a declaration of fidelity and subscribing a profession of Christian belief, are exempted from the oaths, and enjoy the privileges of other dissenters. The laws for frequenting Divine service on the Lord's day are in force against those who do not attend some permitted place of worship. The Act does not extend to those who deny the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Penalties are laid on disturbers of public worship, whether in church or conventicle. Places of dissenting worship are to be certified and registered.

By the 19 Geo. III. c. 44, Protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters are exempted from the subscription to the Articles on making and subscribing a declaration that the Scriptures contain the revealed will of God, and are received as the rule of doctrine and practice. By the 53 Geo. III. c. 106, the provisions of the Act of Will. and Mary, also those of 9 & 10 Will. III., respecting the denial of the Trinity, were repealed, the common law with respect to impugning the doctrine of the Trinity not being altered. [See Phillimore's *Burn*, ii. p. 320, e.]

By the 52 Geo. III. c. 155, the Five-mile and Conventicle Acts, and an act relating to Quakers [13 & 14 Car. II. c. 1], are repealed: all religious assemblies of fewer than twenty persons become lawful without registration, those of more than twenty persons are to be registered and certified: it is made penal to preach in a house without consent of the occupier (before this enactment it was actionable at common law): all, whether teachers or hearers, attending a certified place of worship are as exempt from all penalties as any person who shall have taken the oaths and made the declaration prescribed in the Toleration Act: preachers not engaged in any secular employment except that of schoolmaster are exempt from the civil services mentioned in the Toleration Act, and from serving in the militia: a penalty of £40 is laid on those who disturb any congregation assembled for worship.

By the 9 Geo. IV. c. 17, the Test and Corporation Acts are repealed, and a declaration substituted in lieu of the sacramental test. Before this an annual bill of indemnity had rendered the Test Act almost inoperative.

II. It has been observed that the century before the Revolution was marked by the attempt to retain the highest notion of Church and State; the identity, that is, of the two bodies. Statesmen and philosophers have continued to assert this identity in theory. Burke wrote, "In a Christian commonwealth the Church and State are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of

[1] Derived from "in manu portatum." It was usually paid in bread. In a tithe-book from 1608 to 1632 still preserved at Paston, Northants, this payment averaged twopence a house at Easter. A proprietor who owned a number of animals, as lambs, not an exact multiple of ten, would "run on;" that is, carry on the overplus to the next Easter account.

the same whole." The same idea runs through Coleridge's *Church and State*. Mr. Gladstone wrote regarding his treatise, *The State in Relation with the Church*, "Undoubtedly I should speak of the pure abstract idea of Church and State as implying that they are co-extensive" [*Chapter of Autobiography*, p. 16].

In that century the clerisy or spirituality held the position described in the preamble of the well-known Statute of Appeals. They were a great venerable estate of the realm: and the theory of government was that the first object of a government is not the carrying out maxims of political economy, but principally the moral welfare of the community over which it is set: that morality can be efficiently furthered only through religion: that religion can be inculcated only through the organization of a Church. Upon these principles the State proceeded from the Reformation to the Revolution; the Nonconformists not advocating toleration, but endeavouring to substitute their own platform for the order of the Church. And so long as there was a reasonable chance of realizing the ideal of the identity of the Church and State temporal penalties upon nonconformity were in principle justifiable. They were not breaches by the Church of the canon of Toledo, "Præcipit S. Synodus nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre," nor of Tertullian's maxim, "Lex nova non se vindicat ultore gladio;" they were the discipline of the commonwealth, designed to maintain its acknowledged status, and comparable to the discipline of a family or college which trains up its members in an established rule. Whether the attempt was persevered in too long, whether the penalties from other causes degenerated into persecution, is a distinct question. [Persecution.] At the Revolution it was evident to all that the ideal aimed at was unattainable. A change of dynasty introduced toleration.

The state of toleration is intermediate between the state which has been described and the state of perfect equality and indifferentism, equality of all religious bodies and creeds, indifferentism of the government to all forms. The name toleration implies an endeavour to maintain an established Church, but to inflict no temporal penalties on nonconformity.

To grant or to withhold toleration belongs to the State.[1] The duties and principles of the Church as a spiritual body are abundantly clear. The weapons of her warfare are spiritual: and if by toleration is meant *immunity from temporal penalties*, the Church can become intolerant only by deserting her principles. But she is also a zealous and watchful guardian of the truth; and if by toleration be meant *bearing with error by abstaining from spiritual censures*, then she can be tolerant only by renouncing her fidelity. The Church has "non ubera solum sed verbera."

[1] See Art. XXXIV.: "Whosoever through his private judgment . . . doth break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church . . . ought to be rebuked openly . . . as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate." It rests with the magistrate to vindicate his authority in his own way: or to withdraw his command.

When the State then has relinquished its highest ground it cannot stop short of giving full liberty to every shade of religious opinion and every form of worship. Thus the attempt to retain a penalty for the denial of the Trinity was soon abandoned.

The case of the Romanists is a mixed case; it involves the introduction of a foreign jurisdiction into Church and State, and as is contrary to the maxims of the one as it is to those of the other.

Again, relinquishing its highest ground, the State can no longer set up a standard of Christian morality; it cannot go beyond civil and political ethics. It repudiates the theory that all its members are Christians; it cannot consistently, therefore, require of them that degree of morality which is peculiar to Christianity. Certain offences also, which before were treated as offences against God and His religion, can now be treated only as offences against man. *E.g.*, blasphemy becomes only a breach of the laws of good neighbourhood, such an offence as it would be at Mecca to revile Mahomet. The whole course of legislation since 1689 shews that however reluctant the legislature may have been to admit the conclusions of the principles of toleration, those conclusions are in fact inevitable. [See Locke's *Statement of the Duties of Toleration.*] Reference is made to this well-known author in order to mark a point in which he has not expressed himself with sufficient clearness. He states the duties of toleration as pertaining properly to the Church, "No Church-officer shall punish another man," &c. It was statute law, not Church law, that was repealed in order to introduce toleration. No doubt there have been persecuting bishops; but the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber were not Church courts: they were Committees of the Privy Council.

In one very important particular, that of public education, the true principles of toleration were not applied, and of late years they have in great measure been supplanted by the principle of indifferentism. Combining the principle that the State ought to inculcate as high a morality as the nation will bear, with the principle that it tolerates other religious bodies as well as the Established Church, there results, as the leading principle of education, that the State should acknowledge as agents of education those religious bodies which possess sufficient truth for the establishment of a morality, sound as far as it reaches; and should require such truth and such morality to be inculcated. Instead of this, late years have seen the Government of England aiding in the establishment of public schools from which all religious teaching is excluded. This appearance of indifferentism or practical infidelity leads us to the consideration whether toleration must not inevitably lead to this terminus.

Toleration, giving up all temporal penalties on nonconformity, still endeavours to maintain an Established Church. This confers certain privileges on the members of the Church, and imposes certain disqualifications on Nonconformists. The necessity that great officers of State should be of the Established Church. that none others should

be members of the legislature, that bishops should have seats in the House of Lords, that the synods of the Church should be in formal connection with Parliament, that the clergy should be distinguished by certain privileges, these points are all allowed or presupposed in the Toleration Acts. With regard to the political privileges of the laity, it is not easy, if possible, to establish and maintain a distinction between the inflicting of temporal penalties and the imposing disqualifications, so as to shew the rightfulness of abstaining from the former and adhering to the latter. It is not easy to say why a form of worship should be tolerated, and those who follow it be debarred from seats in the councils of the nation. This feeling has prevailed so far, that one disqualification after another has been removed; and toleration is fast passing into another stage, of perfect equality or of indifferentism on the part of the Government.

Again, with regard to the privileges of the clergy—when the principle that the Church and nation are one is surrendered, these privileges can only be granted by the State on the condition of the surrender of the Church's freedom. While the Church and State are co-extensive they may work harmoniously together; when there are many religious bodies tolerated one can be distinguished above others only when its laws are subjected to the approval of the State, that is, to the approval of a legislature which includes opponents of that one body. Thus the validity of a marriage by a priest of the Church of England without the presence of a civil officer cannot coexist together with such unlimited freedom in the appointment of bishops and priests as is enjoyed by dissenting bodies in the appointment of their ministers.

From these premisses we arrive at the following conclusions; that the state of toleration is only a transitional state between a true national church and the indifferentism of many religious bodies politically equal; that the principle of toleration once admitted will inevitably overcome the defences by which it is sought to maintain an Established Church; that such an Established Church exists—her opponents being admitted as judges—only "durante bene placito" or "quamdiu se bene gesserit;" that the privileges she is allowed imply a corresponding surrender of freedom; that the Erastianism so engendered may compel a church to seek freedom in disestablishment, or to seek the support of an external spiritual power; to become, that is, a "free church" or to submit to Rome, a choice which presents no difficulty to those who are aware of the evils which have attended the elevation of the Bishop of Rome to be the head and centre of Christendom.

TRADITION. [Consent of Antiquity. Rule of Faith. Paschal Controversy.]

TRADITORES. [Lapsed.]

TRADUCIANISM. Ex seminis traduce, an opinion first proposed by Tertullian, and maintained by some writers in subsequent ages of the Church—that the soul of a child is not immediately created by God, but is derived by propagation together with the body from its parents. [Creationism.]

TRANSFIGURATION. The transfiguration of our Lord took place in the third year of His ministry, very soon after the great confession of St. Peter, and the first announcement of His coming passion.

I. The *narrative* is given in all the Synoptic Gospels, with a few slight variations as to details in each. Six days, or as St. Luke says, "about an eight days," after the sayings which followed upon St. Peter's confession, our Lord took Peter, James, and John "up into a high mountain apart by themselves." Ancient commentators were agreed in thinking that this mountain was Mount Tabor, which is described as "standing by itself, about two or three furlongs within the plain of Esdraelon," but later criticism has rejected this conclusion, and has fixed the locality, with some hesitation, "on one of the lofty spurs of the snow-capped Hermon" [Ellicott, after Lightfoot]. Here, as He prayed, our Lord was transfigured (*μετεμορφώθη*) before the three disciples. "The fashion of His countenance was *altered*," "His face shone as the sun;" "His raiment was white and glistering." Then appeared Moses and Elias talking with Him, the subject of their conversation being, as St. Luke says, "His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem." The disciples, at first heavy with sleep, awake to see His glory and the two standing with Him. St. Peter, entranced by the vision, prays that they may make three tabernacles and there abide. But as he speaks, a cloud overshadows them, and the voice of God is heard repeating once more the words spoken over our Lord at His baptism, "This is my beloved Son," and adding other words with a special meaning of their own, "hear Him." Then the cloud passes away; Jesus, left alone, lifts up His terrified disciples, and bids them tell no man what they have seen till after His resurrection.

II. The *significance* of this event has been variously interpreted. According to St. Leo, its general purpose was to remove the scandal of the Cross, and to foreshadow the glorious change which awaits the whole Body of Christ at the general resurrection. Again, it has been thought to be meant as a proof of the divinity of our Lord, hidden and shrouded to human eyes in His Humanity. The same glory, according to St. Thomas, might have shone forth during the whole of His earthly life, had He not willed otherwise. Olshausen gives two other interpretations of its meaning and purpose. [1] That it was the installation of our Lord as the spiritual lawgiver; [2] that it was part of His advancement to perfection. In the first sense, he regards it as typified by the ascent of Moses on to Mount Sinai with Nadab and Abihu, when God "called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud" [Exod. xxiv.]. For the second, he refers to Heb. ii. 10, "It became Him, for Whom are all things, and by Whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings."

To pass from the significance of the event generally to that of its particular parts, we may notice as to *the choice of the three Apostles out of the whole number*, that it was in accordance with our Lord's custom on other great occasions, notably at the time of the Agony of the Garden. The Fathers see in it the fulfilment of our Lord's promise given just before, "There be some standing here," &c., and they remark a special fitness in the fact, that those who were the closest eyewitnesses of His sufferings were prepared for them by the sight of His glory. Others have seen a mystical signification in the choice. Thus St. Peter would denote men of courage and constancy; St. John, men of chastity; St. James, those who uproot and conquer vices; or again, in St. Peter would be seen a firm faith; in St. James, a lofty hope; in St. John, a burning love. In this way St. Anselm turns the whole into a practical exhortation to prepare for the sight of God by the practice of these virtues. For the *appearance of Moses and Elias*, as the witnesses of this glory, many reasons have been assigned. St. Thomas Aquinas, following St. Chrysostom, gives six: [1] because the multitude had said that He was Elias; [2] because Moses gave the Law, and Elias was zealous toward God. Their joint testimony, therefore, would repel the common calumnies, that He broke the Law, and that He assumed to Himself unwarrantably the glory of God. [3] To shew that He had power over life and death, and was the Judge both of quick and dead. Moses had died the death of man, Elias had been translated without death, yet both appeared to bear witness to the Lord of life. [4] "They talked of His decease," they, that is, who had themselves exposed themselves to the peril of death; [5] that the disciples might be led to strive after the meekness of Moses, and the zeal of Elias; [6] to shew that He was foretold both by the Law and the Prophets, that He was the Messiah promised by both. *The cloud* was at once the symbol and veil of the glory of God. It was "bright," because it was the index of the glory of Christ, and also that it might contrast with the darkness of that which overshadowed Mount Sinai [Heb. xii. 18; Exod. xix. 16-18], and thus shew the difference between the Old and New Covenants. *The voice from heaven* was a second divine witness to the Incarnation, and the words now added, "Hear Him," fulfilled the prophecy of Moses, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me," claiming credence for Him "Whom the mysteries of the Law foretold and the mouths of the Prophets sang."

Blending together the various interpretations, we may say that, *theologically*, the Transfiguration was meant to teach that the Law and the Prophets were now one in Christ, and that, *morally*, it was intended to strengthen the faith of the Apostles in our Lord's Divinity, to prepare them for the Agony and the Cross, to shew them the glory of the future, and make them the more ready to receive the rule of Christian practice laid down immediately after, "If any one will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me." As to *the mode of the Transfiguration*, it will be sufficient to say, with ancient writers, that the glory was not the manifestation of the Divinity, which is reserved for the Beatific Vision of Heaven, and is not to be seen by mortal men. It was rather that external glory of the Sacred Body which was the index of the Divinity. Moreover, as is clear from the narrative, there was no change of the reality or shape of our Lord's countenance. The event is only once mentioned in the later books of the New Testament, viz., in St. Peter's second epistle [i. 16-18], where he appeals to the sight of His majesty, and to the "voice from the excellent glory," as proofs that he and his fellow Apostles were following the truth and not cunningly devised fables.

III. The *festival* of the Transfiguration was kept in the Western Church in the time of St. Leo, and in the Greek Church about A.D. 700. By a bull of Calixtus III., A.D. 1457, it was ordered to be generally observed to commemorate the deliverance of Belgrade from Mahomet the Second. In the English Calendar it stands at the 6th of August. [St. Augustine, *Serm.* lxxviii. vol. v. p. 425, *sqq.* ed. Bened. St. Chrysostom, *in Matth. Hom.* lvi. vol. vii. p. 569, ed. Bened. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* p. iii. qu. 45. St. Leo Magn., *Serm.* li. *aliter* xciv. Olshausen *on St. Matthew.* Wordsworth, *Gr. Test.* Ellicott, *Huls. Lect.* p. 226-7. Williams, *The Ministry*, p. 84, *sqq.* *Annotated Book of Common Prayer, Minor Holy-days.*]

TRANSMIGRATION. [Metempsychosis.]

TRANSUBSTANTIATION. A term of Scholastic Theology, intended to express the nature and extent of the change which takes place in the elements of Bread and Wine at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

I. History of the Term. The introduction of the word Transubstantiation into the theology of the Church is traceable to the eleventh century. It is first found in an exposition of the canon of the Mass by Peter Damian [A.D. 988-1072], who writes as follows, "*Hoc est corpus meum.* Quæritur quid demonstret sacerdos per hoc prænomen *hoc?* Si panem, pani nunquam congruit esse corpus Christi. Sed demonstrat corpus Christi; sed quando profertur ipsum pronomen, nondum est transubstantiatio" [Peter Damian, *Expositio Can. Miss.* cap. vii.; Maii *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* VI. ii. 215]. Although the words shew that the term was not altogether unknown when it was thus used, it is not found again until the following century, when it occurs twice in a treatise on the Sacrament of the Altar by Stephen, Bishop of Autun [A.D. 1113-1129]. The first time he writes, "Oramus ut cibus hominum fiat cibus Angelorum, scilicet ut oblatio panis et vini transubstantietur in corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi." The second passages in which he uses the word is as follows, "Item si benedictione sua panem in corpus suum convertit in verbis istis: Hoc est corpus meum, non reliquit nobis virtutem Sacramenti: quia prius-

quam hæc verba diceret; benedixit, fregit, et dans discipulis, prædicta verba protulit: eis dans virtutem Sacramenti, quasi diceret, Panem quem accepi, in corpus meum transubstantiavi, et illud do vobis" [Stephen of Autun, *De Sacram. Altaris*, cap xiii., xiv.; *Biblioth. Patr. Lugd.* xx., 1878, 1879].

Later on, in the twelfth century, the term was beginning to come into a less rare use, as is shewn by quotations given in Tournely's *Prælect. Theolog.* v. 256; *De Euch.* qu. iii. art. 1. Its first appearance as a term, accepted and recognised by the Church, is in the first of the seventy Constitutions presented to the fourth Council of Lateran [A.D. 1215] by Innocent III., and tacitly adopted by that Council. "Una est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur. In qua idem ipse sacerdos est sacrificium Jesus Christus, cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem, potestate Divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit ipse de nostro" [*IV. Conc. Lat.* cap. i.]. Nearly three centuries and a half later [A.D. 1551] the Council of Trent set forth the existing Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation. "Quoniam autem Christus, Redemptor noster, corpus suum id, quod sub specie panis offerebat, vere esse dixit; ideo persuasum semper in Ecclesia Dei fuit, idque nunc denuo sancta hæc synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus; quæ conversio convenienter et proprie a sancta Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiatio est appellata" [*Conc. Trident.* sess. xiii. cap. iv.]. This definition was fortified by an anathema in the second Canon on the Eucharist, passed at the same session, in which the annihilation of the natural elements is made part of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. "Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto Eucharistiæ sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini una cum corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi; negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, manentibus dumtaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem Catholica Ecclesia aptissime Transubstantiationem appellat, Anathema sit" [*Ibid., De Sacrosanct. Euch. Sacr.* can. i.].

The term thus adopted by the Latin portion of the Western Church has its counterpart in the Eastern Church in the term Μετουσίωσις. This was formally adopted in the "Orthodox Confession of Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East" [A.D. 1643], and in Article XVII. of the Council of Bethlehem, or of Jerusalem [A.D. 1672]. In the first of these, which is the standard of Eastern doctrine, after mentioning the Ascension of our Lord, it is added that, "He is also present upon earth in a sacramental manner (*κατὰ τὸν μυστηριώδη τρόπον*) by transubstantiation (*κατὰ μετουσίωσιν*), since the substance (*οὐσία*) of the bread is changed into the substance of His holy Body, and the substance of the wine into the substance of His precious Blood" [*Quæstio* lvi.]. In the seventeenth canon of the council, it is said, that, "after consecration the Bread and wine are transmuted, transubstantiated, converted, transformed (*μεταβάλλεσθαι, μετουσιοῦσθαι, μεταποιεῖσθαι, μεταῤῥυθμίζεσθαι*), the bread into the Lord's Body which was born at Bethlehem and ascended to heaven, and the wine into the Blood which flowed from His side on the Cross; and that the bread and wine no longer remain after consecration, but only the very Body and Blood of the Lord (*αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ αἷμα*), under the appearance (*εἴδει*) and form (*τύπῳ*), that is to say, under the accidents (*συμβεβηκόσιν*) of bread, and that the Body and Blood of Christ are received into the mouth and stomach of the evil and the faithful, but that the accidents only are broken, Christ being wholly and ever under each portion." It is added, "that by the word Transubstantiation we cannot explain the mode of the conversion of the elements, for this is known to God only—but as signifying that truly, really, and substantially they become the Body and Blood of Christ." This confession of faith, which had an especial reference to the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist, was, as Dr. Neale says, "slightly tinged with Latinism." In the version of the Council, as received by the Russian Church, a few alterations were made:—instead of "the substance of bread and wine no longer remain," it is said "the bread and wine no longer remain:" instead of "under the accidents of bread," we find under "the appearance and form" of bread and wine. "The Russian Church has evidently," says Dr. Neale, "determined to decline the use or the distinction of the *οὐσία* and *συμβεβηκότα* of the bread and wine, which the Council of Bethlehem brought prominently forward" [Neale's *Hist. East. Ch., introd.* p. 1174].

The Church of England never adopted the word "Transubstantiation" in any formal document; and at the same time that the Council of Trent was fixing it upon the Latin Church, the sacred Synod of the English Church was declaring in the twenty-eighth Article of Religion, "Panis et vini Transubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturæ verbis adversatur et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem" [Art. XXVIII., A.D. 1552]. To this was added (after "adversatur") in A.D. 1571, "sacramenti naturam evertit:" and this portion of the Twenty-eighth Article of Religion now stands in English in the following form, "Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ, but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions" [Art. XXVIII., A.D. 1571]. It is to be observed that the English form of this Article, as set forth in A.D. 1552, was corrupted by the definition of Transubstantiation as "the change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood." The

careful omission of the interpolated words in the existing English form of the Article shews that the phrase "change of substance" looks to the Roman doctrine enunciated by the Council of Trent, in which the substance of bread and wine is said to be so changed that it no longer exists in the sacramental elements. That the Body and Blood of Christ exist in those elements is as much the belief of the English Church as of the Latin and Greek Churches.

II. Controversy respecting Transubstantiation. The divergence of opinion respecting the doctrine of Transubstantiation will be here referred to only as regards the Tridentine interpretation of it, which declares that the substance of bread and wine no longer remains after that bread and wine are changed into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood.

1. No controversy on the subject arose in the early Church, and therefore no exact statement as to the nature and extent of the change effected by consecration is to be expected. But that a change does take place is asserted and taken for granted (as admitting of no dispute) from the first. The Liturgies and Fathers universally indicate the belief of the Church that by consecration the substances of bread and wine become, or are made, the Body and Blood of the Lord. Thus Irenæus says that it (the broken bread and mingled cup) becometh (*γίνεται*) the Eucharist of the Body of the Lord. St. Ambrose, that the bread is made (fit) the Flesh of Christ, and St. Chrysostom, that the oblations become (*γενέσθαι*) the Body and Bood of Christ. But the Fathers also declare, under varied forms of expression, that the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. Thus St. Ambrose says, "Shall not Christ's word avail to change (mutet) the elements—to change that which was into what it was not." He also compares the sacramental mutation to the change of Moses' rod into a serpent, to the change of the water of the Nile into blood; and St. Cyril of Jerusalem, to the change of water into wine in the miracle of Cana. St. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the Bread being transmuted (*μεταποιεῖσθαι*); and St. Chrysostom of its being converted (*μετασκευάζων*), transformed (*μεταῤῥυθμίζει*); and St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Gregory Nyssa of its being trans-elemented (*μεταστοιχοιῶσας*) into the Lord's Body. St. John Damascene sums up the teaching of the Greek Fathers, that the elements are supernaturally transmuted (*ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται*) into the Body and Blood of Christ.

The language of the early Liturgies is in agreement with that of the Fathers. Thus, in the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, we read in the invocation, "changing them by Thy Spirit," and in the Æthiopian Liturgy that "He (Holy Spirit) may make the bread the Body of Christ," and in the Liturgy of Jerusalem, "that the Holy Ghost may sanctify and make the bread the Holy Body of Thy Christ." Even stronger language is used in the Mozarabic and Gallican Liturgies. In the Mozarabic Missal, "bread is changed into flesh, and wine transformed into blood:" and in Gallican Liturgies the elements are said to be "transformed into the Sacrament of His Body and Blood;" the Holy Spirit "converts wine into blood;" "wine is changed into the Blood and bread into the Body of Christ." Further: not only a real sacramental change is indicated under various phrases and expressions, but sometimes (though rarely) a change of the substance of the bread and wine. Thus St. Cæsarius of Arles [A.D. 502] says, that "the invisible High Priest changes visible creatures into the substance of His Body and Blood." Alcuin, the disciple of Bede, also says, that "bread and wine are consecrated into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ." [Eucharist, Grace of.]

Now, it is manifest from these quotations that "substance" and similar words were not used in the early Church in a strictly defined sense, according to a theory prevalent in the Middle Ages, but loosely and popularly, of anything considered *per se*, or in its entirety. Thus stone might be said to be a hard and wax of a soft "substance." "Substance" had then no peculiar or clearly defined sense, because other and very different terms are used as being of identical meaning. Thus St. Ambrose speaks of the "nature" and "species" of the elements being changed. By "species" he could not have meant the outward form or appearance which are not changed, but in a certain sense the bread itself: his terms at least are irreconcileable with the mediæval theory, according to which the species remain unchanged. The "substance," "nature," "species," of the elements are said to be changed by consecration to show the *reality* of the Eucharistic transformation, that it is not to be understood figuratively, but in very truth.

The fact is, that the precise effect of the mysterious Eucharistic change, not being a matter of controversy in the early Church, and the question being vindicated by apostolic tradition, the language of the Fathers on the subject is not strictly uniform. Thus, some of the Fathers, if their words are literally interpreted, represent the supernatural change as being destructive of the outward elements. As St. Cyril of Jerusalem—"That what seems bread is not bread though the sense will have it so," and that wine "is changed into blood" as water into wine in the miracle of Cana. The comparisons of St. Ambrose, as of the change of Moses' rod into a serpent, lead to the supposition that he held a similar view. On the other hand, St. Irenæus tells us that the Eucharist consists of two things, an earthly and a heavenly (thing), and Theodoret, that the symbols remain in their former "substance, and figure, and form." The discrepancies indicated shew the absence in the early Church of definite and universally received teaching on the state after consecration of the Eucharistic symbols;—perhaps the question might be considered as comparatively unimportant, or that a precise or exact definition was impossible. The doctrine of the Real Presence was unanimously taught: other questions were practically regarded as unimportant, and, however decided, as not trenching upon the fundamental

verity. Thus Theodoret, who states most expressly the existence of the outward symbols, yet adds, they are believed to be what they are called, Christ's Body and Blood, and are worshipped.

2. The definition of the Eucharistic change of substance which was adopted by the fourth Council of Lateran, and which has been previously quoted, was the result of a long controversy which began in the ninth century, when Paschasius Radbertus [d. A.D. 865] attempted to define its nature and extent, and maintained the non-existence of the bread and wine after consecration. This controversy culminated in the reaction represented by Berengarius [A.D. 1047-1088], who was believed to deny the Real Presence altogether, but respecting whose opinions there is some uncertainty. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES, &c.]

It has already been shewn that it was during the time of this controversy the term Transubstantiation gradually came into use. As to the word itself, the introduction of a new term, defining unambiguously the Real Presence, might have been required by the circumstances of the Church, just as the term Homoousian in the fourth century to express the Catholic doctrine of our Lord's Divinity. But unhappily the new word implied, or was explained as implying, the Aristotelian theory of substance and outward phenomena or accidents, and thus to the definition of the doctrine of the Real Presence was annexed a metaphysical theory, which became its authorized exponent. Besides the word "substance" is, in itself, indefinite; and hence it has become a fruitful source of misunderstanding and error. Controversial writers sometimes use the word, since the Council of Trent, according to its scholastic meaning, whilst others, forgetting that definition, employ it in the ordinary or popular sense.

Thus Roman Catholic writers often speak of the bread and wine after consecration as non-existing, and call them "appearances,"—a word which really sets aside the doctrine generally, at least, held by the Church of Rome, and certainly expressly taught by the Catechism of the Council of Trent,[1] and could only have been used by mistaking or confusing the words "substance" and "accidents,"—just as if by consecration the bread and wine had ceased to exist, and nothing remained but this outward form or appearance. But this is not the case according to the scholastic theory:—according to this, the substance, no longer existing, is an inward and invisible thing which cannot possibly come under the cognizance of the senses, all the outward phenomena remaining as before as in bread—whiteness, taste, bulk, nourishing properties, &c. Hence St. Thomas Aquinas[2] speaks of the outward sign after consecration being broken, and that under each fragment is contained the whole Body of Christ. But it would be obviously absurd to speak of breaking into pieces a thing which had no real existence, a non-ens, or "species," or, in English phrase, mere "appearances."

But the real objection against the Roman Catholic doctrine, as commonly and popularly understood, does not principally arise from misconception of its meaning, and from the contradictions which seem to follow, as *e.g.* that accidents (appearances) have the power of nourishing, but rather from the carnal or material sense in which the doctrine has been generally held or explained.

We have ample proof that a gross and material view of the Real Presence was taught in the eighth and ninth centuries, in the Middle Ages, and at the period of the Reformation. Dr. Rock, in his account of the teaching on the Holy Eucharist in the Anglo-Saxon Church, narrates many miraculous appearances of our Lord—as to Plecgils, a priest who lived in the middle of the fifth century, to whom our Lord manifested Himself under the form of a child: to Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, breaking the Host, drops of blood flowed: to Arsenius, who consecrated and a child was seen on the altar, whom an angel cut in pieces, giving Arsenius a portion of the blood-stained flesh: to a woman who, receiving the Eucharistic Bread from St. Gregory the Great, smiled incredulously when it was called the Body of Christ: taking it from her, he placed it upon the altar, and at his prayer it was changed into a blood-stained finger. Dr. Rock quotes Ælfric's homilies, where we find the story of St. Gregory just related. Also a story of two monks who prayed to God for some manifestation concerning the holy housel;[3] and after prayer assisted at mass. "Then saw they a child lying on the altar, at which the mass priest was celebrating mass; and God's angel stood with a hand knife waiting until the priest should break the housel. The angel then dismembered the child in the dish and poured the blood into the cup. Afterwards, when they went to the housel, it was changed into bread and wine." Dr. Rock relates these accounts from Ælfric as a proof that he (Ælfric) believed that Christ was present "in a real bodily way." And though Dr. Rock himself admits that Christ's Body is now only present in the Eucharist in a glorified state, it by no means follows that such was the teaching of writers of the Anglo-Saxon Church.[4]

But let us now go on to consider the prevailing belief on the Eucharistic Presence of the period of the Reformation. In the examination of one of the martyrs, this very question was brought for-

[1] In the quotations already given from the Council of Trent, the whole substance of the bread is said to be changed into the Body of Christ, the "species" only remaining. Those words do not necessarily imply the scholastic theory, and probably admit a patristic and Catholic interpretation: but in the Catechism of the Council the mediæval theory is undoubtedly asserted or implied. The bread and wine, when consecrated, are said to be "without a subject,"—"in a manner altogether superior to the order of nature, they subsist of themselves, entering in no subject." [Part ii. quest. 43.]

[2] "In festo Corporis Christi" [*Missale*].

[3] This word, called also husel or husle, and which appears in the Mœso-Gothic version of the Bible made by Ulphilas about the year A.D. 370, under the form of huusle, means "victim or sacrifice." [Dr. Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. i. 325.]

[4] *Church of our Fathers*, vol. i. p. 19, &c., ed. 1849.

ward, as to whether the Eucharistic presence was that of our Lord's actual Body as on earth, or of His spiritual or glorified Body. In his examination of John Bland, Harpsfield, Bonner's chaplain, represents the Eucharistic Presence as that of our Lord's glorified Body. He says, "The natural Body of Christ that was born of the Virgin is glorified, and that same Body is in the Sacrament after consecration." Bland replies, "I would that all men heard that ye say the glorified Body of Christ is in the sacrament after the consecration." Harpsfield repeats and vindicates his assertion, but the prisoner is still unconvinced—startled and surprised at a strange unheard-of theory. "This methinks," he says, "is new doctrine."[1]

It cannot be doubted that in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and at the period of the Reformation, it was generally and popularly believed that ordinary human flesh and blood were received in the Blessed Mysteries, and that the sight of them was miraculously withheld from the senses. The supernatural narratives quoted by Dr. Rock do not, it should be borne in mind, in any degree illustrate the true doctrine of the Real Presence. The Church believes that the whole Body of Christ is present under each portion of the broken species;[2] the sight therefore of a piece of blood-stained flesh, or of a bloody finger, would implicitly, at least, be contradictory to its teaching, and have a tendency to confirm the gross error of the men of Capernaum, that Christ was received and eaten by carnal manducation. It would be, indeed, irreverent and presumptuous to determine the mode in which the Eucharistic Presence may sometimes have been manifested either to confirm the faith of God's true servants, or to convince the incredulous: the narratives before us are neither in themselves probable, nor do they appear to rest on unexceptionable and credible testimony. In our Lord's miraculous appearances in the Eucharist, which we read of in the Primitive Church, to which Dr. Rock refers,[3] there are none which in the least degree resemble the Anglo-Saxon miracles. Besides, carnal manducation is *per se* incredible and impossible. Christ's Body is now spiritual (σῶμα πνευματίκον), impassible, and no longer subject to the conditions of its earthly state; and the mode in which it is eaten, and becomes our spiritual food, is inconceivable:—beyond words or thought. We only know—and the knowledge is all-sufficient—that He feeds us in a manner ineffable, with the same flesh and blood that He received from His Virgin mother, and that thus partaking of His very nature we become one with Him and He with us.

That the popular idea of Transubstantiation has led to superstition there can be no doubt, and it is for ever to be regretted that the minute definitions of Roman theologians should have been carried to such an extravagant extent as to encourage that popular idea. Yet it is difficult to understand why the term itself should have given rise to so much bitter controversy. Perhaps the true explanation is that, on both sides controversialists have made it a test-term for belief in the Eucharistic Presence of Christ. Many Protestants have been unable to see anything but the popular idea of Transubstantiation in such a belief, and many Romanists have been unable to see that such a belief can be held without acknowledging the truth of even the theological view of Transubstantiation. As far as the formularies and expressed belief of the Churches of England and Rome are concerned, they are entirely at one in believing that our Lord's Body and Blood are truly present in the Eucharist; and under such circumstances a philosophical definition as to the mode of that Presence should never have had any influence in interrupting their external communion.

TRINE BAPTISM. A mode of administering the Sacrament, which was so universal in the Primitive Church that there can be no doubt it was derived from apostolic tradition. The person baptized was thrice immersed, or water was thrice poured on him in the Name of the Three Persons of the Godhead. The reason of Trine Baptism was manifest: the three immersions shewed the *distinction* of the Three Divine Persons, although the baptism was only *one*—in the *Name* of the undivided Godhead—"one baptism for the remission of sins." Thus in baptism the unity of the Divine Nature and the distinction of the Three Persons are clearly implied and set forth; and it is a remarkable fact that the first person who altered the Apostolic usage was Eunomius, the Arian heretic, who baptized with one immersion. Trine Baptism was enjoined by the fiftieth of the Apostolical Canons, the bishop or presbyter who baptized with one immersion being ordered to be deposed; and it is often mentioned by Latin and Greek Fathers as the ordinary rule or usage of the Church.

In the sixth and seventh centuries one immersion in baptism was substituted by some in Spain for the ordinary rule of the Church. The Spanish Arians had appealed to the Catholic usage as sanctioning their heresy, and hence Catholics began to baptize with one immersion only. But this innovation only prevailed in Spain during a a short period, the Apostolic usage was soon restored, and has since been the rule of the Western Church. Single immersion in baptism has never been authorized in the Eastern Church, and its use is now, by many in the orthodox communion, considered as rendering invalid the administration of the Sacrament; but this cannot be

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii. p. 295, ed. 1843.

[2] In the rubrics affixed to the Office for Holy Communion in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., it is ordered "that the sacramental bread was to be made larger and thicker than before, that it may be aptly divided into divers pieces; and men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole Body of our Saviour Jesu Christ."

[3] Dr. Rock only quotes two miracles, which are related by St. Cyprian, that a woman of sinful life, on opening the book in which the Eucharist was reserved, fire burst forth, and she dared not touch it: and the case of another who, receiving unworthily the sacramental bread, opened his hand and found a cinder.

considered as a sound opinion, theologians generally agreeing that the affusion of water on the person in the smallest possible quantity is sufficient for validity. [BAPTISM.]

The ancient Anglican rubric on this subject was "Deinde accipiet Sacerdos infantem per latera in manibus suis, et interrogate nomine ejus, baptizet eum sub trina mersione, tantum sanctam Trinitatem invocando, ita dicens . . ." That of the first Vernacular Office for Baptism [A.D. 1549] was "Then the priest shall take the child in his hands, and ask the name; and naming the child, shall dip it in the water thrice. First, dipping the right side; second, the left side; the third time dipping the face toward the font; so it be discreetly and warily done; saying . . ." In the simplification of the rubrics at a later date the ancient practice was not named, but the tradition of the Church respecting it has been generally observed by careful priests.

TRINITY, the theological term for the union of the Three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in One Godhead. Intimations of the truth expressed by this word are found in the Old Testament, though the doctrine was not then explicitly revealed and taught. Thus, in Genesis, we read of a plurality of Persons in the Godhead, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness" [i. 26]. No satisfactory reason has been given, if the Deity be in one Person, why the plural form should be here used. It is impossible for obvious reasons, according to an explanation often given, that the Almighty should associate Himself with angels in the work of creation [Job ix. 8; Isa. xliv. 24]. Besides, if so, man was created in the image of God and of the angels—"*our* image;" and God and the angels would be identified by the singular word "image." In the threefold blessing of the solemn benediction of the High Priest, the doctrine is also intimated [Numb. vi. 24]; and in the vision of Isaiah there is an ascription of praise to the thrice holy God [vi. 3]. In the apocryphal books, the Three Persons are also expressly alluded to.[1]

The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, though not expressly stated in the New Testament, is frequently and very clearly implied. Such might have been expected from the fact that the early Apostles were instructed by the oral teaching of the disciples, and that the Gospels and Epistles were written for the guidance of the baptized [Luke i. 1]. Hence we cannot expect to find this doctrine expressly stated in Scripture as in the form of a creed, and even the very explicitness of a well-known passage [1 John v. 7] might lead to a suspicion of its genuineness, though for other reasons it is rejected by modern critics as spurious. Every baptized Christian must have known, from catechetical instruction, that there are Three Persons in the Godhead, and that the Three are mysteriously One. No formal statement in Scripture was needed of a truth which all Christians recognised and believed. But though a formal statement of this fundamental doctrine by the writers of the New Testament could not have been expected, since none doubted it until long afterwards, still we may reasonably expect to find, as we do, a clear recognition of its truth. Thus, the distinction of the Divine Persons is set forth at our Lord's baptism [Matt. iii. 16, 17] by the voice of the Father, by the Holy Ghost descending like a dove, and by the Incarnate Son in the waters of Jordan. So also it is in Christ's promise that He would ask the Father, and He would send another Comforter [John xiv. 16]. And above all, in the form of Baptism, where the unity of the Divine Essence (in the *Name*) and the threefold Personality are clearly stated. Again, this doctrine is intimated in passages which teach the Divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, as compared with others which expressly state the unity of the Godhead [Mark xii. 32; 1 Cor. viii. 6]. The teaching of Scripture is unintelligible or contradictory, unless on the supposition that in some mysterious sense there are Three Divine Persons, and yet only one God.

On referring to the Apostolical Fathers, the doctrine of the Trinity is implied as in the language of Scripture by the statement, express or implicit, of the Godhead of the Second and Third Persons, and the equal ascription of power, glory, and honour to each Person of the Trinity. [SPIRIT, HOLY.] After the Apostolic age, St. Justin in his *First Apology* [sec. 13] says of Christians, "We worship the Creator of this universe and Jesus Christ the Son of the Very God, holding Him to be in the second place, and the Spirit of Prophecy in the third." The first writer who expressly mentions the word "Trinity" is St. Theophilus of Antioch. He says, "The three days before the creation of the sun and moon are types of the Trinity (τῆς Τριάδος) of God, and His word and His wisdom."[2] St. Athenagoras, refuting the usual accusation against Christians of Atheism, declares that they believe in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, shewing their power in unity (ἐν τῇ ἑνώσει δύναμιν), and their destinction in order (ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν).[3] And St. Clement of Alexandria "gives thanks and praise to the alone Father and Son, with the Holy Spirit; all in One, in Whom is all, by Whom all things are one, by Whom is eternity."[4] Tertullian, in his treatise against

[1] "The author of the Book of Wisdom ascribes the creation of the world to the Word [ix. 1], and distinguisheth between the *Wisdom* (or the *Word*), ver. 2, and the *Holy Spirit*, ver. 17. This *Wisdom* he elsewhere calls the *Worker of all things* [vii. 22], having *all power* [ver. 23]; the *Brightness of the everlasting light and the image of God's goodness* [ver. 26]. We have a distinct acknowledgment of Father and Son [Ecclus. l. (li. ?) 10]. We have an account that the *Word* and *Binah* were before all things; and those in the Jewish books are put for the Divine Λόγος and Spirit [Ecclus i. 4, 5]. The *Spirit* of the Lord is said to fill the world" [Wisd. i. 7]. A striking passage is then quoted from Baruch, that "God shewed Himself upon earth and conversed with men." [iii. 35-37. Bp. Kidder's *Demonstration of the Messias*, part iii. ed. 1700.]

[2] *Ad Autol.* lib. ii. sec. 15. [3] *De Legatione*, sec. x.

[4] . . . αἰνοῦντας εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, Υἱῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, παιδαγωγῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Υἱῷ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· πάντα τῷ ἑνὶ· ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα· δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἑν· δι' ὃν τὸ ἀεί. [*Pædagog*, lib. iii. prop fin.]

Praxeas, states most clearly the unity of the undivided Godhead and the distinction of the Three Persons.[1]

Such may be called the scriptural and patristic doctrine of the Holy Trinity in its uncontroversial aspect:—the unity of the Godhead, and the distinction of the Three Divine Persons; but from an early period we find in the Fathers various and apparently discordant *explanations* on the subject, partly arising from a wish to answer the cavils or objections of heretics (sometimes by ill-advised and inadequate illustrations), and also from the inherent mysteriousness of the doctrine itself and the necessary imperfection of all earthly comparisons. Thus the Church believes, according to the definition of the fourth Council of Lateran [c. 2], that the Divine Persons are not specifically, but numerically One, a truth *generally* held by the Fathers, and expressly stated in the Athanasian Hymn.[2] But some of them, as St. Gregory Nyssen, seem only to teach the specific unity of the Divine Persons, comparing them to three men having a common human nature, a comparison which, strictly and literally interpreted, can only imply the tritheism of the Godhead. We cannot doubt the existence amongst orthodox Fathers of different opinions on this mysterious subject until its final definition by the Church.[3]

[1] He thus argues against Praxeas, who, like Sabellius, "confounded" the Persons of the Godhead, or denied any real distinction between the Three Divine Persons: "Unicum Deum non alias putat credendum, quam si ipsum, eundemque et Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum dicat: quasi non sic quoque unus sit omnia, dum ex uno omnia, per substantiæ scilicet unitatem et nihilominus custodiatur œconomiæ sacramentum, quæ unitatem in trinitatem disponit, tres dirigens, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum. Tres autem non statu, sed gradu; nec substantia, sed forma; nec potestate, sed specie; unius autem substantiæ, et unius status, et unius potestatis [c. 2]. . . . Numerum et dispositionem Trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt unitatis, quando unitas ex semetipsa derivans Trinitatem, non destruatur ab illa, sed administretur. Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt; quasi non et unitas irrationaliter collecta hæresim faciat, et Trinitas rationaliter expensa, veritatem constituat" [c. 3].

[2] "Neque confundentes Personas, neque *substantiam separantes*. . . . Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti *una est Divinitas* . . . non tres Æterni sed *unus* Æternus."

[3] Dr. Newman thus sums up from Petavius [*De Trinitate*, lib. iv.] the different opinions of the Fathers: "Some said that there was but one substance (*ὑπόστασις*) in the Godhead, others three *ὑποστάσεις* (substances or persons), and one *οὐσία* (substance), others spoke of more than one *οὐσία*. Some allowed, some rejected the terms *προβολὴ* and *ὁμοούσιον*, according as they were guided by the prevailing heresy of the day and their own judgment concerning the mode of meeting it. Some spoke of the Son as existing from everlasting in the Divine mind; others implied that the Logos was everlasting and became the Son in time. Some asserted his *ἀναρχον*, others denied it. Some, when interrogated by heretics, taught that He was begotten by the Father *θελήσει*; others, *φύσει καὶ μὴ ἐκ βουλήσεως. ὅντε θέλοντος τοῦ Πατρὸς ὅντε μὴ θέλοντος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ βουλὴν φύσει*; others spoke of a *σύνδρομος θέλησις*. Some declare that God is *ἀριθμῷ τρεῖς*; others numerically one; while to others it might appear more philosophical to exclude the idea of number altogether in the discussion of that mysterious Nature which is beyond comparison, whether viewed as One or Three, and neither falls under nor forms any conceivable species." [*The Arians of the Fourth Century*, p. 127, ed. 1854.]

A fruitful cause of error in ancient and also modern times is owing to an attempt to explain or illustrate this doctrine, forgetting that it is a mystery to be received on faith, which cannot, from its own nature, be rendered intelligible to man's intellect. This was strikingly exemplified by the Trinitarian disputes in the English Church at the close of the seventeenth century, between Dr. Sherlock and Dr. South, both of whom were professedly orthodox, and wished to hold the true doctrine of Scripture and of the Church. Dr. Sherlock, with some abstruse and novel illustrations, maintained that there were three distinct intelligences in the Godhead, thus denying their numerical unity, and virtually asserting tritheism. Dr. South, in reply, represented the Divine Persons as modes, subsistences, and properties of the Godhead, thus setting aside their personal distinction, and incurring the charge of Sabellianism. [Divinity of Christ. Spirit, Holy. Arianism. Unitarianism. Macedonianism.]

TRINITY SUNDAY. This festival was originally regarded as the octave of Pentecost only. The services have always been of such a character as to bring into prominence the doctrine of the Trinity, but it was not till later times that the day has been considered set apart as a feast, and there is much uncertainty about the exact time of its introduction. It seems clear that it was instituted by authority at an early period; but its observation was not enforced, and it was indeed of very partial observance. Durandus assigns its origin to the decay of faith in the Trinity, or the unsettling of men's minds, consequent on Arianism. "Verum superveniente heresi Arriana fere fuit fides Trinitatis extincta: sed Hilarius Eusebius et Ambrosius restituerunt. Consensit igitur eadem de causa Gregorius magnus ut de trinitate specialia cantaremus: et ecclesias in ipsius honorem edificaremus" [Durandus, *Rationale, De Prima Dominica post Penthecostes*]. This would fix the date about A.D. 600. At Liège the festival was established by A.D. 920, and was gradually adopted in neighbouring churches, though it was firmly established in most of the churches of France before it was adopted by Rome. Pope Alexander II. [A.D. 1061-73] discouraged it, saying there was no necessity for a special commemoration, as the praises of the Holy Trinity were daily sung by the Church in the hymn Gloria Patri. In the English Church the feast appears to have been established earlier than elsewhere. And the reckoning of the Sundays from Whitsuntide to Advent as "after Trinity" and not "after Pentecost," which is the rule in England and Germany, is thought to testify to an independent origin in those churches. An office for the festival is said to be extant in a MS. breviary at Monte Casino of the eleventh century. Peter de Blois, Archdeacon of Bath [died A.D. 1200], has a sermon on the text "Qui est misit me ad vos," in die Trinitatis [printed in Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*, 207, 637]. Martin, canon of Leon in Spain [died A.D. 1203], has a sermon of great length in Festivitate

Sanctæ Trinitatis. St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was consecrated on the Dominica octavarum Pentecostes, appointed that Sunday for the feast of the Trinity [Inett's *Orig. Angl.* ii. 303]. The Council of Arles [A.D. 1260] decreed the Sunday after Pentecost as the day of the feast for that province. There were diocesan varieties until the definite order of Pope John XXII. in 1334, from which date its universal observance in the Western Churches may be said to have commenced. In the Eastern Churches it is not noticed.

It has been noted [Riddle's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 645] that Potho, in his treatise *De Statu Domus Dei* [c. A.D. 1152], speaks of Trinity Sunday amongst novelties; and that St. Bernard of Clairvaux [died A.D. 1153] has no homily on the feast. The Paris ritual maintained a different use to Roman ritual until the present century. At many places the festival was kept on the Sunday before Advent. The collect, epistle, and gospel in the present English use are from that of Sarum, the collect appearing in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory.

It is worthy of notice, and the fact might be held to be evidence of the growing esteem in the English Church for this festival, that at the Reformation period the dedications to the Holy Trinity became more frequent. The colleges of the "Holy and Undivided Trinity" at Oxford and Cambridge, the corporation of "the Guild, Fraternity, or Brotherhood of the Most Glorious and Undivided Trinity," which is the official title of the Trinity House, date from this period. It was even attempted to suppress some of the old dedications, as at Ely, in favour of a new one to the Holy Trinity. It is also noticeable that in the statutes of some cathedrals of the new foundation the collect for Trinity Sunday was appointed to be said by all the members "inter surgendum;" and the hymn for evensong on Trinity Sunday, "Salvator mundi, Domine," was appointed for daily use. [Benedict XIV., *De Festis Domini.* Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Discip. in Div. Celebr. Offic.* xxviii. 22. Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer.*]

TRIPARTITE NATURE. [Body. Soul. Spirit.]

TRISAGION (from τρίς and ἅγιος—"thrice holy"). The ancient Liturgical Hymn, "Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, have mercy upon us" (Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς). The Sarum form is, "Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus immortalis."

"It is a creed 'set hymn-wise,' having special reference to the work of God for man as set forth in the Scriptures" [Freeman's *Princ. Div. Serv.* ii. 338].

Its origin is commonly attributed [Robertson's *Ch. Hist.* i. 527, n.] to a miracle at Constantinople in the Episcopate of St. Proclus [A.D. 434], but it is probably much older, if not Apostolic. Freeman traces a plain connection between the Trisagion and the "Eighteen Prayers" of the Synagogue, the coincidences of expression being "too close to be accidental" [Freem. *Princ. Div. Serv.* i. 65, &c.]. In the Greek Liturgies it is sung after the bringing in of the Gospel. The priest says the preparatory "Prayer of the Trisagion in a low voice, while the people are singing the hymn itself. In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom it is repeated five times, and its rationale is thus given in the Commentary of Symeon of Thessalonica, written early in the fifteenth century, as translated by Neale. "The Trisagion . . . manifests the mystery of Trinity; which the Incarnation of One Person of the Trinity manifested to men; and also the sympathy and union of angels and men. Wherefore, also, it is sung within the bema by the priests and without it by the clerks and laity: for one church of angels and men hath been formed through Christ."

Its use in the West is now confined to Good Friday, when it forms a part of the *Improperia* or "Reproaches." Then, according to the Roman use, it is said twelve times, first in Greek and afterwards in Latin, directly after the Gospel and its ninefold litany.

According to St. John Damascene, the Trisagion declared the faith of the Church in the Holy Trinity, the title "Holy God" being applied to the Father, "Holy and Mighty" to the Son, and "Holy and Immortal" to the Holy Ghost" [*De Orth. Fide*, lib. iii. c. 10] Hence, when Peter the Fuller, afterwards Bishop of Antioch [A.D. 485-488], added to it the words, "Who was crucified for us" (ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς), which could only refer to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, most serious controversies and disturbances naturally arose.[1] He was accused of thereby asserting various heresies, *e.g.*, that the Holy Spirit was crucified, or that the Trinity suffered. When the altered Trisagion was sung in Constantinople by order of the Emperor Anastasius [A.D. 512], a violent tumult took place, in which many lives were lost. The people constantly refused any but the orthodox form, and the alteration found favour only with the Monophysites and Monothelites.

The Trisagion was used by the Council of Chalcedon as a declaration of the faith in the condemnation of Dioscorus. When his deprivation was proposed "shouts of applause were mingled with the solemn hymn of the Trisagion" [Bright's *Ch. Hist.* p. 404].

In the Sarum Breviary this hymn formed one of the preces for the office of prime, as it also did in the daily offices of other churches. It was followed by the Agnus Dei, a circumstance which calls to mind the alteration so vehemently rejected in the East. The name of Trisagion is often erroneously given to the Ter Sanctus, from which it is perfectly distinct both in form and use.

TRIUMPHAL HYMN. [Ter Sanctus.]

TROPOLOGICAL interpretation [τροπός = *character, temper*] is where a *moral* signification

[1] Τὴν ἐν τῷ Τρισαγίῳ προσθήκην ὑπὸ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος Πέτρου τοῦ Γναφέως γεγενημένην βλάσφημον ὁριζόμεθα [St. John Damascene, *De Orth. Fide*, lib. iii., c. 10].

is given to a passage. An illustration will explain this sense. In Deut. xxv. 4, we read: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." St. Paul [1 Cor. ix. 9] quotes this precept of the Law, adding the comment: "Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith He it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written" [*cf.* 1 Tim. v. 18. See also Ex. xvi. 18, applied in 2 Cor. viii. 15].

TRULLAN COUNCIL. [QUINISEXT.]

TRUTH. Truth may be understood in two senses, as a virtue and as a quality of propositions. It is that which makes persons truthful, it is that which makes statements true. The latter sense is the most important and the most difficult to fix, because the definition of truth that suits subjects to which our faculties are adequate does not suit subjects to which our faculties are inadequate. For instance, it would be an adequate explanation of what we mean when we say that a statement in a court of justice is true, that the statement is in accordance with the facts. This is the primary natural meaning of truth, and all our natural feeling towards truth is modelled on the meaning. But even in the sphere of concrete experience it is difficult to apply this meaning universally. If A swears that he saw B's hand go to C's pocket, and C's watch is found on B, it is clear that what A swore was true. If A says he saw and spoke to B and had an answer in London, at a time when B was in India, our first thought is that it cannot be true; A was mistaken, he saw and heard nothing. Practically we are right, in theory we have still to answer the questions, What caused the impression on A's eyes and ears: had the cause anything to do with B? if not, how does that make A's statement false, if the effect was the same? The answer suggests two conditions of truth—it is independent of the individual, and it requires our faculties to be in their normal state. These two conditions make up the working conception of truth for scientific purposes: such notions as the transformation of forms, or the conservation of force, are at once so difficult and so inadequate that the necessity of using them engenders a constant tendency to leave facts out of sight altogether, because the facts which correspond to these notions are not within reach of direct perception for us, while the facts which are lose their significance and stability in presence of these vast abstractions. Consequently, for science the truth is simply the permanent and universal object of human belief reached by the normal action of all human faculties which deal with evidence. As a working conception, the scientific view of truth is unobjectionable; it only becomes mischievous when it is made the model of our conception of religious truth, in which, if it exist, both scientific and practical truth must have their ground. It is still more difficult to apply the natural meaning of truth in theology than in science, because our conceptions are more utterly inadequate, and are formed, moreover, by different data and by different processes, so that it is easy to press them to contradict each other, and impossible to reduce them to a common unity. The result is a growing tendency to regard a zeal for investigating the evidence of religious propositions as a zeal for religious truth, and to represent all unpleasant consequences of this zeal as so many sacrifices to truth, which is supposed to require that each generation should regulate its religious belief by the balance of available evidence. This tendency was first formulated in England by Locke, though its influence is unmistakeable in Chillingworth. Since the time of Locke its authority has been steadily growing in spite of the transient interruptions it met with from Methodism and the Oxford movement of 1833. It was fully accepted by the eighteenth century apologists, who regarded Christianity as something to be practised rather than believed, and were satisfied if they could find enough evidence to prove such practice reasonable. It is a common mistake to regard this tendency as identical with the saying of St. Augustine, which since his time has been an axiom in the Church, "Deus cognoscendo ignoratur, ignorando cognoscitur;" for St. Augustine speaks of a learned ignorance, which does its utmost to realize and exhaust the conceptions that it rejects; to the school of Locke the proof we can at last know nothing is the substitute for learning. It is in fact a sufficient proof, that deciding according to the balance of evidence has nothing to do with the love of religious truth, that no duty is more universal than to receive the truth in the love of it, while no faculty is more rare than the power of weighing evidence on religious subjects; and it is strange that Locke should have confused this with the worthless knack which, he says, was common among the Huguenot peasants, of getting up the stock arguments on their own side. It is quite true that instructed Christians are in a condition to prove that the permanent balance of argument is on their side, in other words that the faith is the only and the simplest hypothesis to account for the facts of the Church. But they do not believe Christianity because they are able to do this, nor is Christianity true because they are able to do this; but they believe Christianity and are able to prove this belief because Christianity is true. Nor is this conviction acquired as a matter of fact by intellectual investigation, it is either inherited by tradition or adopted spontaneously because the believer wishes to believe: and this process is perfectly legitimate because our desires and our faculties of investigation, and the objects of each, are appointed alike by God. That we cannot help wishing to believe a thing is just as valid a reason for believing it, as that some one has seen it, whom we cannot contradict, for in both cases it is our nature to believe: we cannot change our nature, we mutilate it if we try.

It remains to shew how the natural conception of truth is applicable to the highest subjects: the answer is that truth on these subjects is relative; indeed truth is relative on all subjects, but it involves us in needless subtleties to insist on this when we speak of things to which our faculties are adequate. Absolute truth which is known to

the spirits who see God, does not exclude relative truth, but includes it, and explains it by completing it. Relative truth may be said to be the right knowledge of the relations of things to God and to one another. Absolute truth is the knowledge of God, the ground of all relative truth and being. It follows that all relative truth is partial, because each relation presupposes something which is not relative. And to us relative truth is partial in another sense, because the relations known to us are affected by relations which we do not know, and therefore our knowledge even as relative knowledge is incomplete as a whole and in each of its parts. At the same time relative knowledge is real knowledge; if it were possible habitually to realize in consciousness that it is partial, it would be strictly true so far as it goes. We know nothing except what is related to our faculties, but we are not to suppose that our faculties project a representation which takes the place of and excludes this object. There is as much reason for saying that our faculties are constituted by their objects, as that they determine the representations which we substitute in our own mind for things. Things exist in virtue of this relation to us as well as in virtue of their relation to each other: our relation to God is as real as the relation of the world to Him. God made us and the world by His Word; His Word is Truth, in Whom we live and move and have our being, Who is Light, of Light, in Whose Light we shall see light.

TYPE. Type, from the Greek τύπος, means the counterpart likeness "struck" from any original form; as a coin from the die, an impress from the seal; or it is an outline sketch, as compared with the finished picture. It is the expression in a lower form of a higher perfection; shadows in time of eternal verities. The Law in its entirety, as well as in its several parts, was a type of the Gospel. The Gospel is a type of the life of Heaven. Religion as a theocracy upon earth typifies the eternal rule of the King of Saints. Analogy is the great law of nature, and ever-varying forms are deduced from plastic principles that are common to all. The comparative anatomy of the quadruped is a true type of the physiology of the human frame. History reproduces itself; and so in things divine, their shadow is forecast in earthly things. Type is in things what prophecy is in words, a present declaration of things future; or what allegory is to thought, a proportionate ratio; or what symbol is to truth, a mean of expressing it. If modern scepticism has made its most determined attacks upon PROPHECY, lowering it to *ex post facto* fulfilments or denying its genuineness, this mode of attack cannot get rid of types. Whatever may be their force, they can never have been fraudulently imported into the Bible account; they form part of the web and woof of Scripture, and cannot be separated from it without loosening the entire texture.

Typical actions that are only significant of matters of temporary or private interest need scarcely to be considered [1 Kings xi. 30, xxii. 11; 2 Kings xiii 15; Isa. vii. 3, viii. 3, xx; Jer. xix. xxvii. li.; Ezek. iv. 1, 5, xii. 3, 5, 11, 18; Acts xxi. 11; Rev. xviii. 21]. These instances had no permanent significance; but they shew how completely the people had been taught to read the future by the light of types and figurative action. The whole of the Mosaic religion, in its typical rites and ordinances, was the rough cast of a higher futurity. Thus the tabernacle was a material representation of heavenly things; the type of a "greater and more perfect Tabernacle not made with hands" [Heb. ix. 11]. "See that thou make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the mount" [Exod. xxv. 40; Heb. viii. 5]. The high priest "incompassed with infirmities" shewed forth the great High Priest of our profession [Heb. iii. 1], holy, harmless and undefiled; and the Levitical sacrifices had no other significance than that which they derived from the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

By the typical prefigurations of the patriarchal and Mosaic systems Christ is seen to be "the same yesterday to-day and for ever" [Heb. xiii. 8]. Adam was the type of Christ, ὅς ἐστι τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος [Rom. v. 14], in a direct way, so far as both were representatives of the entire human race; Adam as containing within himself the undeveloped germ; Christ as gathering together in one the whole stock of the redeemed; in Him all, as says Irenæus [Camb. ed. ii. 87, 88, 95, 102, 120, 123, 159] are "recapitulated." But in other respects Adam was by antagonism and contrast a type of Christ, for "not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification. For if by one man's offence death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ. Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" [Rom. v. 16-19]. "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive" [1 Cor. xv. 22]. If the guilt of Adam's sin has brought the whole race under condemnation, the righteousness of Christ is more than commensurate to man's loss. Something in the same way the faith of Abraham embodies ancestrally the life of all who are justified by faith. He is the type of the entire Church of believers, even as the offering up of Isaac, his only beloved son, upon Mount Moriah was a symbol of the sacrifice of the Cross upon Mount Calvary, while he was himself a representative of the entire Body of Christ; "in Isaac shall thy seed be called" [Gen. xxi. 12; Heb. xi. 8]. Melchizedek, King of Righteousness and King of Peace, was a type of Christ, as declared by David [Psa. cx. 4] and confirmed by St. Paul [Heb. v. 7]. He brought forth the priestly offering of bread and wine, when Abraham gave to him "a tenth part of all" [Heb. vii. 2], and received in

return his superior's blessing, for "without contradiction the less is blessed of the better" [Heb. vii. 7]. Christ and His Church were there present in personal symbol; the King of Salem the head, the father of the faithful the body. In course of time the Law, brought in because of transgressions, spoke of Christ to the gross heart of Israel in lively figures, all of which had the Cross of Christ and its results as their great exemplar. The Manna was the bread of God that came down from heaven; the Rock of which Israel drank was Christ; the brazen serpent on which the people bitten by fiery snakes in the wilderness looked with faith and were healed, was as the Son of Man lifted up, Who should draw all men to Himself. The wave sheaf that was offered on the second morning of the Paschal week from the first-fruits of the ripened corn [Lev. xxiii. 11], was a type of the Resurrection of Christ from the grave on the morrow of the Paschal Sabbath. These first-fruits must in fact have been offered in the temple before the veil rent from top to bottom, at the very time that our Lord's earliest appearance to the disciples took place, "the first fruits of the grave" [1 Cor. xv. 23, written at the Paschal season, 1 Cor. v. 7, xvi. 8]. Jonas, the effectual preacher of repentance to the Ninevites, shewed forth the efficacy of penitent faith, and became a type of the three days entombment of Christ in the sepulchre. Joshua, who led the people into the ancestral land of their rest, prefigured Jesus the restorer of an heavenly Canaan, lost in Adam but recovered in Christ.

All these particulars, to which very many more of minor significance might be added, constitute an argument from the typology of Scripture that speaks with the power and authority of prophecy. Any of these instances taken apart and alone might exhibit a purely accidental resemblance; but the whole taken together have a force that carries conviction to the mind. They are far too numerous and too remarkable to have been produced by accidental resemblance. They confirm the truth of the Christian religion, while they throw a light upon all the transactions which have been brought to pass by the immediate Providence of God. They shew the exactness with which events apparently trivial have been recorded with an eternal purpose, and they display throughout all ages unity of counsel, pursuing a mighty end by means surpassing human knowledge and human power. [See Chevallier, *Hulsean Lect.* A.D. 1826. Fairbairn, *Typology of Scripture.*]

U

UBIQUITY. The erroneous opinion of some German Divines, that the Body of Christ is present everywhere by virtue of its union with His Divine Nature. The opinion was adopted as a mode of explaining the Eucharistic Presence by the Divines who compiled the Formula of Concord at Bergen, in A.D. 1577 [AUGSBURG CONFESSION], and has been held by many Lutherans, though the notion was rejected with indignation by Luther himself when first suggested. It is plainly inconsistent with the actual Ascension of our Lord, and with the local Presence of His glorified Body at the right hand of God [SESSION OF CHRIST]. "We hold it . . . a most infallible truth," says Hooker, "that Christ as Man is not everywhere present. . . . His human substance in itself is naturally absent from the earth, His Soul and Body not on earth but in heaven only" [Hooker's *Eccl. Polit.* V. lv. 7].

ULTRAMONTANISM. The doctrine and system which assigns to the Pope an unlimited authority in matters of faith and discipline in consequence of his personal infallibility. It is the height of the papal system as distinguished from the episcopal system: Ultramontanism lodging in the Pope the whole authority of the Church, and looking on all other bishops as his deputies only.

We have Fleury's authority for stating that the infallibility of the Pope was not introduced into the Schools until the fifteenth century. Fournier (afterwards Benedict XII., elected A.D. 1334) denied an assertion of the Fratricelli, that what had been decided by one pope in questions of faith and morals could not be recalled by another pope; and Fleury remarks, "Such were the sentiments of this cardinal, raised afterwards to the Holy See for his merit; and the opinion of the infallibility of the Pope was not introduced into the Schools for more than a hundred years after" [lib. xciii. cap. 15]. Bellarmine, indeed, quotes for the personal infallibility of the Pope only Albertus Pighius, of the sixteenth century. This opinion he calls probable, not certain. The opinion that the Pope, even as Pope, may be a heretic and teach heresy, if he defines in the absence of a general council, and that such cases have happened, he calls not properly heretical, inasmuch as some holding it have been tolerated by the Church, but altogether erroneous and very near akin to heresy. He names Nilus (Cabaselas, Archbishop of Thessalonica, A.D. 1340), and following him Gerson, Almain, Alphonsus de Castro (born A.D. 1495, who calls those who ascribe infallibility to the Pope "impudentes papæ assentatores," words which he was obliged to omit in later editions), and Hadrian VI. Jeremy Taylor's comment upon this is, that these authorities are tantamount to an acknowledgment that for one thousand years together the Fathers knew not of the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility [*Liberty of Prophesying*, vii. 12]: "there had been no decree, nor tradition, nor general opinion of the Fathers, or of any age before them."

The opinion which Bellarmine holds to be most certain may be taken as the standard of Ultramontanism in this its leading feature up to the present time. It is that the Pope, whether or not he can himself be a heretic, can in no case define anything heretical to be received by the whole Church. Bellarmine opens it in two propositions: [1] the Pope when teaching the whole Church, in matters of faith, cannot err; whence follows the corollary, the particular Church of Rome cannot err. [2] Not only in decrees of faith is it impossible for the Pope to err, but neither can he err in precepts of morals which are prescribed to the whole Church, and which relate to things necessary to salvation, or to such as are good or bad in themselves [Bellarm. *Disputatio de Summo Pontifice*, iv. 2-5]. Here are to be noticed particularly the limitations, [1] of the Pope's teaching the whole Church, or speaking *ex cathedra;* [2] of the subject-matter of the teaching, matters of faith or morals necessary for the whole Church, things in their own nature good or bad.

Bellarmine's arguments shew that he attributed this power, whether as a privilege of inerrancy or as a gift of infallibility, to the Pope personally, and not to the Church or to the episcopate collectively. For example, our Lord's prayer for St. Peter [Luke xxii. 32] is interpreted of two privileges, [1] that Peter should never lose the true faith, a privilege which perhaps has not descended to Peter's successors; [2] that Peter as "Pontifex" should never teach contrary to the faith, a privilege which no doubt has descended to Peter's successors. And herein lies the difference between the two schools of the Romish Church. "To the great Gallican divines, however respectfully they spoke of the Pope, he was

but one element in the infallibility of the whole Church." The body of the episcopate, united in its head, said Bossuet, is where must be found the depôt of Church doctrine. But, to the mind of the Gallicans, the Pope's being the centre of unity did not make him the ark of the *depositum*.

It is noteworthy that Bellarmine's arguments for his first proposition do not touch upon any promise to the Church as a body. The arguments are the extension to St. Peter's successors of Luke xxii. 32, of Matt. xvi. 18, of John xxi. 16; of the Jewish high priest's possession of Urim and Thummim; and lastly from history, that all patriarchal seats except the Romish have failed, whereas the Pope has condemned heresies without a general council. Modern Ultramontanes however proceed in their arguments through the privileges of the body of the Church. The decision of the Pope and that of the Church can only be one and the same; but the decision of the Church is infallible, therefore the decision of the Pope is infallible. Such a mode of proceeding brings out clearly the principles of the two systems. In the one, the assembling of a council is only a means which the Pope may take at his own discretion to inform himself regarding the matter in question, and the authority of his decision is from his enunciation of it *ex cathedra;* in the other, the consent of the Church is that which gives authority to the decision, and the council is a means of expressing that consent, as well as of obtaining in the highest degree the fulfilment of the promises which are made to Church assemblies. "To say that the enunciations of the Pope become infallible through their reception by the whole episcopate would be a one-sided statement of Gallicanism; because such universal reception would equally render infallible any statement of faith which a provincial council should draw up against heresy: only in this case the Bishop of Rome would be an important member of those who should receive it" [Pusey's *Eirenicon*, ii. 291].

According to this view of the Œcumenic Council, namely, that it is an instrument for the Pope's information before forming his decision, the power is claimed for him of summoning, of presiding, and of confirming its acts. And by this the final step is taken in the degradation of the episcopate.

The opposition in France to Ultramontane doctrine has been shewn in detail elsewhere. [Pragmatic Sanction.] In Germany there was a shew of resistance by the Congress of Ems in A.D. 1786, when the three spiritual electors of Germany and the Archbishop of Salzburg passed articles which would have all but superseded the Papacy. Joseph II. was bent on curtailing the power of the Pope, and favoured the independence of a national episcopate: but the movement of the Congress was too much connected with his reckless innovations to be successful [see the history *in Rohrbacher*, vol. xxvii. pp. 255-261].

UNCTION, EXTREME. The anointing of the sick, which has been called "extreme" since the twelfth century, because it is the last in order of the unctions used in ecclesiastical rites, such as those associated with Baptism, Confirmation, and Ordination. In the Eastern Church this rite is called Εὐχέλαιον, or Ἅγιον ἔλαιον, the "Prayer Oil," or the Holy Oil; and some analogous names for it were anciently used in the Western Church, such as "Oleum benedictionis," and "Olei sacrati Unctio:" "Unctio infirmorum" is a still more primitive name.

I. History of the Rite. As our Lord directed the Apostles to use some kind of baptism during the time of His own ministry, so He also directed them to anoint the sick. The definite direction is not in either case given in the Gospel, but it must be without any reasonable room for doubt inferred from the words "Jesus Himself baptized not, but His disciples" [John iv. 2], and "they anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them" [Mark vi. 13]. There is no reason to think that the Jews had any custom of anointing sick persons, and of course it is mere trifling to allege that the Apostle used oil as physicians might have used it, for the healing properties that it was supposed to possess. Our Lord was sending His Apostles forth with "power over unclean spirits," and it is added that as a fact they exercised this power, "they cast out many devils," and there is no reason whatever for dissociating the healing of the sick by anointing from the miraculous power which He then bestowed upon His agents.

"Gifts of healing" are mentioned as a customary and well-known supernatural power bestowed upon the Apostolic Church [1 Cor. xii. 9, 28]; but they are not verbally associated with any rite of anointing. About thirty years after the time when the Apostles had gone forth anointing with oil many that were sick and healing them, a similar rite is mentioned by St. James: "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord" [Jas. v. 14]. This does not look like the institution of a rite unknown to the Church before, for it is immediately preceded by the words "Is any among you afflicted? Let him pray. Is any merry? Let him sing psalms;" and it is quite certain that neither prayer nor psalm singing were unknown until they were here mentioned by St. James. There seems no little reason, therefore, to suppose that there is a direct association between the rite named by St. James and that used by the Apostles under the direct command of our Lord; and if this be the case there is also a great probability (to say the least) that the "gifts of healings" mentioned by St. Paul were a continuation of the divinely instituted healings by unction during the thirty years' interval.[1]

The unction thus ordained and used in the

[1] This is made still more probable by the fact that in both places where St. Paul names them he speaks of them as something separate from "miracles," as if they were part of the *ordinary* and not of the *extra-ordinary* supernatural work of the Church.

Apostolic age is not once named by the early Fathers or historians of the Church. Such silence is very remarkable, and no satisfactory explanation of it whatever can be given. That an Apostolical ordinance should have so soon become disused as not to have come within the experience of St. Cyprian and Tertullian, or even of St. Chrysostom or St. Augustine, seems improbable, and yet if it had come within their experience it could hardly have escaped notice in their voluminous writings. But even if it had gone entirely out of use, it is very singular that writers who referred to nearly everything that is mentioned in the New Testament should not once have referred to a rite of so remarkable a character. The case is made still more strange by the fact that unction was undoubtedly associated with Baptism, and that the ceremonial use of oil was thus perfectly familiar to the writers in question.

The first reference to unction of the sick after the time of St. James is found in an Epistle of Innocent I., written in reply to one of Decentius, Bishop of Eugubium, in the year 416. The rite then existing is distinctly, and as a matter of which no doubt had been raised, associated by Innocent with the rite mentioned by St. James; but he adds that the holy chrism being blessed by the bishop it can be used not only by the bishop and by the priests, but also by lay people, who may anoint with it "in their own or their friends' necessities" [Innocent, *ad Decent. resp.* viii.]. In the Sacramentary of St. Gregory the Great [A.D. 590] there is a very short office entitled "Orationes ad visitandum Infirmorum," in which there is a rubric "Ungues eum oleo sancto, et dices," followed by a collect with the words "Deus Omnipotens . . . miserere hinc famulo Tuo, et tribue ei remissionem omnium peccatorum, et recuperationem ab imminenti ægritudine per hanc sanctam unctionem, et nostram deprecationem:" and from that time the rite has a distinctly marked place among the customs of the Church in both the East and the West.

II. Mode of Administration. From the Epistle of St. Innocent to Decentius, already referred to, it is evident that the administration of the rite was not, in the fifth century, restricted to the clergy. It is equally evident that it was considered absolutely necessary for the oil to have received the benediction of a bishop. No other trace is found of its administration by laymen, either in the Eastern or the Western Church: and in the Western Church the benediction of the oil by a bishop is still, and always has been, considered essential. It has been usually blessed on Maundy-Thursday at the same time with the chrism for Baptism, Confirmation, and Ordination, but instead of chrism pure olive oil has been always used. The custom in the Eastern Church, on the other hand, is for some oil taken from the sanctuary lamp to be blessed in the sick man's room by seven priests, or by at least three [Neale's *Hist. East. Ch.* p. 1036].

In the Roman ritual the blessed oil is applied, in the form of a cross, to the seats of the various senses, the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, and hands, a form of words appropriate to each particular sense being used during the anointing. The same custom was used in the mediæval Church of England, but at the Reformation a simpler, and probably more primitive, mode was adopted that of anointing, in the form of a cross, only the forehead or the breast of the sick person. The Reformation Office of the Church of England consisted of a collect and the thirteenth Psalm, but this was expunged from the Prayer Book in A.D. 1552 by the influence of the Puritan Reformers, and has never been reinserted.

III. Object of the Rite. The general analogy of our Lord's personal miracles, wrought only, as they were, on persons in whom He discerned faith to be healed, would lead us to the conclusion that when the Apostles anointed the sick and healed them, the bodily healing was accompanied by some spiritual blessing also; and, thus, that the anointing was not only of a *miraculous*, but also of a *sacramental* character. Such a conjunction of miracle and grace is clearly shewn in the words of St. James, who says that "the prayer of faith"—by which, of course, must be understood not verbal prayer alone, but the whole rite, the "Orationes ad visitandum infirmorum"—"shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him." This twofold effect of the rite has always been maintained by those who have attached any value at all to it. The ancient Collect of St. Gregory's Sacramentary has been already quoted as praying for the remission of the sick person's sins, and for his recovery from his sickness by means of the unction. So in a sermon of Cæsarius of Arles, fifty years later, there occur the words, "See, brethren, that he who has recourse to the Church"—he is speaking of this rite, and quoting the words of St. James—"will both receive health of body and obtain remission of sins." Similar doctrine is to be found in a multitude of writers throughout the Middle Ages, and at the Reformation period we come to the statements made respectively by the Church of England and the Church of Rome. That of the former is found in the "Institution of a Christian Man," to the effect, "All Christian men should repute and account the said manner of anoiling among the other Sacraments of the Church, forasmuch as it is a visible sign of an invisible grace: whereof the visible sign is the anoiling with oil in the Name of God; which oil (for the natural properties belonging unto the same) is a very convenient thing to signify and figure the great mercy and grace of God, and the spiritual light, joy, comfort, and gladness which God poureth out upon all faithful people, calling upon Him by the inward unction of the Holy Ghost. And the grace conferred in this Sacrament is the relief and recovery of the disease and sickness wherewith the sick person is then diseased and troubled, and also the remission of his sins, if he be then in sin." This is further expressed in the later edition of the same work, the "Erudition for any Christian Man," in the

words, "We ought assuredly to trust that God, working in the ministration of His Sacraments, doth by the prayer of the minister, and of such as assist him, forgive those sins of the sick man, which, by the frailness of his nature, in sudden motions and vehement agonies, he doth commit and fall into." In the Catechism of the Council of Trent, which was apparently suggested by the noble English work just quoted, Extreme Unction is said to remit lighter offences, to rid the soul of the languor and infirmity brought on it by sin, and of all other remains of sin: to strengthen the soul in its last contest with the Tempter, and to alleviate the burden of sin. The recovery of health, if advantageous to the sick person, is also said to be a benefit of the sacrament, but one rarely obtained because of the weakness of faith in these days as compared with the faith of Apostolic days [*Catech. Trident.* II. vi. 14].

In modern times the Providence of Almighty God has so developed the science of healing and the skill of the surgeon, that we may naturally suppose He works by these natural means rather than by supernatural: and that hence the "raising up" of the sick man by means of anointing is rarely to be looked for. But no corresponding spiritual process of development has superseded the necessity of His grace in the hour of man's greatest need and extremest weakness, and it may therefore be believed, in accordance with the whole stream of Christian belief until recent times, that the spiritual blessing declared to attend the unction of the sick is still given by God. Thus it is a means by which (in the words of the first English Prayer Book) the dying man may have "ghostly strength by His Holy Spirit to withstand and overcome all temptations and assaults of his adversary, that in no wise he prevail against him, but that he may have perfect victory and triumph against the Devil, sin, and death, through Christ our Lord." But as modern English bishops do not bless oil for the purpose this means of grace is at present withheld from their flocks. [Serarius, *De Sacr. Extrem. Unct.* Bishop Forbes *on XXXIX. Articles.* Blunt's *Sacraments and Sacramental Ordinances*].

UNIGENITUS. A Bull of Pope Clement XI., dated September 8th, 1713, and condemning one hundred and one propositions taken from Pasquier Quesnel's "'Le Nouveau Testament en François, avec des reflexions morales, &c.; à Paris, 1699." In this bull centred the attempts of the Romish Church to suppress Jansenism.

The struggle with the opinions named after Jansen began with the condemnation of Baius. Michael Baius, born A.D. 1513, was professor of divinity at Louvain, and attended the Council of Trent. In 1567, Pius V. condemned seventy-six propositions extracted from his works. The bull of condemnation was only privately notified to Louvain, but it was afterwards published by Gregory XIII. The tenets condemned relate to most, if not all, of the doctrines adopted by the professed followers of Augustine, such as the natural powers of man, free-will, grace, merit, justification; and agree closely with the tenets of Jansen, who, says Bergier, wrote his *Augustinus* to justify the opinions of Baius; Quesnel writing his book to propagate Jansenism. The *Augustinus* (published after Jansen's death) was censured by Urban VIII. in 1641; and again in 1653 the five propositions of Jansenism were condemned by a bull of Innocent X.; "again by Alexander VII. in 1656, whose subsequent bull of 1665 prescribed a formulary to be signed by all the clergy receiving the above bulls and condemning the propositions in the *sense* of Jansen. This was followed in 1705 by the bull of Clement XI., confirming the former, and condemning the subterfuges of the Jansenists." [Jansenism.] The immediate occasion of the bull Unigenitus was this. Du Pin published a *Case of Conscience* in 1703, which was the cause of the bull of 1705, and of another in 1708. In this last the *Moral Reflections* of Quesnel were expressly condemned. Quesnel answered the bull "with a spirit which inflamed the contest," and the anti-Jansenist ordinance was issued.

Clement was moved to take this step by Louis XIV. There was a difference in the supreme council of France. Noailles, while Bishop of Chalons, had approved the *Moral Reflections*, and on his removal to Paris had procured the publication of a new edition in 1699: others in the council adhered to the doctrines of the Jesuits. The influence of the king's confessor gave these latter the ascendancy, and gained over the king: and as the ordinance of 1708 could not be received or published in France, not being conformable to the usages of the State, Louis applied to Clement to condemn Quesnel's book by a constitution in form. His application is stated in the bull itself.

Louis' letters patent for the publication of the bull were not registered in the Parliament without several modifications and restrictions. It was then acted upon for a time; but was suspended, through the influence of Noailles, under the regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans. Noailles and other prelates had refused to accept it, and appealed to a general council. The divines of the Sorbonne declared that the decree for accepting it was false. Sixteen bishops suspended the bull in their dioceses. They were supported by the Universities of Paris, Rheims, and Nantes, and by the Paris Faculties of Theology, Law, and Arts; and the Jansenist party were called Appellants, as appealing to a general council. Ultimately, however, Noailles recalled his appeal. A papal brief had been issued in 1718 threatening severe measures against all who opposed the constitution, as the brief was called. A provincial Council at Evreux condemned Jansenism, and directed the observance of the bull. Noailles reconsidered the matter, and accepted the bull without modification. Through the influence of Fleury the bull was registered.

The tenets of Quesnel were really those of Jansen, and the five propositions condemned by Innocent X. give the principles from which flow the one hundred and one propositions condemned by Clement XI. But in statements of doctrine

which involve the very deepest points of theology there cannot but be frequent uncertainties as to the exact meaning of the terms employed; and it is on the one hand asserted, on the other hand denied, that the doctrines of Quesnel and Jansen are the doctrines of Augustine. On this point the statement appears to be most probable that the language of Augustine, when taken with regard to the circumstances in which he wrote and the usage of his time, will not carry the meaning which the Jansenists understood it to bear. Again, the same cause, the weakness and comparative poverty of all language, occasioned that which has been often objected to the Jansenists as subterfuges and theological chicane, the reasonings by which many of Jansen's followers reconciled themselves to the bull which condemned Jansen himself. Not a few of the propositions condemned are capable of a catholic sense and capable of an erroneous sense. Jansen might have held them in the former sense, the Pope having condemned them in the latter.

Mosheim has remarked, and many others after him, that the difficulties in the way of a reconciliation between the Protestants and the Romish Churches were greatly augmented by the Bull Unigenitus. Perhaps the augmentation does not arise so much from the doctrinal decisions as from the clauses regarding the study of Holy Scripture.

UNION HYPOSTATIC, *ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν*, was a term of dogmatic Theology first used by Cyril of Alexandria, in his second and more famous epistle to Nestorius [A.D. 430], the year preceding the convention of the Ephesine Council. The term occurs four times in that epistle, and was evidently chosen as conveying a very definite and accurate notion of the union of the two natures in Christ. For he does not say that this union was effected *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, personally, but *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*, according to the "reality" of either nature, the Divine and the Human, individualized in the one Christ. It was the *φίλη λέξις* of Cyril, the champion for the truth raised up to combat the third of "those grand heretical impieties, which most highly and immediately touched God and the glorious Trinity" [Hooker, v. 3], in the first ages of the Christian Church. A COMMUNICATIO IDIOMATUM was the result of this union *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*, whereby the two natures having been inseparably united in the one Person of Christ, the properties and accidents and attributes of either nature are ascribed to both by reason of this same individuality of person. "A kind of mutual commutation there is, whereby those concrete names God and Man, when he speaks of Christ, do take interchangeably one another's room, so that for truth of speech it skilleth not whether we say that the Son of Man hath created the world, and the Son of God by death hath saved it, or else that the Son of God did create, and the Son of Man die to save the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the Manhood of Christ claimeth, or to Man what His Deity hath right unto, we understand by the name of God and the name of Man neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole Person of Christ, in whom both natures are." [Hooker, v. 53; compare the noble passage in Hippolytus, *C. Noet.* 18; Routh, *Opusc.* i. 72.]

In the Manhood of Christ there was an hypostatic union of the two different substances of soul and body; in the Person of Christ there was a similar union of the Manhood thus constituted, and of the substance of the Word in one Person.[1] So that the Manhood never had a personal subsistence apart from the Word, but the creation of the first original germ of humanity on the Annunciation, and the personal union of the Word with it, took effect at one and the selfsame moment of time; and the Person of the Word, which had pre-existed eternally in the mere glory of the Son of God, became the Person also of the Man Christ Jesus. He took not the Person of any one Man, but He took upon Him our nature, and dwelt, *ἐσκήνωσεν*, in us as very Man; so that Christ as God knew the deep things of God, which could not be comprehended by His unglorified Manhood. Thus, "No person was born of the Virgin but the Son of God; no person but the Son of God was baptized, the Son of God condemned, the Son of God and no other person crucified" [Hooker, v. 52]. The hypostatic union once formed was never again to be dissolved, and it continued to subsist during the period of death, so that the Godhead was with the body of Christ in the tomb, and with the human soul of Christ in Hades, and we believe that He shall come again in the same hypostatic union of God and Man in one Christ, the blessed pledge to us of our own personal immortality. [Hooker, v. 51-55. *Ep.* Cyr. Alex. Harvey's *Vindex Cath.* i. 173-176.]

UNITARIANISM. The name assumed by its supporters for a heresy which repudiates the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, and denies the Divine nature of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost.

Unitarianism is the modern outcome of the ancient line of heresies which were represented by MONARCHIANISM. The licentiousness of "free-thought" took the direction thus indicated very early in the Reformation period, Luther complaining of it bitterly at the Marburg Conference of A.D. 1529, and reproaching the Zwinglian party as the cause of it. Two influential members of the Zwinglian party had, indeed, been teaching the Unitarian heresy for some years, viz. Ludwig Hetzer and John Denck, the latter being a professor at Basle. Hetzer was a personal friend of Zwingle, who had brought him over to his own party from that of the extreme Anabaptists in the year 1525. For a time he was associated with Denck, but his profligacy repelled Denck and others of his friends. Hetzer maintained the absolute unity of God, utterly repudiating all idea of a Trinity of Persons. Christ he considered as a

[1] "Ergo persona hominis mixtura est animæ et corporis; persona autem Christi, mixtura est Dei et hominis. Cum enim Verbum Dei permixtum est animæ habenti corpus, simul et animam suscepit et corpus." [Aug. *ad Volus. Ep.* cxxxvii. 11; see also *ad Evod. Ep.* clxix. 8.]

mere man, but of a highly spiritual and typical character. He was dissuaded by Zwingle from publishing a blasphemous treatise against our Lord's Divinity, for which at his death he expressed great gratitude. Hetzer was beheaded at Constance [A.D. 1525] for frequent adultery and gross immorality. Denck's theories were of a more profound kind. In his book on "the order of God and His creatures" he seems to have identified the Logos with conscience, taking a mystical view of the "Light which lighteneth every man" in John i. 9, and this he placed above Revelation as an "inward Word" which was of higher authority than an "outward Word." Christ he regarded as a typical man, always in moral unity with God, and hence holding the office of a Mediator and Saviour. But the work of salvation he considered to be a mere moral life of each individual person according to his natural ability; and though he looked on Christ as the highest Example of such a life, he did not attribute any supernatural force to His sufferings and death. He, of course, denied the existence of sacramental grace. Denck died at Basle of the plague while residing there as the guest of Œcolampadius in the year 1529. In the same year Conrad of Gassen was put to death in the same city for professing similar principles respecting our Lord: but the heretical work of these Lutheran foes of Luther was carried on by Sebastian Franck of Donanwörth in Suabia, Claudius of Savoy, Campanus, David Joris of Delft (whose body was disinterred three years after his death and burned at Basle in 1559), and by many others: the line of succession eventually falling on Servetus and Faustus Socinus.

Miguel Servede, the Spaniard whose name is most familiar in its Latin form of Servetus, was only twenty-two years of age when he published his work *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, and a book of *Dialogues*, having, however, already made himself notorious at Basle and Strasburg by his public denial of the doctrine of the Trinity. For some years he practised medicine at Paris under the name of Michael de Villanueva, but giving up the medical calling he passed some time in the south of France, and in A.D 1541, was taken into the household of the Archbishop of Vienne. In the year 1553 he published a work entitled *Christianismi Restitutio;* and shortly afterwards, being condemned for heresy and escaping, he passed through Geneva on his way to Italy. There he was imprisoned by direction of Calvin, who, seven years before, had written to Farel that if Servetus ever came to Geneva he would take care that he should not leave it alive. They had long been acquainted, and even on terms of confidence, Calvin being entrusted with private papers by Servetus, but they now attacked each other with the bitterest virulence. Servetus was tried for heresy, condemned on October 26th, 1553, and the next day burned alive. His theological speculations are strongly tinged with Neo-Platonist philosophy, and they would probably have taken the ultimate form of Pantheism, having been continually developing in that direction during the twenty years of his literary career. Unitarianism was, in fact, only one phase of his theology, and the subject of his earliest work, written while he was a mere youth.

From the time of Servetus, the history of this heresy is that of SOCINIANISM, until its revival in England in the later half of the seventeenth century. There was, indeed, a feeble current of Arianism running through much of the early theology of Puritanism, and not a few avowed Arians were burned in every reign from Henry VIII. to James I., but these were ignorant fanatics. The literary beginning of Unitarianism in England dates from the year A.D. 1647, when a Puritan master of Gloucester Grammar School, named John Biddle [A.D. 1615-1662], published a work entitled *Twelve arguments against the Deity of the Holy Spirit*, which was followed up in A.D. 1648 with another, *Confessions of Faith concerning the Holy Trinity*. Biddle afterwards translated and published the Racovian Catechism, for which he was imprisoned by the Parliament. His books were burned, and he himself sentenced to death, but his sentence was commuted to imprisonment in St. Mary's Castle, Scilly. A sect sprung up from his teaching, which at first went by the name of "Biddlians," and its adherents grew so numerous that Dr. Owen, in A.D. 1665, declared that there was not a town or village in England where Unitarians were not to be found. Unitarianism was, in fact, the form into which the theology of the intellectual Puritans developed, Milton being a conspicuous instance; and its spread in England dates from the eight hundred Puritan ministers (erroneously spoken of as two thousand) who refused to take Holy Orders at the restoration of the Church, and were ejected from their benefices on St. Bartholomew's day, A.D. 1662. The English Unitarians from that time were known under the name of Presbyterians, and it was only occasionally that Antitrinitarian principles became conspicuous—as in such men as Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke, and as in the controversy which resulted in Bishop Bull's great work of A.D. 1685, the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*. Their theology, however, took a more definite line under the influence of Dr. Priestley in the latter part of last century. That great natural philosopher was originally an extreme Calvinist, then an Arminian, afterwards a "qualified" believer in the Atonement, his philosophical studies ultimately landing him in Materialism. He left England for America in the year 1794, and living there for the last ten years of his life, contributed much to that extensive spread of Unitarian opinions in the United States which has characterized their religious history. In England the Unitarians have never been numerous as a distinct sect, but Unitarianism is the common ground of all Rationalism which falls short of actual Deism. [*Dict. of* SECTS *and* HERESIES.]

UNITY OF THE CHURCH. The unity of the Church is an article of the Creed, "One Catholic and Apostolic Church," and is therefore held *de fide* by all branches of the Church. It follows

as a consequence from the Union of Christ with His Church. The Church is the extension of His Incarnation. He became flesh that He might be head over all things to the Church. Through this mystical union all that the Head received is communicated to the members of the Body. The various terms in which this relation is represented in Scripture all signify that union, and are thus summarized by St. Chrysostom:—"He is the Head, we are the body; He is the Foundation, we are the building; He is the Vine, we are the branches; He is the Bridegroom, we are the bride; He is the Shepherd, we are the sheep; He is the Way, we are the travellers; we are the Temple, He the Inhabitant; He is the Firstborn, we are the brothers; He is the Heir, we are the co-heirs; He is the Life, we are the living. These things ἕνωσιν ἐμφαίνει." [Chrysost. *Hom.* viii. *in* 1 *Cor.*] The Church consists of the company of the faithful who are on earth and those who are at rest, for both are united together in the Unity of Christ, so that their fellowship with Him is the ground of their union one with another. This unity between Christ and the members of His Body is a real and not a metaphorical unity. The word Body is never used in Holy Scripture to signify a federal agglomeration, but an organic totality. The closeness of this union is shewn by our Saviour's prayer that the members of the Body might be one, as He and the Father are One [John xvii. 21]. The unity therefore is not a unity of faith and practice, or of affection only, but it is a unity of nature, like that which is shared by the several Persons in the Blessed Trinity, who are Three Persons and yet One God. By their union with Christ the members of His Body become partakers of the Divine Nature as well as of His regenerate Manhood. Even as our Lord had two natures united in one Person, so the Church is at once divine and human. The Church is the perpetual manifestation of Christ to the world. The Head is Divine, but the members are human, yet through the Incarnation the Head partakes of the human nature; and the members are made partakers of the Divine, because they have been made in baptism participators of the regenerate Manhood which the Divine Head took unto Himself. [Bishop Forbes on *XXXIX. Articles*, vol. i. p. 266.]

I. The Church is the one Body, the Body of Christ the Head. It is never spoken of as *a body of believers*, but as *the Body of Christ*. This unity involves the communion of saints and a common participation in all the gifts and graces which descend from the Head to the members.

II. *The final cause* of this unity, the end for which it was ordained, was the renewing of fallen man after the image and likeness of God, and the reuniting him to God.

III. *The meritorious cause* of the Church's unity is "Christ crucified," Who purchased it with His own Blood [Acts xx. 20].

IV. *The formal cause* is the Holy Spirit, through Whom we are united into one Body under Christ the Head, Who is the one Mediator between God and man [1 Tim. ii. 5]. The Holy Spirit imparts a life-giving power to the Sacraments, and His indwelling is the medium of union with Christ in the members of the body.

V. *The instrumental cause* is the Sacraments. [1] By Baptism we are made one with Christ, born again of water and of the Holy Spirit. [2] By the Holy Communion this union is cemented and renewed. Christ becomes one with us, and we one with Him; and this communion is not only with the Head, but between the members also. The One Bread is composed of many grains, which represent the members of the Body [1 Cor. x. 17], and in the cup the mixture of water and wine represents the union not with Christ only but with His people. St. Cyprian says [*Ep.* lxiii.], "Since Christ, Who bore our sins, beareth us all also, we perceive that in the water the people is understood, in the wine the Blood of Christ is represented. But when with the cup water is mixed with wine then the people is united to Christ, and the company of believers clearly joined to Him on Whom we believe. Which union of water and wine in the cup of the Lord is so intimate that the elements when mingled cannot be separated one from the other. Thence nothing whatever can separate the Church from Christ or prevent that love continuing firm and undivided."

VI. *The efficient cause* is Christ acting *through* His ministers, for although His ministers baptize and administer the Holy Communion, they act not by their own power, but ministerially according to the commission which they have received from Christ. He works with them and gives efficacy to their acts. There are many members in the Body, and to each some special office is assigned, and the clergy succeeding each other in uninterrupted succession from the Apostles are as the bands which bind together the rest of the members in one Body.

The unity of the Church is therefore preserved by the Sacraments administered by a duly constituted order of clergy, who transmit from generation to generation the commission which was first given to the Apostles. However isolated from each other the different branches of the Church have become, every genuine branch has received this commission and derived its succession from one common source, as may abundantly be proved from the history of the Church; and although they are separted from each other in external communion, in real internal communion they possess the common inheritance of an apostolic order of ministers, unity of Creeds and Sacraments, "one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." However customs may vary, they each retain by a singular providence all that is essential to the validity of sacraments and the transmission of orders. This organic unity corresponds to the union of the Father and the Son, but "the subjective unity which is the result of human but God-given love, and the harmony of human wills, must be a primary duty and a condition of our

wellbeing, not to be sacrificed, except unwillingly as a necessity involved in the conditions required" [Pusey's *Eirenicon*, part iii. p. 6].

The normal condition of the Church supposes free intercourse and a common communion existing between the different branches of the Church, and for a continuance of this our Saviour prayed in the petition that His people might be one; but this prayer implied the possibility of visible communion being interrupted, an abnormal condition which unhappily at present exists. It must therefore be considered how far the unity of the Church may be preserved amidst the interruption of visible communion. The Church of Rome excommunicates all churches which do not acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman See. It has never however authoritatively taught that the orders of the churches excommunicated are absolutely invalid, but only that they are irregular and deficient in conferring mission. The Church of England acknowledges the orders of the Roman and Oriental clergy and does not reordain those who enter her communion. With the exception of the "Filioque" clause, which is easily capable of explanation, all churches hold, in the three creeds, all that is essential to the Christian faith. Mutual explanations of definitions of faith on which they differ, and mutual forbearance with respect to national rites and customs, may be the means in God's good time of restoring to the Church such a visible unity as every Christian should desire.

The other things in which unity consists are either facts resulting from the unity or duties involved by it. The communion of saints in all gifts and graces, and the possession of a common hope, belongs to the first, whilst the sympathy, love and charity, which Christians owe each other are duties which result from their union in the Body of Christ. That all churches possessing an apostolic ministry and a common faith are included in the Body of Christ, notwithstanding the interruption of external communion, follows from what has been said; but the case of dissenters and those religious communities which have lost an apostolic ministry is one of greater difficulty. It cannot be denied that many eminent graces adorn the lives of some who are thus separated from the visible unity of the Church. Either these graces must be the result of human effort, which would contradict the words of our Lord, "Without Me ye can do nothing;" or else they must result from their indwelling in Christ. St. Augustine saw the difficulty, and his solution is one which may in charity be received without diminishing our sense of the evil of schism, or of the great importance of unity to the Church. "The Church is a living Body, in which there is a *soul* and *body;* and *the soul* is the internal gifts of the Holy Spirit, faith, hope and charity. *The Body* is the external profession of faith and communication of Sacraments: whence it happens that some are of the *soul* and *body* of the Church, and are thus united to Christ the Head, both externally and inwardly, and are most perfectly of the Church, for they are as living members in the body. Some again are of the *soul* and not of the *body*, as catechumens and excommunicated persons if they have faith and charity. Others, lastly, are of the *body* and not of the *soul*, as those who have no internal virtue, and yet through some hope or fear profess the faith and communicate in Sacraments, and such are as the nails and excrescences or evil humours in the human body" [St. Aug. *in Breviculo Collationis*, 3].

UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION. A doctrine expressly taught in Scripture and by the Fathers of the early Church: that Christ's atoning Sacrifice is of infinite value, and that He shed His Blood for all men, with a real, though not an absolute and unconditional, will for their salvation. This truth is clearly stated and often implied in Holy Scripture. It is implied in the solemn declaration that God willeth not the death of a sinner [Ezek. xviii. 23, xxxiii. 11; 2 Pet. iii. 9],[1] that Christ came to seek and to save the lost [Matt. xviii. 11], and by the explicit statement that Christ shed His Blood for all men: the same truth being declared under various forms of expression—that He died for the sins of the "world," the "whole world," "every man" [Isa. liii. 6; John i. 9, 29, iii. 17, xiv. 22; Rom. v. 18; 2 Cor. v. 14, 15, 19; 1 Tim. ii. 4-6; Heb. ii. 9; 1 John ii. 2].

That the passages above quoted can only be understood in their literal and obvious sense will appear from the fruitlessness of the many attempts, in ancient and modern times, to interpret them in accordance with the theory of predestination. "How much perplexity," says Gieseler,[2] "this passage [1 Tim. ii. 4] occasioned St. Augustine, is proved by his numerous and very forced attempts to explain it. Thus, at one time he explains 'all' to have the same meaning as 'many'[3] [*De Correp. et Gratia*, c. 14; *Contra Julian.* lib. vi. c. 8], at another, he thinks 'all men' means 'men of all sorts,' that is of all ranks and stations, 'omnis generis' [*Enchiridion*, 103]; he also gives the strange explanation, that God is said to wish all men to be saved, because He makes *us* wish it by pouring His love into our hearts [*De Correp. et Gratia*, c. 15]; and again, that this passage has the same meaning 'as if it was said that no man can be saved unless God wishes him to be saved.'"

Modern writers have not been more successful than St. Augustine in eluding the obvious meaning of the passages quoted. Calvin, following one of the interpretations of St. Augustine, says that "all" means men of all sorts or ranks.[4] It is strange that learned writers could be satisfied with this subterfuge, or even propose it as tolerably plausible; for "men of all ranks," however we may interpret the phrase, can only mean *some*

[1] "O miserrimos, si nec juranti Domino credimus" [Tertullian, *De Pœnitentia*, c. iv.].

[2] Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 383; Clark's transl.

[3] St. Augustine also interprets "all" as meaning all the predestinated: "omnes prædestinati, quia omne genus hominum in eis est" [*De Correptione et Gratia*, c. 14].

[4] "Nulli hominum ordini viam ad salutem præclusisse" [*Inst.* iii. c. 24].

persons, and thus *cannot* be identical or synonymous with "all."

The explanation given by modern Calvinistic writers is simply an evasion of the plain sense of Scripture. "No one," says Emmet (referring to Christ's dying for all men, or for the sins of the world), "at all acquainted with the lofty and figurative style of the Oriental writers is surprised to find the same lofty and, if I may so say, hyperbolical manner of speaking is generally to be met with in the Bible;"[1] and he quotes Acts ii. 5; Col. i. 23; 1 Cor. iv. 5, in proof of his assertion, that the "whole world," "every man," &c., may have reference only to a limited number, and that consequently it was only in a "qualified sense" that the Redeemer is said to have died for all. But the first two passages quoted are merely proverbial expressions common to all languages, and would not mislead whether understood literally or with limitation; while in the third passage, the word rendered "praise" signifies reward in a good or bad sense, or retribution, so that it is obvious that these passages afford no support to the arbitrary interpretation of the Scripture teaching on the universality of redemption which this writer proposes.

Again: "It seems impossible," says Toplady, "that Christ *could* die for all. Some, for instance, in our Lord's time at least, were guilty of that sin which He Himself has pronounced *absolutely unpardonable*, and would He die for the *pardon* of those whose sin He avers shall *never be pardoned?*" He then speaks of "those many final impenitents whose departed souls had been in the place of torment ages and ages before Christ was crucified at all," and that Christ could not "possibly shed His Blood on the Cross for those very souls which were at that time suffering for their sins in hell."[2] But even admitting (which is not certain) that some in our Lord's time had committed the unpardonable sin, and that others were in the place of torment, this affords no proof that they had not been redeemed by Christ's Blood, or had the means and opportunity of salvation. This writer forgets that Christ is "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," or that His death had a retrospective efficacy affording the means of grace and salvation to those who lived before, no less than after His coming; otherwise, patriarchs and righteous men of old must have been excluded from the benefits of His atonement.

There is another so called explanation of the passages before us, which is perhaps more plausible, but really quite as unsatisfactory. "Undoubtedly," says Vaughan, "there are simple elements in the Divine mind which make Him unwilling that any should perish, which would incline Him to desire that all should repent and be saved; but when the purpose of God is regarded, in which the operation of many simple elements co-existent in the same mind is combined, He cannot be said to will the salvation of all men; to will that all should be brought to repentance; to will that no sinner should die. It is plainly will and no will; that is, there are leadings and leanings in His mind to the point and on the side of mercy, but those leadings and leanings are counteracted and overruled. His whole mind, His mind in action, is against such an exercise of mercy."[3] According to this theory, the clearest declarations of the Divine will are uncertain; for, by what criterion are we to determine whether any part of Revelation be spoken with regard to the simple or combined elements of the Divine mind? But to shew its fallacy, let us interpret a most important declaration of Scripture according to the principle here laid down—"*The wicked shall be turned into hell.*" These are, we shall say, "undoubtedly elements in the Divine mind" which would incline Him everlastingly to punish the impenitent, but there are other elements, His mercy, love, &c., which "counteract" these, and induce Him to save all: so that His threat of everlasting punishment to the wicked is plainly "will and no will." His "whole mind," "His mind in action" is against such an exercise of severity. Admit the theory of this writer, and it must fairly be allowed that we have furnished the Universalist, who denies the eternity of future punishment, with plausible, if not unanswerable, argument in defence of his opinion.

Leaving Calvinistic perversions of scriptural teaching, it may further be asserted that the doctrine before us is clearly implied in the declarations of the Bible generally, understood according to their obvious or usual meaning. Thus, the Gospel is to be preached to "every creature" [Mark xvi. 15], but unless every creature be redeemed by Christ's Blood, the preaching of the Gospel, in most cases, must *necessarily* be ineffectual and useless: the offers of mercy and salvation are also to be made unreservedly to all, and the sinner's condemnation is never assigned to his being excluded from the blessings of redemption, but to *his own* unwillingness to repent and be saved. [Free Will. Reprobation.] The Predestinarian may attempt to put an interpretation on such declarations to render them accordant with his theory, but assuredly, in their obvious meaning, they presuppose or imply the doctrine of universal redemption. Again: that this doctrine is really in harmony with scriptural teaching, may also, at least, be probably gathered from the fact, that the "redeemed" and the "saved" are not represented as synonymous, or embracing the same persons: the Scripture clearly states the possibility, at least, that some of the redeemed will finally perish [Rom. xiv. 15; 1 Cor. viii. 11]. This does not prove the universality of redemption, but undoubtedly implies that Christ shed His Blood for others besides the elect, or those who shall finally be saved.

But a portion only of the language of Scripture bearing on our subject has yet been quoted: there are apparently statements limiting or con-

[1] *Statement of the Scriptural doctrines called Calvinistic*, pp. 96, 97, A.D. 1835.

[2] *Historical proof of the doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England*, i. 314, A.D. 1774.

[3] *Calvinism Maintained*, p. 113.

tradictory to the doctrine of universal redemption. Thus, Christ is said to have given His life a ransom for "many:" He died for "the sheep;" He "loved His Church and gave Himself for it:"—as if, in other words, He died only for those who shall finally be saved [Isa. liii. 12; Matt. xx. 28, xxvi. 28; John x. 11; Eph. v. 25; Heb. ix. 28].

That Christ, in an *especial sense*, died for those who shall finally be saved is unquestionable, as they only at last will reap the benefits of His atonement, but this is not irreconcileable with the doctrine of universal redemption:—Christ giving his life for "many," or for "the sheep," does not contradict the more explicit statement that He tasted death for every man. The *apparent* discrepancy is reconciled by St. Paul's words, that "God is the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe" [1 Tim. iv. 10].

The doctrine of universal redemption has never been authoritatively defined by the Church. Like other doctrines not controverted in early ages, it was generally held, and there was no need of ecclesiastical definition.[1] When the Predestinarian controversy originated, St. Augustine, according to the exigencies of his theory, denied this doctrine [CALVINISM], though there are not wanting passages in his writings in which the primitive and scriptural view is maintained.[2]

In the Second Council of Orange [Auraisicanum II., A.D. 529], it was defined that all the baptized, with the aid of Divine grace, may fulfil the conditions of salvation; and they are anathematized who assert that any are predestinated to evil.[3] Thus, Christ died for more than those who shall finally be saved, He died at least for all the baptized, or members of the Church.

This is the sum of authoritative definition on the doctrine (*de fide*), all that has been authoritatively defined by the Western Church in early ages; hence, modern theologians, as Tournely[4] and Perrone say (in the words of the former) of universal redemption, "Vera est, pia, Catholica et *proxima* fidei sententia."

In the Council of Trent, we find in substance the teaching of the synod of Orange,[5] and a repetition of the language of Scripture, that Christ died for all.[6] Two popes (Innocent X. and Alexander VII.) have condemned the proposition that it is Semi-Pelagian to say that Christ died or shed His Blood for all men.

The Predestinarian (Augustinian) controversy was almost unknown, or excited little attention in the East. The doctrine of universal redemption, as taught by the Fathers of the Greek and Latin Church, is now held by the Eastern Church, and is thus expressed in the "Orthodox Confession" (quæst. xlvii.): "Christ upon the Cross fulfilled the Priesthood (ἐπλήρου τὴν ἱερωσύνην), offering Himself to God and the Father for the redemption of the race of man, as speaks the Apostle of Him . . ." [1 Tim. ii. 6].

The Church of England unquestionably teaches that Christ died for more than the elect, or those who shall finally be saved: she maintains in the Catechism, that the Son of God redeemed "all mankind;" in the 31st Article, that the Offering of Christ was made "for all the sins of the whole world;" and to every communicant is said, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for *thee*. The Blood . . . which was shed for *thee*."

The teaching of the Church of England is thus inconsistent with the Calvinistic theory, that the elect only have been redeemed by Christ's death; agreeing with the decree of the Council referred to, that *all* the baptized have been really placed in a state of salvation. It probably goes even beyond this definition, when declaring in the 31st Article, that the Offering of Christ is that "perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, original and actual." And though the mere use (without explanation) of a scriptural phrase, "the whole world," would hardly afford definite proof of the teaching of our Church, yet it must be observed that we have not merely in the article the repetition of a scriptural expression, but an important addition is made which strengthens and renders its meaning more definite. St. John says, "Christ died not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world," but in the article we read, that the Offering of Christ was for "*all* the sins of the whole world, both original and actual." It seems impossible with greater precision to express the doctrine of Universal Redemption.

UNIVERSALISM. The belief (founded on a denial of the doctrine of eternal punishment) that finally impenitent sinners (after, it may be, temporary suffering in the future world), and also the devil and fallen angels, will at last be forgiven and restored to happiness. This opinion was held by Origen and his followers in the early Church, and at the present day is maintained by some sects, especially by those which maintain the Unitarian theory. It is also held, in a less definite manner, by some otherwise orthodox Christians. As a distinct sect the Universalists are hardly known among English people, but they have obtained a very widespread and firm footing in America. As an opinion, however, Universalism is very common among English laymen, and has been maintained even by a few divines; the most influential of whom, in recent times, has been Professor Maurice.

[1] The consensus of the Fathers on the universality of redemption before the Augustinian controversy, is shewn by Petavius, *De Incarnatione*, lib. xiii., and Vossius, *Historia Pelagiana*, lib. vii.

[2] Thus he says of Judas, "Projecit enim pretium argenti, quo ab illo Dominus venditus erat, nec agnoscit pretium quo ipse a Dominus redemptus erat" [*Enarrationes in Psalmos*, lxviii.].

[3] Hoc enim secundum fidem Catholicam credimus, quod accepta per baptismum gratia, omnes baptisatos Christo auxiliante et co-operante, quæ ad salutem animæ pertinent, possunt et debeant si fideliter laborare voluerint adimplere. Aliquos vero ad malum divina potestate prædestinatos esse non solum non credimus sed etiam si sunt qui tantum malum credere velint, cum omni detestatione illis anathema dicimus [Canon xxv.]

[4] *Prælectiones de Deo.*

[5] *De Justificatione*, can. 17.

[6] *Sessio* vi. 3.

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The final restoration of all sinners to happiness, and the favour of God, is maintained by Universalists on the ground that the final exclusion of any soul from happiness would be contrary to the illimitable love of God: that the wrath of God is only exercised against sin, and against the sinner while guilty of sin; repentance, even in the future life, bringing about a restoration to His love. But this supposes a distinction between sin and the sinner which is not only without foundation in Holy Scripture, but is contradictory to its statements. We are nowhere told as regards a future state that God's wrath against sin will *only* continue so long as sin remains, but that the *sinner* himself who dies impenitent will be eternally punished. *They*, says our Lord, the *wicked*, will go into everlasting punishment: the smoke of *their* torment ascendeth up for ever and ever.

Again, it is asserted that the Scripture has no plain dogmatic statements at all as to the possibility or impossibility of repentance after death (*i.e.* in hell). There are terrible threats of divine vengeance which will overtake the ungodly; but there are some distinct utterances of a hope embracing all times, existences and states, and the specific question at issue does not seem to be raised in Scripture. Such utterances are supposed to be contained in 1 Cor. xv. 22-28; Eph. i. 9, 10; Phil. ii. 9-11; Col. i. 19, 20.[1]

[1] It is evident that the passages which Universalists thus quote, to the effect that "every knee shall bow at the name of Jesus," or that all things in heaven and earth shall be subjected to His power, do not imply the truth of universalism, since *evil* spirits, both now and through eternal ages, as was the case when our Lord lived upon earth, will obey His commands and acknowledge His supreme dominion. In similar quotations from the Ephesians and Colossians we have a statement of the object or purpose of redemption. In the former Epistle St. Paul says that it was God's εὐδοκία, or gracious purpose, to gather together, not only redeemed humanity, but all things (τὰ πάντα), animate and inanimate, under one Head; and in the passage from the Epistle to the Colossians the same word is used (εὐδόκησε), and the purpose of Redemption is described in similar terms, "that it was God's gracious design that in Christ should all fulness dwell, and that by His Cross all things should be reconciled to God, both which are on earth and also in the heavens." The Apostle's meaning by "things in the heavens" is unknown, but the passage cannot fairly be supposed to imply more than God's *purpose* or *design*, which, as we learn from other passages of Scripture, through man's sinfulness has not been accomplished. The passage from the first Epistle to the Corinthians may most plausibly be cited in sanction of the theory before us. The Apostle says "that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive"—that all things shall be subject unto Christ, and Christ Himself be subject to the Father, that God may be "all in all." Now such declarations, taken in what appears their literal sense, undoubtedly may be understood in the sense of universal restoration, *i.e.* that all created beings will be subdued to the gracious sceptre of Christ, and that God, in fulness of knowledge and love, will be "all in all." This interpretation is not only doubtful, however, but for obvious reasons, improbable. The Apostle, it must be noticed, in this chapter is speaking only of the happiness of the saints, and the future state of the reprobate is not alluded to: this manifestly, as will be seen, limits the meaning of "all," *i.e.* those in whom God will finally dwell, and shews in what sense it must be understood. The Apostle's meaning may be thus paraphrased, He first says that there will be a universal resurrection, that as all die through union with Adam, so, through Christ's assumption of our nature, all will rise from the dead: and then adds, that Christ is the first-fruits of the resurrection, and afterwards that *they that are Christ's* will rise at His coming: to these, *i.e.* the saints, he subsequently alludes. Christ, he says, will put all enemies under His feet; every hostile power that afflicted His Church will be destroyed; death, their last and greatest enemy, will be finally vanquished, and the happiness of the redeemed will be consummated: "God will be in them all in all." These words (in illustration of these passages) are referred by the Fathers, as St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Gregory Nyssen, and St. Bernard [see à Lapide, *in loco*], to the eternal felicity of the saints, which is the completion of happiness, as our union with God will then be *perfect*, not alloyed or interrupted, as in the present world, by infirmity or sin.

Now, it may fairly be admitted that the passages quoted *do* appear to favour Universalism, and might have been so understood had it been elsewhere taught in Scripture; but they are of no weight whatever in opposition to its clearest and most emphatic declarations. The Apostle here says that God will be all in all, that all things shall be subdued unto Christ, reconciled unto Himself, and that every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father, but such declarations must be viewed in connection with other passages of Scripture which contradict the doctrine of universal restoration; and also according to scriptural usage and the meaning which can only be given to many parallel passages. Thus our Lord says that, when lifted up on the Cross—referring to the present efficacy of His atonement—He will draw all men unto Him. No declaration can be more positive and unequivocal, and yet literally understood it is not merely untrue, but contradictory to other statements of Scripture, as *e.g.* that no man can come to Christ except the Father draw him, and that they only are drawn who hear and learn of the Father [John vi. 44, 45]—certainly not all men. Such is the usage of Scripture: a thing is spoken of as being really effected, to indicate the *certainty* of the purpose, and that every provision has been made for its being accomplished, though eventually through man's sinfulness, God's purpose may be frustrated.

Again, Christ died for all men, and God would have all men to be saved—obviously leading to the supposition, at least, that all mankind will at last be saved: yet in other passages of Scripture there is apparently a discordant statement that Christ died for "many," laid down His life for "the sheep;" and the object of redemption is said to be to gather together in one the children of God which are scattered abroad.

Now these considerations may serve to illustrate the declarations of St. Paul, who speaks of Christ's redemption as if fully realized in the universal restoration and salvation of mankind, a result which becomes impossible through man's wilful disobedience and refusal of the offers of grace. Again, let it be observed that the two differing and apparently contradictory forms of expression quoted from Scripture are necessarily subversive of the theory of universalism: nothing is clearer than the statement of an universal pro-

vision of grace, and the application of it *only* to certain individuals. All are redeemed, the sheep only are saved: the many are called, few are chosen. The King [see Isaiah vi. 5, τὸν βασιλέα Κύριον σαβαὼθ εἶδον, comp. with John xii. 41] on the Cross, when one of the malefactors perished in his sins, and the other was saved by the precious Bloodshedding, typified the irreversible sentence to be proclaimed on His Throne of Judgment, when the righteous enter into the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world, and the wicked shall depart into everlasting fire.

It has been alleged that the three Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians having been written at the close of St. Paul's career, were free, bold, and hopeful as to the result of Christ's redeeming work, and abstained from assigning any limit to it. But on referring to the Epistles to the Thessalonians, probably the first written by St. Paul, we shall find that the eternal punishment of the wicked is stated most emphatically: he speaks of their being punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord [2 Epist. i. 9]. "Chrysostom and Theophylact ask can any one venture to say that *future* punishments are only *for a time?*"[1] but if St. Paul in later epistles spake more hopefully of the future state of the impenitent, how can we think that he wrote under Divine guidance and inspiration. The very supposition of a total change of opinion on this all-important subject can only be made on the theory that he was in the same position as other uninspired teachers; and thus, after years of ministerial experience, he saw reason to modify his statement to the Thessalonians, or rather to abandon it: a supposition it may be admitted probable enough in the case supposed, but totally impossible if the Apostle wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

As a further proof of the untenableness of the theory before us, a few remarks may be added on the arguments in its favour by Martensen. He admits that the doctrine of eternal punishment *is* taught or clearly implied in Scripture in such passages as Matt. xii. 32; Mark ix. 43, and 1 John v. 16, if taken in their literal sense; but asserts that the doctrine of universal restoration is also clearly taught according to the literal meaning of passages before quoted from St. Paul's Epistles. He says: "This apparent contradiction in the language of Scripture shews that Scripture itself does not afford us a final dogmatic solution of the question. He who seeks to establish the doctrine of (ἀποκατάστασις) universal restoration, must invalidate those texts which make mention of eternal damnation, must limit and pare them down according to this idea; and he who would establish eternal damnation as a dogma by means of Scripture is obliged to limit and pare down those texts which speak for the ἀποκατάστασις, according to this idea: for example, when the Apostle says 'as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive,' he must explain the second 'all' as meaning 'some,' and he must take the first 'all' in a particular and equally restricted sense. We readily grant that the Word of God cannot contradict itself, and that the antinomy here presented must really be solved in the depth of God's Word. We only maintain that this solution is nowhere expressly given; and we ask whether we may not recognise Divine Wisdom in the fact that a final solution is not given while we are still in the stream of time and in the course of development?"[2]

The question at issue is not in the passage quoted fairly and impartially brought forward. It might be supposed from Dr. Martensen's statement that there were a number of passages in Scripture implying universalism, and others teaching eternal condemnation, whereas there is only one passage of really doubtful meaning in St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians which *seems* to favour universalism; and on the other hand, there are express and oft-repeated declarations in the Old Testament, and by the Apostles and our Lord, which, in their obvious and literal sense, are inconsistent with such meaning, and explicitly teach and imply the doctrine of God's eternal punishment of sinners. Again, it is not correct to say that the "apparent contradictions of Scripture do not afford a final dogmatic solution of the difficulty," since the *apparent* contradictions are of no real weight—an obscure and difficult passage against the clearest, most unequivocal declarations. But even supposing the truth of Martensen's statement, let us examine its inevitable result. He says that the eternal condemnation of the wicked is taught in some passages, and universal restoration is implied in other declarations of Scripture; in this case the only conclusion can be that the teaching of Scripture is not *apparently*, but *really* contradictory. Both opinions cannot be true, nor by any subtlety of language be reconciled together. If St. Paul does teach the theory of universal restoration, his teaching is unequivocally opposed and contradictory to many express declarations of Holy Scripture; and it is simply absurd to say, that there are depths in the Divine Word to reconcile statements obviously contradictory, or that the assertions however explained or interpreted *can be* true, that the finally impenitent *shall* and yet *shall not* be eternally punished. The Lutheran bishop, however unwillingly, is, in common phrase, playing into the hands of infidel writers, who say the Bible is full of contradictions, and as such (and who if the statement be true can deny the inference) cannot be from God.

The theory of final restoration shews the danger of rejecting in the interpretation of Scripture the guidance and traditional faith of the Church, which has never sanctioned that interpretation of St. Paul's teaching which Dr. Martensen and others plausibly maintain. That it is, and must be, untrue is certain from the fact that it would (as already stated) involve the declarations of Scripture in utter confusion and contradiction.

[1] Bishop Wordsworth's *Comment. on the New Testament, in loc.*

[2] *Christian Dogmatics*, p. 476; Clark's transl.

V

VATICAN CODEX. An ancient Greek MS. of the Old and New Testaments quoted as Codex "B." It was placed in the Vatican Library early in the sixteenth century, and is numbered 1209 in that collection. Its history, previous to its being deposited at Rome, is unknown. What was defective in the original MS. has been supplied by a late cursive hand, and it has been thought that this was done when it was presented to the library.

It is written on very thin vellum, in small uncial characters. There are three columns to the page, except in the stichometrical portions of the Old Testament, where two columns are used. There were originally neither accents nor breathings; but these have been added, though so delicately as to be now almost invisible. The initials are of the same size as the text, but larger initials have been added in the margin. The following is the order of its contents:—

Genesis (incomplete).	Nahum.
Exodus.	Habakkuk.
Leviticus.	Zephaniah.
Numbers.	Haggai.
Deuteronomy.	Zechariah.
Joshua.	Malachi.
Judges.	Isaiah.
Ruth.	Jeremiah.
1, 2, 3, 4 Kings.	Baruch.
1, 2 Chronicles.	Lamentations.
1, 2 Esdras.	Epistle of Jeremiah.
Nehemiah.	Ezekiel.
Psalms (incomplete).	Daniel.
Proverbs.	4 Evangelists.
Ecclesiastes.	Acts.
Song of Solomon.	James.
Job.	1, 2 Peter.
Wisdom of Solomon.	1, 2, 3 John.
Wisdom of Sirach.	Jude.
Esther.	Romans.
Judith.	1, 2 Corinthians.
Tobit.	Galatians.
Hosea.	Ephesians.
Amos.	Philippians.
Micah.	Colossians.
Joel.	1, 2 Thessalonians.
Obadiah.	Hebrews (incomplete).
Jonah.	

The greater part of Genesis is wanting, the MS. beginning at πόλιν, εἰς γῆν, Gen xlvi. 28. There are deficiencies also from Psa. cv. 27 to cxxxvii. 6, and in a few isolated passages; the Pastoral Epistles[1] and Book of Revelation are altogether wanting, and the MS. ends at Heb. ix. 14, τῷ θεῷ καθα . . . the rest being supplied by a later hand. The Epistle to the Hebrews was intended to come between the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians, as appears from the numbering of its sections.

The Gospels have neither the Ammonian sections nor the Eusebian canons; nor even the division into larger chapters, but another which is unique. They are divided into 170, 61, 152, and 80 sections respectively. Similar divisions are made in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, the Epistles of St. Paul being regarded as one book. There are fewer contractions than in most ancient MSS., a few dialectic peculiarities occur, such as λήμψονται, εἶπαν, συνκαλοῦσιν, the ν ἐφελκυστικὸν before consonants, and others. It is generally considered as of the earlier half of the fourth century.

This Codex was used as the basis of the Roman edition of the LXX. in 1586. It was first collated by Bartolocci in 1669. About A.D. 1720 Dr. T. Bentley examined and described it; and it was collated by Mico for Dr. R. Bentley, his MS. being preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge. Birch collated the New Testament, except the last two Gospels, and in 1788 published his edition of the Greek Gospels. The long-promised edition by Cardinal Mai, the printing of which was completed in 1838, was at last issued in 1857. It is printed in ordinary Greek type, of rather large character. In this edition the lacunæ in the original are supplied not from the corrections and continuations of the Codex itself, but from other codices in the Vatican Library. Thus the defective portion of Genesis is supplied, partly [chaps. i.-v.] from MS. 1 Reg. Sve., and partly from MS. 10 Reg. Sve. The Pastoral Epistles are taken from MS. 1761, of the tenth century; and the Apocalypse from MS. 2066, attributed to the eighth century. Other lacunæ are supplied from various sources, noted as they occur.

The editor corrects obvious errors of the copyist, mentioning the fact in each case. The only instance of the later portion of the Codex itself being used in this edition is in the Psalter. The Cardinal attributes the non-appearance of the work to his dissatisfaction at his own labours. "Sibi facile suasit suam editionem, nisi curiosius noviterque

[1] The Pastoral Epistles are not even supplied by the later hand; but some editors, as Dr. Bloomfield, have, through some strangely careless mistake, given readings from these epistles, as from Codex B. [Horne's *Introduction*, ed. Davidson and Tregelles, A.D. 1856.]

castigaretur, criticis studiis haud maxime profuturam; utpote quæ non satis accurata evasisset." The whole was therefore again carefully collated, and some pages wholly re-done. The Cardinal did not live to write exhaustive Prolegomena, but a preface was found among his papers when he died in 1854. The present issue was prepared by Vercellone. The edition fell far short of what the learned world had been led to hope for. Tischendorf says of it, "Procul eam esse a perfectiore forma, quam viri docti et criticarum rationum amantes tali in opere vel maxime requirunt, quum ipse celeberrimus editor satis sensisse videtur, tum ingenue professus est præfationis auctor. . . . Nihilominus omnium collationum supplementa præbet plurima, nec exiguum nostri apparatus exstitit subsidium."

Professor Ormsby published in 1860 a Greek Testament, with notes from this edition, and prefixed a notice of the Codex, which is chiefly taken from Hug, *De Antiquitate Codicis Vaticani Commentatio*, written by Hug when the Codex was at Paris in 1810.

VAUDOIS. [Waldenses.]

VENIAL SIN. [Sin.]

VERNACULAR, from "verna," the slave born in the house, formerly signified "endemic" or "indigenous;" so in the time of the Commonwealth Dr. Harvey speaks of consumption as being the "vernacular disease of England." The term, however, is now restricted to dialect, meaning the common language of a country, which is the only language for its service of prayer and praise: "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people" [Art. XXIV.]. The civil law commanded that the Eucharist should be celebrated so as to be heard and *understood* by the people, "We will and command that all bishops and priests celebrate the Holy Eucharist, not in a low voice, but with a loud and clear voice, which may be heard by the faithful; that thereby the minds of the hearers may be raised with greater devotion to set forth the praises of the Lord God; for so the Apostle teacheth in his first epistle to the Corinthians." [Justinian, *Novell.* 123, 137.]

The evidence in Scripture is wholly in favour of a vernacular service. The first operation of the Holy Spirit in the Christian Church was to shew that the praise of God was to be told forth, not in languages known only to the learned, such as Greek and Latin and Syriac, but in the rough native dialect of "devout men, out of every nation under heaven" [Acts ii. 5] who were present at Jerusalem at the first Christian Pentecost. St. Paul affirms the same thing. Corinth had become once more the busy mart that it had been from the time of Thucydides [i. 13] till its destruction by Mummius [B.C. 146]; it was a great thoroughfare for the races of the East and of the West, ὅδος καὶ διέξοδος πάντων ἀνθρώπων [Aristides]. Every language was heard in its streets; and the gift of tongues was of the highest importance there; but St. Paul was careful to restrain its exercise within the limits of practical utility, and his terms point clearly to the use of vernacular liturgies. "When thou shalt bless [εὐλογήσῃς] with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks [τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ], seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" [1 Cor. xiv. 16]. St. Paul had already applied the same terms in speaking of liturgical consecration; "The cup of blessing which we bless [τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν], is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ?" [1 Cor. x. 16]. "The Lord Jesus, in the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread, and when He had given thanks [εὐχαριστήσας] He brake it" [1 Cor. xi. 23]. Chrysostom understands 1 Cor. xiv. 16 of priestly consecration, ἰδιώτην δὲ τὸν λαϊκὸν λέγει, and says that the laity would be deprived of a great privilege if deprived of their Amen, viz., the final Amen that closed the Eucharistic Service, οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων τὸ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ὅπερ ἐστὶ τέλος, οὐ λέγει τὸ Ἀμήν. It may be noted that the Liturgy of Antioch, which Chrysostom had in his mind, closed with the clause "for ever and ever, Amen." The liturgical use of the vernacular had become so common as to have passed into an abuse which the Apostle checked; all things were to be "done for edifying," and there could be no edification where the celebrant used words which the most part of the congregation could not understand. "He that hath no tongue, and he that hath none to be understood, is alike insignificant to me." [Bp. Taylor, *Dissuasive*, I. i. 8.] There was no violation of ecclesiastical analogy in the exhibition of more than one language, if necessary, in public service; for St. Jerome records that at the funeral of Paula the Psalms were sung in Greek, Latin, and Syriac, because men from countries represented by those languages were there. [Hieron. *ad Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ Matr.* iv. p. 687.] In Wales, at the present day, the prayers are often in English, the sermon in Welsh.

Justin Martyr's account of the celebration is in keeping with the Apostle's words given above. Prayer being over, an offering is made of bread and wine and water, and forthwith the principal minister [ὁ προεστὼς] puts up prayers and thanksgivings [ἐυχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας]; and these praises were fully "understanded of the people," for they "responded their assent [*cf.* ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον], pronouncing the Amen" [καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν. Just. M. *Apol.* i. p. 98. Thirlby. Harvey, *Vindex Catholicus*, iii. 169.] There can be no doubt but that the venerable Martyr here made reference to a vernacular liturgy, and that the Amen was the congregational response at the end of the prayer of blessing as handed down to us in every existing liturgy. If it be conceded, contrary to all evidence, that St. Paul was not speaking of the celebration of the Eucharist, he was at any rate giving apostolical directions with respect to the decent performance of public worship; and he demands that it should be conducted in the vernacular language of the congregation, without

which there could be no congregational worship. It is very certain that from the first the Scriptures were translated and the liturgy celebrated in the churches in the vernacular tongue. The pure Word of God has still been the light and guide of His people. Before the day of Christ the Jewish Church was careful to set the law before the people of God in their own language; and the Church of Christ has not been less careful of the eternal interest of her children. The Scriptures were speedily translated into Latin and Syriac [Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 37]: and as the preaching of the Cross was carried further, we find that both a version of the Scriptures and a vernacular liturgy were possessed by Egyptians, Ethiopians, Abyssinians, Armenians, Goths, Sclavonic tribes, and Anglo-Saxons. Cassiodorus explains the words of the Psalmist, "She shall be brought to the king in raiment of divers colours" [Psa. xlv. 14], of the diversities of language in the Church, in which the praises of God were sung; "Linguas multiplices significat; quia omnis gens secundum suam patriam in Ecclesia psallit auctori."

The precise words of our Liturgy are met with in different sections of the Primitive Church, and in various languages [Cyril Hieros. *Catech. Myst.* v. 4. Cypr. *de Or. Dom.* 19. Harvey's *Ecci. Angl. Vind. Apost.* ii. 90, iii. 308. See also Hilar. *in Ps.* lxv.]. The pure Word of God is the guide of His people now, as the Law was a light to His people of old. And as the Jewish Church was careful to make the Law and the Prophets familiar to the people by means of vernacular translations, so it is owing to the motherly care of the Church in these later days that her children are nourished with the pure Word of God in their own language. Chrysostom, in his homily at the close of a Gothic service, declared that it was a mark of true faith in the Church to place barbarian and Greek on the same level by means of a vernacular liturgy. [Chrys. xii. 512, ed. Bened. Paris, 1838.] And the Church of England nowhere establishes her high Apostolic mission more clearly than when she prescribes that the Holy Scriptures and the prayers shall be read, and the Sacraments administered in English. It is not meant that no church can be Apostolical that does not adopt the same course, though it be a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the custom of the Primitive Church to deviate from it; if prayers be in a dead language translation may give to them a living power. But a church that takes care that Scripture, Liturgy and Sacraments are brought home to the intelligence of the people in their vernacular tongue is discharging its office in the spirit of the Apostle, who declared that he would rather speak five words in the Church with the understanding, that he might edify others, "than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue" [1 Cor. xiv. 19. Ussher, *de Scr. et Sacr. Vernac.* Bp. Browne *on Art. XXIV.* Palmer's *Antiq. of Eng. Ritual*, iv. 15. Bingham, *Ant.* xiii. 4. Horne, *Introd.* vol. II. i. 2. Bishop Taylor, *Dissuasive*, I. i. 7.]

VERSIONS. The different versions of Scripture may be classed as: [1] those that were made directly from the Hebrew; [2] daughters of the Septuagint translation; [3] the Latin Vulgate; and [4] daughters of the Vulgate.

I. In the order of Providence the way was prepared for the evangelization of the world by the publication of the LXX. Version. The title of "Christ the Lord" first opens upon us in its pages. Πνεῦμα προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Κύριος [Lam. iv. 20]. Commerce consequent upon conquest had made the Greek language universal when Christ appeared, and no religion could be of Catholic acceptance that was not conveyed in a Greek form. The LXX. was composed when Hebrew was still a living language.

The true history of the Septuagint translation is lost. The name is generally traced back to the mythical relation of Aristeas, which, till the time of Jerome and even afterwards, met with implicit credence. The oft-told tale need not be repeated. It was first discredited by Jerome [*Præf. in Pent. Ep.* civ.]. In modern times the story was rejected by Ludovicus Vives [*in August. Civ. Dei.* xviii. 42]; while its flimsiness has been exposed by Scaliger [*Eus. Chron.*], Fabricius [*Bibl. Gr.*], and with more minute learning by Hody [*de Text. Bibl. Orig.* i]. The Jewish records are not silent upon the subject. The Jerusalem Talmud contents itself with affirming that the version was executed by order of Ptolemy without entering into detail; the Mechilta, an exegetical work of the first century, says the same thing; but the Babylonian Talmud speaks of the seventy-two elders placed in separate cells, and translating the Law by King Ptolemy's command; when "The Ever Blessed put understanding into each man's heart, so that one and all gave the same meaning" [*Talm. Bab. Megilla* 9, B]. Philo, after recounting the same story, adds that a yearly festival was instituted at Alexandria similar to the Feast of Tabernacles in honour of the event; though a later Talmudic hand [*Taanith*, 50, B] records that the day, eighth Thebet, was kept as a fast, and as a day of affliction no less bitter than that which commemorated the golden calf in Horeb [*Sopherim*, i. 7]; also that a three days' darkness gave evidence of the Divine wrath. The version was seen to be a bright weapon in the armoury of the Church, and Jewish opinion had then changed. There is doubtless a nucleus of truth in the story. The LXX. very possibly originated at Alexandria from the religious requirements of the Jewish settlers, and obtained its name from the Great Sanhedrin of seventy-two members, including Nasî and Ab Beth Dîn, under whose direction it may have been made. The Law was first translated under the two first Ptolemies. The Talmudic treatise *Sopherim* [c. i.] says that the version of the Law was made by five elders in the time of King Ptolemy; each book of the Law having perhaps been entrusted to a separate scribe. The style of the five books, to which that of Joshua may be added, exhibits unity of plan and identity of age; yet there is sufficient

variation to shew that it was not the work of one man. Ewald does not discredit the idea that the version may have emanated from the wish of Ptolemy II. to add the Jewish Law to the collection of national codes that he made, as Plutarch informs us [*Volk Isr.* iv. 326].

Accounts vary with respect to the particular reign in which the Septuagint version was commenced. The Talmud and patristical authority are in favour of Ptolemy Soter, the son of Lagus, founder of the dynasty; while Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus say that the translation was made by order of his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. It may have been executed during the two years of joint administration [B.C. 285-286]. The Babylonian Talmud allows to it a certain degree of divine direction, if not of inspiration. Both Talmuds also observed certain discrepancies between the translation and the original in thirteen places. Only four of these hold good as regards the modern text [Gen. ii. 2]; where God is said to have completed the work of creation on the sixth day, whereas Moses included the Sabbath, as also among the number of things created. In Exod. xii. 40, after "Egypt" the LXX. Version inserts καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν [Talm., "and in other countries"], to make better work of the chronology [see Bishop Wordsworth's note and Gal. iii. 17]; the Samaritan Pentateuch also agrees with the LXX. [Numb. xvi. 15] "I have not taken from thee an ass" [חמור]; where the LXX. have ἐπιθύμημα [חמוד], "objet d'agrément." In Lev. xi. 6, for "hare" the LXX. have δασύποδα, as the Talmud says, "Lest the King should think that they made a jest of the name" [Lagus]. These instances of divergence, it may be remarked, were taken exclusively from the Pentateuch.

A Greek version of portions of the Pentateuch is indicated yet earlier than the date of the Ptolemies [Aristobulus, quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. p. 410, ed Potter, and by Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 6, and xiii. 12], and an account of the history and legislation of Moses may very possibly have existed in a Greek form before the entire Pentateuch was translated, towards the close of the third century B.C. The first evidence that we have of the completion of the rest of the sacred books is contained in the preface to the Book of Wisdom, which speaks of a Greek version of "the Law and the Prophets and other Books" as already existing when the Son of Sirach wrote in the thirty-eighth year of Ptolemy Euergetes, *i.e.* about 130 B.C. It may be inferred, therefore, that they were completed after the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and before that of Ptolemy Physcon or Euergetes II. The only translator's name on record is that of Lysimachus at the end of the Book of Esther, who translated it in the reign of Ptolemy. It has been said that if the version of the Book of Job be as recent as the concluding words, it must have been written after the commencement of the Christian era, "Job died in old age, and full of days; and it is written that he shall rise again with those whom the Lord doth raise" [xlii. 17]. But the words are in exact keeping with the faith in a resurrection of the just enounced by the seven martyred brethren in the Second Book of Maccabees [c. vii.], and may well have been written in the time of the Great Synagogue [see also LXX. Psa. i. 5, xlix. 15; Job xix. 26; Isa. xxvi. 19].

The language of the LXX. is the Hellenistic Greek of Alexandria, based upon the Attic dialect. Egypt was evidently the land of its birth. Peculiarities of the version place the ancient readings of the copy clearly before the mind's eye. Faulty division shews a continuously written line without spacing the words. The finial letters מנצפך were not yet in use [1 Chron. xvii. 10; Psa. xiii. 6, 7, xliv. 5, cvi. 5; Isa. i. 26, 27; Hos. vi. 3, 5; Zech. xi. 2]. Also the text was unpointed [Gen. xv. 11; Exod. xii. 17; Numb. xvi. 5; Deut. xv. 18; Isa. ix. 8, xxiv. 23], as seen everywhere in proper names. The chronology of the LXX. varies from the dead reckoning of the Hebrew by the addition of about 1500 years to the years A.M. down to the call of Abraham; a calculation that is now generally received [Walton's *Proleg.*]. The Samaritan text here, as in Exod. xii. 40, agrees with the LXX.; as do the more ancient historians quoted by Josephus, viz., Demetrius Phalereus, who, however, had certainly seen the Pentateuch in LXX., the elder Philo, and Eupolemus,[1] to whom also the LXX. version of Job was known. The historian Alexander referred the Deluge to 2284 A.M., and from thence to the Exodus he reckoned 1340 years. A desire is plainly observable in the LXX. translators to tone down the rougher instances of anthropopathia in the Hebrew Scriptures [*cf.* Exod. xxiv. 10; Frankel, *Vorstud.* 174, 179]; and accommodate its language to the pro-cosmic ideas of Plato [Franck, *Etudes Or.* 290; Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. V. Isr. Excurs.* 27, sec. 1; compare in LXX., Gen. i. 2, ii. 4, 5, with Wisd. xi. 17].

The LXX. is the parent of every ancient version of Scripture, with the exception of the Syriac Peshito, and the Samaritan. It was the sole standard of authority during the first four centuries, and has been the Bible of the Eastern Church from the very first. The language of the New Dispensation is one with this version of the Old, which has stereotyped the truth of the Gospel till "tongues shall cease." It has always been as Chrysostom termed it, πύλη τῶν ἐθνῶν, the gate of Gentile access to Christ.

Without maintaining with Philo, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Augustine, the plenary inspiration of the LXX. version, we may reasonably believe that the minds of the writers were controlled; and that words having a certain sense in Attic Greek, the basis of the Macedonian dialect, received through the Spirit of Wisdom a new adjustment in the language of religion, and

[1] 140 B.C.; see Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17, 26, 30-34, 39, and compare the fragments from the Jewish writer Artapanus, *ib.* 18, 23, 27; Demetrius, 150 B.C., *ib.* 21, 29, and Aristeas, *ib.* 25, all of which are taken from the work of Polyhistor Alexander, 90-80 B.C.

acquired their destined bearing from the deep truths of revelation. Such are the following words:—'Αγαπητὸς, ἁγιασμὸς, ᾅδης, αἴρειν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, αἰώνιος, ἄφεσις, διάβολος, διαθήκη, δικαιοσύνη, δικαίωσις, δοξὰ, ἐκκλησία, ἐντυγχάνειν, εὐχαριστεῖν, θυσία, ἱλασμὸς, καρδία, κτίζειν, κύριος, λύτρωσις, μεσίτης, μετάνοια, μονογενὴς, ξύλον, παντοκράτωρ, πέτρα, πίστις, πνεῦμα, σὰρξ, σκάνδαλον, σκηνόω, σωτὴρ, Χριστὸς, ψυχή.

The use made of the LXX. in the New Testament has rendered it very precious to the Church. Of three hundred and fifty direct quotations from the Old Testament, scarcely fourteen per cent. differ materially from the Septuagint.[1] Of thirty-seven quotations ascribed to our Saviour, thirty-three agree almost verbatim with the LXX.; two follow the Hebrew and differ from the LXX.; one agrees with neither, and another partly with both [Grinfield, *Apol. for LXX.* 31]. In the speech of St. Stephen there are nearly thirty quotations from the LXX. The Ethiopian eunuch was converted by reading the LXX. All the quotations in the Acts of the Apostles are taken from this version, and wherever the word γραφὴ occurs, it means the LXX. The epistles of St. James and St. Peter being addressed to Hellenists by birth, are fully furnished with quotations from the LXX. St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and deeply versed in the Hebrew Scriptures, yet quotes the LXX. on all occasions. His first and longest address in the synagogue at Pisidia is full of allusions to the LXX. His vocabulary is wholly supplied from the same source, and this is no less true of the immediate successors of the Apostles. Timothy, of Hellenistic parentage, could only have been instructed in the LXX. version [2 Tim. iii. 15].

In the third century two recensions of the LXX. were extant. The ancient text preserved in libraries and churches; and a common or κοινὴ[2] edition, altered by accident, or private whim, and liberally interpolated from the margin. Origen took upon himself the task of purifying it.[3] He arranged the *Tetrapla* in four parallel columns, containing the versions of Aquila and Symmachus; the former rendered "verbum e verbo," with servile minuteness, the latter "sensum e sensu," with a freer hand [Hierom. *in Job*]. A third column contained the κοινὴ, and in the last column was the version of Theodotion. To these were added the Hebrew text in Hebrew, and the same in Greek characters, which thus formed the Hexapla. Origen made the κοινὴ square with the Hebrew text, by marking redundancies with an "obelus," and supplying deficiencies from other versions, principally from that of Theodotion; noting his insertions with an asterisk.[4] [Jerom. *Comm. in Dan. Præf.*]

Three other imperfect versions having been discovered by Origen, were added afterwards. The Hexapla was too voluminous for any practical use, and it remained in the library at Cæsarea till its destruction by the Arabs [A.D. 653]. In the fourth century Eusebius and Pamphilus republished the κοινὴ, as the most familiar to the people, using the diacritical marks of Origen; these, however, became displaced and intermixed, or were altogether omitted, and the only result of Origen's labour was to leave the text in a far worse condition than before. Very nearly at the same time, Lucian the Martyr published, at Constantinople, a recension, which was partly a re-translation. Hesychius, an Egyptian presbyter, performed a similar work at Alexandria, making a liberal use of the later Greek versions [*Ernesti.* 15]. From the intermixture of all these elements of error, with the addition of others from unknown versions, the original text of the Alexandrian version is gone past recovery. Jerome says of these various recensions, "Alexandria et Ægyptus in LXX. suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinoplis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos legunt codices, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt, totusque orbis hac inter se contraria varietate pugnat" [*Comm. in Dan. Præf.*]

The principal MSS. of the Septuagint Version are the Codex Alexandrinus [A]; the Codex Vaticanus [B]; and the Codex Sinaiticus [א]. Each of these three will be found described in a separate article. The fragmentary Codex Cottonianus [Evv] of the British Museum is the most ancient as yet known. It was considered by Dr. Holmes to have been the most correct and valuable of all the MSS., agreeing perfectly with no other text of the LXX., and representing, as he imagined, Origen's Tetraplar copy. The Codex Ambrosianus, in the Milan Library, and the Codex Coislinianus of the Paris collection, are both of the seventh century.

The Ephraem Rescript [C], or 9 of the Imperial Library, Paris, fourth or fifth century, contained only the five poetical books, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, written stichometrically, similar to [A] and in beautiful character. It also had the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. The Book of Psalms is now entirely gone. Job is reduced to nineteen leaves, Proverbs to six, Ecclesiastes to eight, the Song of Solomon to one, Wisdom to seven, and Ecclesiasticus to twenty-three.

[1] Josephus quotes this version frequently; in Philo's works there are upwards of two thousand references, single or repetitive, chiefly from the Law.

[2] Κοινὴ was also the term employed by Alexandrian critics to distinguish the old unrevised text of Homer, before the application of grammatical διορθώσεις. Possibly the parallel fabrications of the seventy interpreters and the seventy learned men employed by Pisistratus to revise the text of Homer were forged on the same anvil.

[3] For original sources of information see Origen, *Ep. ad Africanum*, p. 16 *in Matt.* tom. xv., *Opp.* iii. 672. Jerom. *in Tit.* iii., *Præf. in Paralip.*; *Ep. ad Suniam et Fretetam.* Epiphanius, *de Pond. et Mens.* 18, 19. A collection of the Hexaplar fragments was first made by Morinus (not, as is generally stated, Nobilius) in the Sixtine edition, and Drusius, A.D. 1662. The careful edition of Montfaucon, Par. A.D. 1714, was condensed by Bahrdt, A.D. 1769. The Tetraplar version of Daniel (LXX.) was published [A.D. 1772] by the Propaganda from the Chisian Codex.

[4] These marks were already in use with classical grammarians to distinguish faulty passages.

The Ephraem Rescript, occupying a middle place between [A] and [B], is nearly of the same register as the Alexandrian and the Cottonian MSS. It contains 209 leaves, *i.e.* 64 Old Testament, 145 New Testament, with forty-one lines to the page, and forty letters to the full line. The original writing was removed to give place to a work of Ephraem Syrus in Greek, but it has been restored by the Jobertine tincture. It was printed by Tischendorf in 1843, Leipsic, in capitals, each page being a counterpart of the original as to lines and letters; missing leaves also being noted in the paging. The MS., as may be supposed, is much stained by the chemicals employed upon it, but it is perfectly legible.

The principal editions are [*a*] the Complutensian, forming a column of the Complutensian Polyglott [Alcala], which has the Hebrew, Targum, and Vulgate in three other columns [A.D. 1515-1517]. It diverges so frequently from all known MSS., to approach more nearly to the Hebrew, that till lately it had become "suspecte." It is now known that those approximations agree with the Hexaplar Syriac, and therefore very possibly it may represent the original Hexaplar text. Simon says that Cardinal Ximenes obtained his corrections from the Vulgate; but its MS. sources are not known with certainty, and they may represent some unknown Codex. Lacunæ seem to have been filled in from the Venetian MS. of Cardinal Bessarion and from that of Cardinal Carafa. The same text was adopted in the Antwerp Polyglott [A.D. 1572], in the Commelinian [Heidelberg, A.D. 1599], Hamburg, A.D. 1596, very rare, and Parisian, A.D. 1645.

[*b*] The Venetian or Aldine [A.D. 1518] expresses apparently a collated text from later MSS., with replacements from Theodotion, and occasional interpolations from Aquila's version. It gave the text to Cratander's edition [Basle, A.D. 1520]; the Strasburg edition [A.D. 1526]; Second Basle [A.D. 1545] with Melanchthon's preface; Third Basle by Brylinger [A.D. 1550]; Frankfort [A.D. 1597]; Venice [A.D. 1687]; and generally to the editions published in Germany.

[*c*] The Roman or Sixtine edition [A.D. 1586] was printed professedly from the Vatican Codex, but the readings were plentifully and not very sagaciously altered. Portions that were missing in [B] were supplied from other MSS., principally from the cognate Codex Venetus, that of Cardinal Carafa, and others in the Medicean collection at Florence. The costly edition of Holmes and Parsons [A.D. 1798-1827] professedly exhibits this text; but Mai's reprint of the Vatican Codex reduces the critical authority of this edition to zero. Holmes, however, made a vast number of collations, which remain, in many volumes, in the Bodleian Library; and his prolegomena form a valuable addition to the literature of the LXX. The reprint of [B] by Cardinal Mai is not so free from error as might have been expected, and differs materially from the Sixtine edition, which is now rendered worthless in a critical point of view. The Cardinal has unfortunately printed the missing portions of [B] in the same type with the rest; but the Book of Daniel from the Codex Chisianus is correctly printed in small type. The Sixtine edition has been the text most usually followed in modern reprints.

[*d*] Grabe's edition, professedly from [A] [A.D. 1707-1720], is not an exact copy, many editorial corrections having been made, partly from inferior MSS., partly conjectural. The prolegomena are valuable. Its daughters are the edition of Breitinger [A.D. 1730-1732], with readings from the Vatican and other MSS.; and Reinecci's Tetraglott [A.D. 1750].

[*e*] The Greek text of Walton's Polyglott was formed on the Sixtine with *var. lect.* from [A]. The work was carelessly executed. [*f*] Bishop Pearson's pocket edition [Cambr. A.D. 1665], also a Sixtine text, is valuable only for its prolegomena. [*g*] The edition of Bos [Franeq. A.D. 1709] is the same text, with the *var. lect.* of Walton. [*h*] The Leipsic edition of Van Ess [A.D. 1824] and [*i*] the Oxford edition by Professor Gaisford are also Sixtine, with readings at the foot from [A]. [*k*] Tischendorf's editions, founded on the Sixtine, have freshness, the results of his own discoveries being recorded. His prolegomena also are most valuable and suggestive for any future recension. [*l*] Mr. Field's edition, executed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and "according to order," was designed for religious use in the Eastern Church, but does violence to the text in bringing it into agreement with the Hebrew, verbally as well as formally. It is of the [A] stock, being based upon the Moscow reprint of Grabe's text. [*m*] Spohn's Jeremiah is an attempt to restore the Hexaplar text of that prophet.

A great work remains to be achieved, and one for which no single life would suffice; a really good and critical edition of the LXX., that should restore as nearly as may be the original text, on the basis of [1] a thorough re-examination and sifting of MS. evidence, extending also to any marginal scholia; [2] a similar investigation of the quotations in the New Testament; [3] the same as regards Philo and the Fathers; [4] the evidence of catenæ conveniently digested and registered; [5] versions and glossaries.

Conferenda: [1] *Historical Treatises.* Usher, *Syntagma de LXX. Interpr.;* Grabe, *de Var. Vit. LXX.;* Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* ii.; Hody, *de Bibl. Text Orig.;* Dr. Brett *on the Anc. Vers.;* Dähne, *Jud. Al. Phil.;* Churton, *Norr. Prize Essay;* Grinfield, *Apol. for LXX.;* Prideaux, *Conn.;* Ewald, *Volk Isr.* iv. 322, 3d ed.

[2] *Prolegomena.* Walton, *Polygl.;* Pearson *to LXX.;* Montfaucon *to Hexapla;* Holmes *to LXX.;* Tischendorf; Bos, *LXX.*

[3] *Introductions to Old Testament.* Eichhorn; Carpzov; De Wette; Hug; Hävernick; Davidson; Horne.

[4] *Critical.* Cappelli, *Crit. Sacr.;* Huet, *Origeniana;* Fischer, *Prolusiones;* Valesius, *in Eus. H. E.* vi. 16; Schleusner, *Opusc. Crit.;* Kennicott, *Diss. Gen.;* Valckenaer, *Diatribe de Aristob. Jud.;* Franckel, *Vorstudien zu der*

LXX. and *Ueber d. Einfluss d. LXX.;* Credner, *Gesch. d. Canons;* Amersfoodt, *De Var. Lect.;* Holmes; Ernesti, *Opusc. Crit.;* Prof. Selwyn, *Notæ Criticæ* and *Horæ Hebr.*

[5] *Articles.* Prof. Selwyn's *Art. on LXX. in Smith's Dict. of the Bible;* articles in Herzog, *Bibel-Uebers;* and in the Kirchen Lexicon, *Alex. Uebers;* Franck, *Dict. d. Sciences Philos.;* Eichhorn's *Repertorium;* Ersch und Gruber, *Hexapla;* Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr. Excurs.* 28; Articles in the *Christian Remembrancer,* Dec. 1859, Jan. and Apr. 1861, Oct. 1862, Apr. 1863; and in the *Journal of Sacr. Lit.,* July 1855, Jan. 1857, April 1858.

[1.] At the head of all other direct versions stand the TARGUMIM, to which a separate article is given. [2.] A Samaritan version, made from the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch by Nathaniel, as Gesenius supposes [*de Pent. Sam.* p. 18, note. Winer, *de Vers. Sam. indole,* p. 9], high priest of the Samaritans shortly before the Christian era. Walton refers it back to the first years of the temple on Mount Gerizim under Manasseh. [3.] The Syriac Peshito, *i.e.* "simple," the correlative term of "figurative," or "paraphrastic," is one of the most ancient versions of Scripture. It is generally referred to the second century [Wiseman, *Hor. Syr.* 131-136], and appears to bear the mark of several hands; in some few cases Jewish, but for the most part Christian, for Psa. lv. 14 is explained of the Holy Eucharist; Messianic passages also in the Prophets have a Christian complexion. It comprises all the canonical books of the Old Testament, but not the Apocrypha, which exist in a separate version as used by Ephrem Syrus. It often agrees, probably by interpolation, with the Targum Jonathan on the Prophets [Wiseman, *Hor. Syr.* 102]. Although canonical authority was allowed to the Peshito, yet the Syrians of Palestine had a preference for the LXX.; and as the Divine inspiration of the Greek version was fully credited, the Peshito by direct correction or by marginal interpolation was made to approximate to the LXX. readings, chiefly of the [A] recension. Gregory Barhebræus allows that he made such corrections, and Jacob of Edessa, A.D. 700, altered it by the Syro-Hexaplar copies. This version has supplied valuable readings to Kennicott and De Rossi [Wette, *Einl.*]. The Peshito first appeared in the Paris Polyglott, with lacunæ filled in by translation from the Vulgate. It also forms part of the London Poyglott. Both of these texts are very faulty. The first tolerable edition is that of Dr. Lee, A.D. 1823, executed for the Bible Society [Hävernick, *Einl.*]. The Nestorians retained the ancient recension of the Peshito; but [4.] the Monophysites in the tenth century set up one of their own, termed the Karkuph, or "hill" recension, named probably from the place of its preparation, the Jacobite convent on Mount Sigara. Cardinal Wiseman [*Hor. Syr.* i. 236-240] has shewn that it has for its basis the Peshito, but with a different arrangement of the books, and forced into something like harmony with Greek orthography by a peculiar system of punctuation. There is a valuable MS. of this version in the Vatican.

Three Arabic versions were made from the Hebrew text: [5.] That of Rabbi Saadias Gaon, who died A.D. 942, which, notwithstanding its Targum-like character, throws much light upon obscure passages. Its original compass is unknown. [See S. Munk, *Notice sur R. Saadias Gaon.*] [6.] A version of Joshua; and [7.] the Pentateuch (*Arabs Erpenii*) published by Van Erpen. Arabic versions, also from the Hebrew, exist; [8.] one, in the Bodleian collection, of the Psalms, formerly Dr. Pococke's property, and [9.] another at Mannheim of Genesis. [10.] A Persian version is mentioned by Chrysostom [*Hom.* ii. *in Joh.*] and Theodoret [*Gr. Aff.* i. 5]. [11.] A version entirely *sui generis* is preserved in the Library of St. Mark at Venice [*Cod.* vii.], made direct from the Hebrew, as may be seen by the *var. lect.* that are indicated. It is a Greek MS. of the fourteenth century, and the version appears to have been made in the Middle Ages at Byzantium. It applies all the preceding Greek versions, though apparently under rabbinical guidance. This Codex contains 302 leaves of parchment in long quarto, and is written in the Oriental manner as regards paging, *i.e.* it begins from the right hand. It is moreover divided into the synagogal Parashahs for Sabbath readings. It consists of Pentateuch, the Hagiographa, (less the Psalms,) Lamentations and Daniel, all of which have been edited. It is apparently the copy of a mutilated MS. of older date. As another peculiarity, the translator expresses the rougher Chaldee portions by the broad Doric dialect. An attempt at extreme elegance and refinement is often found in it side by side with the grossest barbarisms. It was printed at Strasburg, A.D. 1784, and the Pentateuch by Ammon at Erlangen, A.D. 1790, 1791.

II. The Divine inspiration of the Septuagint was so completely believed by the Syrian Church in Palestine that translations were made from it at various times. The so called "Figurata" in Syriac is now known to have had no existence. The Syriac word that usually means "figure," means "text" when applied to the Scriptures [Assem, *B. O.* III. i. 146]. Hence, the passage of Abulfaragi rendered "the figurata according to the translation of the LXX.," means really, "the text or version according," &c. This then may be placed out of the account, but the following exist:

[1.] A version made at Alexandria from the Tetraplar text [Eichhorn, *Repertor.* iii. 186, viii. 96], A.D. 617, by Paul, Bishop of Tela, in the Monophysite interest.

[2.] The Philoxenian version of the New Testament was made by a presbyter named Polycarp under the direction of Philoxenus, Bishop of Hierapolis, or Mabug [A.D. 488-518]. Portions also of the Old Testament were translated. The Milan MS. of the Hexaplar version of Isaiah refers to "another version made for the Syrians by the holy Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug" [de Wette, *Einl.*]; and in fact a Philoxenian fragment of Isaiah is now in course of publication by

Ceriani, who is also editing the Syriac translation of Paul of Tela, with specimens of the revision by James of Edessa from the Peshito. The Heraclean, or Harclensian, version can only be treated as mythical, so far as the Old Testament is concerned; neither is the Heraclean New Testament anything more than a recension of the Philoxenian. A Philoxenian Psalter was cited by Moses of Aghel in the sixth century.

The Gothic version of Ulfila [A.D. 388], Bishop of the West Goths on the Lower Danube, was made from the LXX., and would have been of considerable critical importance, to judge by the portions of the New Testament that have come down to us. These express with fidelity the nicer shades of thought of the Greek originals, disclosing the germ of the characteristic excellence of the German language. Traces of working from a Latin text were very probably interpolated as corrections from the margin. Chrysostom seems to allude to this version in his Homily, "Postquam presbyter Gothus concionatus fuerat" [Harvey, *Vindex Catholicus*, iii. 135-136]. It comprehended the whole of the Old Testament with the exception of the Book of Kings, the Gothic kings having been thought to be already too warlike [*Philostorg.* ii. 5]; the only portions preserved are Psa. liii. 2, 3; Esth. ii. 8-42; Neh. v. 13-18, vi. 14-19, vii. 1-3. The New Testament version contains, in a fragmentary condition, the four Gospels, taken by the Swedes in the Thirty Years' War from Prague to Upsala, and known as the "Codex Argenteus," written in silver characters; fragments of the Epistle to the Romans were discovered in a palimpsest at Wolfenbüttel, while others have come to light at Milan, representing the Pauline Epistles, with the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The entire collection, with an *Apparatus Philol. Crit.* appeared at Leipsic, A.D. 1843-1846. [See G. Waitz, *Leben des Ulfila*, and W. Krafft, *K. G. der Germ. Völker*, i. 1.]

[3.] The Ethiopic version is written in the sacred language, or Ghîz of Axuma, from which the Amharic, or spoken dialect, has long since drifted away. It was made from the LXX., according to the Alexandrian recension, at the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, but it often makes a clear approximation to the Hebrew. It is referred by tradition to the Abba Salâma, *i.e.* Frumentius, the Apostle of Abyssinia; but more than one hand may be traced in it; and, in fact, the Abyssinian calendar connects its nine principal saints with the composition. Chrysostom mentions this version [*Hom.* ii. *in Joh.* p. 561, Eton ed.]. The arrangement of the books is peculiar; there are four classes: 1. The Law; Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth: 2. The Kings; the historical books, Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms: 3. Solomon; Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom: 4. The Prophets; the entire body, with Baruch, Lamentations, and the two Books of Maccabees. MSS. of the entire version exist in Europe, and separate portions have been printed. Perfect copies are rare even in Abyssinia; but Bruce brought back one, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. As in the case of many other versions from the LXX., its parentage is the only thing that gives to it any value; and it may yet render good service to future editors. Walton's Polyglott, in general carelessly executed, is equally so in the Ethiopic. [See T. P. Platt's *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Bibl. MSS.; Bib. Soc.*]

Three Egyptian versions exist, [4.] one in the Coptic, or Memphitic dialect of Lower Egypt; [5.] the other in the Sahidic, or Thebaic dialect of the upper country. It does not appear which is the most ancient, but both are in accordance with the Alexandrian, or Hesychian recension, and therefore may date about the end of the third century. The vast influx of monks into Egypt at this time [Monasticism], whose rules were written by Pachomius, himself ignorant of Greek, in the Egyptian tongue, indicates an early version of Scripture in the vernacular of the monks. Only fragments more or less extensive of the Coptic (Pentateuch, Psalms, Jeremiah, Daniel), and a few of the Sahidic version have been published. As indicating particular readings in the LXX. they also have their use. [6.] The Basmuric version is similar to the Sahidic, but with a tinge of the Coptic. A codex exists in the Imperial Collection at Paris.

[7.] Misrob invented for the Armenians an alphabet, A.D. 410, and translated the Bible from some mixed text of the LXX., which it closely rendered. Its general agreement is with the [A] recension.

[8.] At the close of the same century the Georgian alphabet was founded upon the Armenian; and in the sixth, young men of promise were sent to be trained in Greece, who on their return translated the Scriptures into Georgian from the LXX. The New Testament, Psalms, and Prophets were printed at Tiflis in the beginning of the century; and afterwards the entire Bible was published, A.D. 1743, at Moscow in folio, but altered to suit the received Sclavonic version.

[9.] The Sclavic version, said to have been made from the LXX. in the ninth century, was more probably a daughter of the Vulgate, corrected by Greek MSS. in the fourteenth century.

[10.] Several Arabic translations also have been made from the LXX.; as the texts of the Prophets, Psalms, and the writings of Solomon, in the Paris and London Polyglotts, the work of the tenth century, and from the Hexaplar text.

[11.] A Psalter, edited at Rome, A.D. 1614, is from the Alexandrian recension; which was the source also of the twelfth Melchite Psalter of the orthodox Syrian Church. Various Arabic translations exist in MS.

[12.] The old Itala version was made from the LXX. into Latin in the earliest period of the Christian Church; probably in the first century, but scarcely for Roman use; for Greek was then the general language. The extensive way in which the Roman Law was studied in North Africa caused that province to be more Roman in its language than Rome itself [see art. on *North African Ch.* in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Chr*

Antiq.]. These facts give probability to the idea of Eichhorn [*Einl. S.* 320-323], that the old Itala version was a product of North Africa, and its barbarous Latinity favours the assumption. The name "Itala" occurs only in Augustine [*de Doctr. Chr.* ii. 11]; "in ipsis autem translationibus Itala cæteris præfertur." Bentley conjectures "illa" for Itala; while by a yet more ingenious correction Bishop Potter proposes "usitata," the first syllable of which may easily have been absorbed in the ὁμοιοτέλευτον preceding, and then "itata" became "itala" [see Monk's *Life of Bentley*, 433]. Jerome calls this version "usitata," also the "common," like the LXX. κοινὴ, from whence it was prepared, and the "old," as distinguished from his own Vulgate recension, but never "Itala." It agrees more closely with the Vatican than with the other MSS. of the Septuagint. Its "disjecta membra" have been collected together in several works, of which that by the Benedictine P. Sabatier is the most complete. The Book of Job, the Psalms, and some of the deutero-canonical books, are still extant in the Itala version; of the other books only fragments remain in patristical quotations, missals, breviaries, and in no small number in the more ancient juridical text-books [Münter, *Misc. Hafniens.* ii. 89; and *Corp. Jur. ante-Justinian*].

III. In the time of Jerome the Latin version had shared the fate of the LXX. text in the preceding ages [Hieron. *Præf. in Josh.*; Aug. *Ep.* 88, *ad Hieron.* and *Ep.* 97; *De Doctr. Chr.* ii. 11], and had become debased by the many partial versions of Scripture that existed, and by the established practice of translating from the Greek "pro re nata." Augustine urged Jerome to undertake a recension of the Latin version from the LXX., which he took in hand A.D. 382. He first completed the New Testament, and then prepared "cursim" the Roman Psalter; this was worked out by him afresh, and with more care, with the aid of Origen's Hexapla, and became the Gallican Psalter [Hieron. *Præf. Post. in Ps. Apol. c. Ruff.* ii. 24, *Ep.* 23, *ad Lucin.* 135, *ad Sunn. et Fret.*]. He then performed the same work on the other books of the Old Testament. Both Psalters and Job have been printed [Martianay, *Hieron. Bibl. Div. Op.* i. 1186 f.]; the other books have perished, or have been absorbed by the Vulgate.

[13.] While Jerome was engaged upon his recension of the Itala [A.D. 382] he formed the design of making an entirely new Latin version, working in the old material wherever it was serviceable. He commenced this work A.D. 385, and completed it in the twentieth year from that date, dividing the text into *cola* and *commata* [*Præf. in Es. Paralip. Josh.*]. But the work was not uninterrupted, for he was a quick scribe; three days ["tridui opus," *Præf. in Libr. Salom.*] were sufficient for the translation of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song, and one for Tobit [*Præf. in Tob.*], though he had reason to repent his over-haste. As the four Books of Kings were required for a particular purpose, he began with these; then followed in order the Books of Solomon, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Ruth, Judges, Chronicles; Tobit also, and Judith from the Chaldee; concluding with Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah. He added the apocryphal appendices to these latter, but expressly pronounces against their genuineness, and marked them with the wonted *obeli* [*Præf. in Paralip. Neem. Pent. Ps.*]. The Psalter still remained according to Gallican use, liturgical application having made it familiar to the Latin Church. The apocryphal books of the old version were also retained. Jerome had an able coadjutor in a learned Jew, by whose aid he gained a competent knowledge of Hebrew, though he compares the toil to the hard grind of a mill; "cum me in hujus linguæ pistrinam inclusissem" [*Præf. in Dan.*]. His tutor's name was Barhanina, converted by his industrious tormentor Ruffinus into Barabbas [Hieron. *Apol. c. Ruff.* i. 12]. In the preface to his commentary on Ecclesiastes, he says that he followed no human authority, but while he faithfully rendered the Hebrew original he followed the Septuagint where they did not widely diverge, and had regard also to the parallel versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. He obtained light in places "ex Arabico sermone et interdum Syro" [*Præf. in Job.*]. His new translation was read in churches as well as the old version. Gregory the Great [A.D. 584] says that he based his "moral exposition" of Job on the new version of Jerome; though he applied also the old translation, agreeably to the custom of the Roman See [Greg. M., *Præf. Moral. in Job.*]. The Western Churches in general followed the same example [Hävernick]. Isidore of Seville made use of the new version; as did Vincent of Lerins throughout his "Commonitorium." But the old difficulty recurred; it was impossible that the two versions should have a concurrent authority, and yet preserve their purity. Errors multiplied with the transcription of copies for the use of the churches, and glosses were admitted from the margin; so that it is as hopeless now to say what were the alterations made by Jerome as to define the Hexaplar text of Origen.

When the art of printing was discovered, the first work that proceeded from the press was the Vulgate, the editio princeps [Mazarin] being that of Guttenberg of Mentz. It bears no date, but the years A.D. 1452-1456 limit the range of probable variation. Eighteen copies of this Bible are known to be in existence, six in foreign libraries, and the remainder in England; six in private collections; the others at the Bodleian, Eton, and elsewhere. The first serious attempt to apply critical principles was made by Robert Stephens, who superintended the issue of eight editions, for which a careful collation of available MSS. was made. His best edition was the fourth of A.D. 1540. Fourteen good MSS. and three editions were collated for it; but it was a thankless service, and brought him into trouble. Within six years the Council of Trent declared the Vulgate text to be authentic, "et nemo illam reficere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat" [*Conc. Trid. Sess.* iv. *Decr.* 2]. It was an estopper of all private critical judgment, which Möhler rather thankfully

acknowledges [*Symbolik SS.* 41, 42]. In the same session printers were cautioned, "ut posthac S. Scriptura, potissimum hæc Vetus Vulgata Editio, quam emendatissime imprimatur." Since subsequent editions, as that of Heutenius, A.D. 1547, and Antwerp, A.D. 1573, continued to shew a very discordant text, Pope Sixtus V. determined to put forth a correct edition of the Vulgate. He saw the proofs as they passed through the press, correcting them with his own hands; "nostra nos ipsi manu correximus" [*Præf. in Ed.* 1589, 1590]; and pronounced by a papal decree that the Vulgate so edited was to be esteemed, without any doubt or controversy, that which the Council of Trent had declared authentic; a stringent clause also was added against the publication of any text differing from this papal edition. But his fatherly care had not prevented the recurrence of errors innumerable; some of these were corrected before the final issue with pen and ink and pasted slips, with which some of the copies were, and many more were not, completed. From the first, therefore, this edition was a typographical discord, and it was soon known to be thoroughly unserviceable. Sixtus V. did not survive the year of publication, and his successor Urban VII. thought of suppressing the copies and issuing a fresh edition; but he was only Pope for twelve days, and the two next Popes, Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., having soon died, it devolved upon Clement VIII. to supply a more trustworthy text for the service of the Church. The interdict upon all correction and alteration imposed by Sixtus V. was a difficulty, but Robert Bellarmine, then known only as a learned Jesuit, shewed himself equal to the occasion, and laid the blame of all blunders upon the printer. In the preface to the new edition, A.D. 1592, written by him, it was stated that Sixtus had decreed the suppression of the former edition, "revocandum censuit atque decrevit," but the promulgation of the decree had been anticipated by death. These editions of the Vulgate thus supply a memorable passage in the history of papal editorial infallibility. The Clementine edition forms the ground of all subsequent editions, the text being formed in varying proportions on the old Latin version, Jerome's first recension, and his subsequent retranslation from the Hebrew.

IV. The Vulgate has been the parent text of the Anglo-Saxon version made by Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 996-1006, or, which is more probable, by his namesake the abbot, under the primacy of Dunstan, half a century earlier [see Routh's *Opusc.* ii. 520]. He also translated into Anglo-Saxon the Books of Judith, Esther, Maccabees, and a portion of Kings. The Vulgate is shewn by Pfannkuche to have been the original from whence he translated [Art. in *Götting. Bibl. d. neuesten Theol. Lit.* iii. 616], but the means of judging are scanty, only the Pentateuch and portions of Joshua and Judges remaining [*Bibl. Bodl.*]. Alter agrees with Pfannkuche [Paulus, *Memorab.* vi. 190, viii. 194], and adduces Gen. viii. 4 in proof, where LXX. and its transcripts have "Montes Ararat," while the Vulgate has "Montes Armeniæ," and the Anglo-Saxon "ofer þa muntas Armenies londes." Another instance is shewn in Deut. x. 3, where the LXX. for שטים, read שלמים, and wrote ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων, but the Vulgate follows the Hebrew, "de lignis Setim," and Anglo-Saxon copies the Vulgate "of Seðim treowum." Similarly, Ex. xii. 9-11, quoted in Ælfric's Homily for Easter [see Harvey's *Vindex Cath.* iii. 345], follows the Vulgate in its divergence from the LXX.; *e.g.* ver. 9, "crudum quid," where there is no τι in the Greek, but Anglo-Saxon has "nan þing hréw." The last word of the same verse is "vorabitis," omitted by LXX., but Anglo-Saxon has "etað;" ver. 10, "nec ex eo *remanebit quicquam*," Anglo-Saxon "ne his nan þing ne belife," the LXX. again omitting τι, and having ἀπολείψετε; same verse "si quid residuum fuerit," Anglo-Saxon "gif þær hwæt toláfe sy," but LXX. "τὰ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενα," and so forth to the end of the passage at "Þeos tíd is Godes færeld," where the Latin translation as given by the Vulgate is adopted, "est enim Phase, id est Transitus Domini," the LXX. having simply πάσχα ἐστὶ Κυρίου. At the close of the homily the writer reverts to his text, and exactly expresses the concluding verse with its vernacular translation, "Þeos tíd is geháten on Ebreiscum Pascha, þat is on Leden Transitus, and on Englisc Færeld." The quotation by the same writer from John iii. 1-15, in his Homily on Baptism [printed from the Cambr. MS. in Harvey's *Vindex Cath.* iii. 277], was evidently copied from the Lectionary; it follows the Vulgate, but makes slight alterations and additions. These marks of a Latin origin are given because it has been imagined, contrary to all likelihood, that Ælfric translated from the Greek texts. The Psalter, translated by Aldhelm, first Bishop of Sherborne, early in the eighth century, is from the Psalterium Gallicanum; and soon after Egbert, at Aldhelm's request, translated the four Gospels from copies introduced by Augustine from Rome, a codex of which is preserved in the National Collection. King Alfred is known to have left an unfinished Anglo-Saxon translation of the Psalms when he died, A.D. 900. The Heptateuch and the Book of Job, with the Gospel of Nicodemus and the fragments of Judith, in Anglo-Saxon, were published by Thwaites A.D. 1698. The only Biblical value of the Anglo-Saxon Scriptures is the light that they may throw on the text of the Vulgate, as it came forth from Rome in the second century after St. Jerome's death.

VIATICUM. [Reservation.]

VICARIOUS SACRIFICE. Christ was the fulfilment of every typical rite and institution of the Law—the very substance of truth—that gave their only significance to the sacrifices of the altar. "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." As substance and shadow have a reciprocal relation, the material body projecting the shadow, and the shadow shaping out the body, so the sacrifices of the Temple and the sacrifice of the Cross had a materially correlative bearing, the one was the

counterpart of the other, as the impression is a facsimile of the die. Hence from of old it was known that "without shedding of blood is no remission." [Heb. ix. 22. Atonement. Blood. Eucharist.] The essential part of the sacrifice was the blood dashed against the altar at its two opposite angles, that each side might receive the symbol of the Atonement. The blood also declared the vicarious character of the victim's suffering and death, foreshadowing the sufferings of Christ. And thus it was from the beginning of the world. Abel sacrificed the firstlings of the flock, while Cain offered of the fruits of the earth; and the sacrifice of blood was accepted as the "more excellent" [Heb. xi. 4]; for the fruits of the earth could never represent a vicarious sacrifice [see Delitzsch *on Gen.* iv. 4]. The difference of the two offerings is expressed, darkly indeed but with sufficient significance, in the words addressed to Cain, "If thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted; and if thou doest not well (and needest an atonement), sin [*i.e.* a "sin-offering," חטאת, Lev. iv. 18-23] lieth [רבץ, "crouches as a fourfooted beast," the only meaning of the verb] at thy door;" *i.e.* the sacrifice of blood is always within thy reach, the substitution of a typical life and a vicarious suffering for the sin of the soul. After the Flood, Noah offered a sacrifice of "every clean beast and every clean fowl" [Gen. viii. 20], types of the sinless, and made atonement for the germ of humanity, and for earth its dwelling-place. The vicarious sacrifice was accepted, "and the Lord said in His heart, I will not again curse the ground for man's sake." At a later period, when Abraham was justified by faith [Gen. xv. 6], his more immediate reward was a promise of the Land of Canaan, from the Nile to the Euphrates [ver. 18], but that land was only a type of an eternal and heavenly rest; and God Himself prescribed the sacrifice that should ratify the covenant of justification by faith, and confirm the promise to his spiritual seed of their true home, eternal in the heavens. It was a compendium of every vicarious sacrifice under the Law, for it consisted of one of each of the piacular victims so used; "Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle-dove and a young pigeon; and he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against the other, but the birds divided he not" [ver. 9, 10]. At nightfall the solemn ratification of the covenant took place, the Divine Shechinah passing between the halved victims; as afterwards the whole people of Israel, princes as well as commonalty, renewed covenant with God by passing between the severed portions of their sacrifice [Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19]. As the sacrifice of Noah through faith in the future Saviour indicated the redemption of the creature, *i.e.* the earth of God's creation, from the bondage of corruption, so the sacrifice of Abraham declared the salvation of millions in those who should inherit his faith; and the victims that he offered once more foreshadowed the sufferings whereby that salvation should be worked out. Fear of offending Egyptian prejudices [Exod. viii. 26] interfered with the national sacrifice during the residence of the Israelites in Egypt; but the institution of the Passover revived it, and brought the notion of sacrifice into still closer proximity to the antitypal sacrifice of Christ. It was a federal vicarious rite in its first institution, to which a commemorative character was afterwards added. For "the life (Nephesh) of the flesh is in the blood" [Lev. xvii. 11]; and the life of the victim displayed upon the door posts was a sure safeguard for the life of the inmates. Where there was no blood no vicarious offering of life for life had been given, and death was in that house.

Under the Law the vicarious import of sacrifice is clearly marked. Thus on the great day of Atonement the two goats constituted together one sin-offering [Lev. xvi. 5, 10]. The blood of one, the Lord's lot [ver. 8, 9], was carried into the Holy of Holies by the high priest, and sprinkled upon and before the mercy seat; and the sins of the people were laid upon the head of the other victim, the Azazel [ver. 8, 10, 26] or scape-goat, which was led into the wilderness, and there let loose; contact with it was contaminating, and he who conducted it to the wilderness was compelled to purify himself and his garments with water, before he could be readmitted into the camp [ver. 26]. Confession of the sins of the people, and imposition of hands by the sacrificing priest, elsewhere separately mentioned, but here connected in one act, marked the vicarious character of the rite. It was a maxim of the Jewish doctors that without confession of sin there was never any imposition of hands [Outram, *De Sacr.* i. xv. 8; Lev. iii. iv. v. 5, xvi. 21; Numb. v. 7]; though the precise formula given is of comparatively recent date. This imposition of hands was made with the most complete religious intention of spirit [Magee *On the Atonement*, xxxix.], and with the full weight of the body [סמך ידו], "with all his might" [בכל כח], as Maimonides explains it; to denote the full judicial weight of sin borne by the victim or guilty object [compare Lev. xxiv. 14, 15]. In ordinary sacrifices it was an act of personal duty; none might confess or lay hands upon the victim but he whose transgression needed to be atoned. It was thus that on the great day of Atonement the two goats represented one integral sacrifice, and foreshadowed the evangelical reality of the sacrifice of the Cross whereby Christ bore our iniquities and was made a curse for us.

Midway between the types and shadows of the Law and the Christian verity stands the prophetic forecast of the person and office of Christ. The rays of light were pencilled on the page of prophecy, but they were only gathered into their true focus in the person of Christ. Thus the voice of prophecy speaks clearly of the vicarious nature of Christ's sufferings. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is conclusive with regard to this point; shewing that the Messiah should be a sacrifice for sin; that by His stripes we are healed; that the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all; and that He should be cut off from the land of the living, even as Daniel declared that

he should "be cut off, but not for Himself." [Dan. ix. 26. Outram, *de Sacrificiis.* Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* Hirschfeld, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* Maurice, *Doctrine of Sacrifice.*]

VICE. Vice is chronic and habitual transgression of the moral law, as distinguished from those transgressions which result from momentary temptation. As the "tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed," so sin has "its seed in itself," which by habit of growth becomes inveterate vice. Vice being a phase of SIN, whatever has been said under that head is applicable here, where it is proposed to consider briefly [1] the character of vice; [2] its hatefulness to God and man; [3] its greater hopelessness than mere sin.

I. Vice, like every other habit, whether good or bad, is the product of repeated acts; the passive impressions that accompany such acts, as in all other cases, decrease in inverse ratio with the increase of strength in the habit, to whose growth those acts have ministered. In other words, as the vicious habit strengthens, the mind of its victim becomes less and less conscious of the evil of which it is the slave, and sin is at length committed almost without knowing it, certainly without any compunctious stings of conscience; though these, so long as sufficient grace be left to feel them, are no insignificant evidence of the penal consequences of vice [Butler's *Anal.* I. iii. 4, v.]. Vice determines the whole character of its victim; it is to the soul what habitual imprudence is in the affairs of life, causing complications that quickly become hopeless. One wrong act after another effectually darkens the light within; the man of hardened vice knows not where he is or the direction he is taking: he is in a labyrinth, and if a faint glimmering of light shines in upon the soul for a moment he has no sure clue to follow, for his own intoxicated reason is no guide, save where it speaks to him, in some moment of steadier thought, of wrath treasured up against the day of wrath. The lightning shines for a moment in the pitchy darkness, as the Korân says, and the wayfarer beholds every feature of the country; but it vanishes again, while the thunders of the Almighty ring fearfully in his ears.

II. The hatefulness of vice both to God and man is shewn in the whole of God's moral government of the world. As He is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, so He has ordained that this fact should be impressed upon His disciplinal government of man as a social being. Thus, even in this world, vice is foredoomed by the unmistakeable judgment of God, and the human agents of the sentence, even though they be themselves under similar condemnation, allow the law to be holy and just and good. And this law of the Divine government would have in itself sufficient operative energy to carry out its principle to its full length, but that human blindness is the executant of its behests; "probitas laudatur et alget," but it is only because its worth is not fully known, and vice is prosperous, only because the varnish of hypocrisy is sufficiently thick and smooth to elude detection. The law itself, however, is so certain and invariable, that the future punishment of sin and wickedness that is inevitable, may be believed to differ in degree rather than in kind from our own social discouragements of vice. Thus exalted virtue secures the admiration of even the worthless, and vice, when punished, is as universally acknowledged by both good and bad, as a matter of satisfaction, to have met with its deserts. That virtue should be rewarded and vice punished is as natural a sequence in the moral order of things as that health should bring happiness, and disease discomfort in man's physical nature. A society for the suppression of vice meets with universal approval, but what reckless crew, with "pecca fortiter" as its motto, however steeped in infamy, could succeed in organizing one for the discouragement of virtue? Human nature runs counter to the bare thought of such a monstrous notion, because the interests of Society, wholly consonant with the Divine Law, demand that virtue should be sought out and encouraged, and vice checked with severity, as the root of all mischief, as a contamination to others, and as a sure element of confusion and disorder to the society on which it is a blot. "The Author of Nature has as truly directed that vicious actions, considered as mischievous to society, should be punished, and put mankind under a necessity of thus punishing them, as He has directed and necessitated us to preserve our lives by food" [Butler's *Anal.* I. iii. 3, and compare 4].

III. Then there is the greater hopelessness of vice that more clearly than anything else bespeaks the wrath of God. It is an enduring plague; everything tends to shew this. The evil consequences of youthful folly may be lightly thought of at the time, but they remain as a root of bitterness to mar the peacefulness of more mature years; "what profit had ye in those things whereof ye are now ashamed," when Satan's dazzling spells have proved to be a mockery and a delusion, and the remembrance of them poignant with self-reproach? "Wrong behaviour in youth increases in several ways the difficulties of right behaviour in mature age; that is, puts us into a more disadvantageous state of trial in our temporal capacity" [Butler, I. iv.]. Nay more, an imprudent choice of vicious companions, for their talent or sparkling wit, will often meet with the same severe retribution as a course of downright vicious action. Can a man touch pitch and not be defiled? The most neutral incident in a young life under such circumstances receives a wrong colouring from the reflexion of darker tints that stand around it, and "noscitur a sociis" means a retribution that is as natural in the case of indiscretion as it is in that of positive vice.[1] So determinately has it been decreed that vice, and everything that directly or indirectly belongs to it, should not go unpunished; and so

[1] See Butler's *Analogy*, I. ii. on Divine punishments, and I. iii. 2. "From such a constitution of things it cannot but follow that prudence and imprudence which are of the nature of virtue and vice, must be, as they are, respectively rewarded and punished."

hopeless is its escape from condemnation so far as its own nature is concerned.

Possibly it was as seeing the comparative hopelessness of a relapse into a course of heathen vice that St. Paul is so urgent in laying down to the Hebrews [Heb. ii. 1-3, iii. 7-19, iv. 1-13, vi. 4-9, x. 26-31, 38, 39, xii. 15-17, 25-29] the unpardonable character of apostasy; "corruptio optimi pessima;" whereby Satan would obtain entrance again into the chamber "swept and garnished," and bringing seven spirits more wicked than himself, fill it with a sevenfold maliciousness, according to the terrible description given elsewhere by the same Apostle, "Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful: who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them" [Rom. i. 29-32]. In such utter loss of baptismal purity every stay is abandoned, and a loose rein is given to the full and hopeless dominion of besetting sins that as "legion" crave for their indulgence. Substitute now the case of those who have grown up in a Christian land, and have always enjoyed the offer of the Gospel in the fullest run of its privileges, in lieu of those renegade adult converts of whom the Apostle was speaking, and the case will be found to be rather strengthened by the change; for even "to whom men have committed much, of them will they demand the more." When the last struggle of conscience is over in the lapsed Christian, the whole inward man is depraved. The whole spirit is steeped and overwhelmed in moral wretchedness. The whole heart is sick, and the whole head faint. Not even in the faintest whisper does conscience make itself heard; "The good that I would I do not, and the evil that I would not that I do. Oh wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!" Where this is the condition of the vicious heart need we be surprised to be told by an Apostle that "it is impossible" [ἀδύνατον, difficile; Schleusner] "for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame" [Heb. vi. 4-6].

VIGILS. Anciently the prayers used at night, the watching and preparation before a festival: in modern use the fasted eve of a festival. During the early times of persecution, when even the place of worship was concealed, the Christians were forced to meet during the night for worship. And so the practice, at first unavoidable, became systematized, and continued after persecution ceased. But it is not unlikely, independently of the necessity of avoiding publicity, that as the Jewish Sabbath commenced at sunset of the sixth day, so in adapting the Jewish to the Christian service, a similar anticipatory ceremonial would be retained for the Lord's day. At Easter, in particular, the occasion demanded a more careful and extensive preparation, and the night before the feast was devoted to a solemn service. From this the more important festivals were by degrees distinguished in the same way, and little by little the custom became general. There were three stated hours of prayer in the night. To the faithful there was an additional reason for nightly watches in the belief that our Lord was to come to judgment in the night.[1] The passage that suggested this belief was the parable of the ten virgins [Matt. xxv. 6]. St. Isidore [A.D. 636] speaking of the time when the angel of the Lord smote the Egyptians, says,[2] "Iisdem etiam horis venturum sese in Evangelio Salvator astruxit." Pliny names the meeting by night, but this was the ordinary meeting for worship, not a vigil in the later sense. The scriptural authority collected by St. Jerome [A.D. c. 390], who had occasion to defend the custom against Vigilantius, is abundant.[3] As the immediate occasion of the nocturnal assemblies passed away, the character of the services was changed. Vigils were held sometimes in private houses. In the fourth century abuses had begun to creep in, and by degrees became considerable. Occasionally the vigils held in the cemeteries at the tombs of the martyrs became scenes of revelry and debauchery. Under the pretence of devotion many excesses were committed. At Milan St. Ambrose revived the practice: he did not abolish vigils, but caused them to be properly superintended. Arbitrary and self-imposed vigils were those at which the abuses mostly occurred. Hence Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours [A.D. 482], issued an authorized table of vigils.[4] As early as A.D 420, some vigils had been discountenanced and even forbidden. But these prohibitions were ineffective, although frequently re-enacted in different countries.[5] The Gauls in especial appear to have encouraged the frequent use of vigils. Not

[1] Lactantius, ii. 19, gives a Sibylline verse referring to this:—

ὁππότ' ἂν ἔλθῃ
πῦρ ἔσται, σκότος ἐν τῇ μέσῃ νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ.

[2] *De Eccl. Off.* xxii.

[3] *Ep.* 36, *de Observatione Vigiliarum.* Psa. vi. 6, cxix. 62, cxxxii. 4, cxxxiv. 1; Isa. xxvi. 9; Matt. xiii. 25 (Quod si non dormissent, nec malus fortasse zizania seminare potuisset); Luke ii. 37, vi. 12, xii. 35; Acts xvi. 25; 2 Cor. vi. 5, xi. 27; 1 Thess. v. 6; and many other passages.

[4] Bar. viii. 482 (ed. Migne). They were the vigils before the feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, Nativity of St. John Baptist, St. Peter, Sexto Kalendar Aprilis in Resurrectione, Easter, Ascension Day, Quinquagesima, Beheading of St. John Baptist, Saints Peter and Paul, St. Martin, St. Symphorian, St. Lidorius, and St. Hilary. This makes fourteen in all. In the Church of England there are sixteen festivals whose eves are appointed for fasting.

[5] As at Buda [A.D. 1279], where the canon ran thus:—"Præcipimus quod ecclesiarum rectores in suis ecclesiis vigilias fieri a laicis non permittant, cum ex hoc scandala proveniant et peccata, nisi forsan in illis ecclesiis, in

only those in private houses, but even those in churches, began to be accompanied with dancing, pagan rites, and unbecoming games. This was particularly the case with the vigils kept in honour of St. Martin, which were denounced by name as superstitious, together with wakes, "vigiliæ circa corpora mortuorum," in A.D. 590. St. Isidore[1] blames those who objected to the principle of keeping vigil, and calls them "a kind of heretics." They were named Nyctages, or Nystazontes. St. Bernard (twelfth century) has a sermon on the vigil of Saints Peter and Paul, shewing the uses to which vigils may be applied. The solemn dedication of the nights before Christmas and Easter to devotional exercise has found favour with all Christians. In the Church of England there is a growing disposition to adopt a solemn late service at midnight, or near it, before these feasts.

VIRGINITY. The unmarried or celibate state, voluntarily accepted as a means of holiness. When Christian communities were formed, the subject of celibacy or virginity, and its place in the divine economy, soon became a matter of inquiry, as we learn from St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians: the subject being specially brought forward in the seventh chapter. The general import of the Apostle's teaching, or his express or implied assertions, seem to shew that the celibate state is superior to that of marriage: "he would have all men as himself" unmarried; the virgin is "holy both in body and in spirit;" "he that giveth the virgin in marriage doeth well; he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better." It has sometimes been asserted that the Apostle's commendation of virginity was merely on account of temporary reasons, as in ver. 26, "I suppose that this is good (*i.e.* the unmarried state) on account of the present distress." St. Paul, it is argued, might refer by these words to persecutions which Christians were then exposed to. Yet this does not fully and adequately express his meaning: and it can hardly be said with the chapter in question before us that this is even the primary reason why the Apostle gives a preference to celibacy. As Estius[2] shews, the Apostle's words, compared with other passages in this chapter, cannot be supposed to have this limited or exclusive reference; nor would his teaching then, as is obviously intended, be of general application, or have any bearing upon the ordinary condition of Christians in after ages.

The import of the Apostle's language in this chapter seems so clear and unequivocal to Olshausen[3] that he thus remarks on verses 32-34: "These words are so strong as to incline to the belief that the Apostle gives an objective preference to celibacy, as the (Roman) Catholic Church maintains." He adds that the Apostle's "words are so strongly expressed that the defenders of celibacy are obliged to limit them," and that if the saying "she that is married careth for the things of the world how she may please her husband," "is intended to refer to marriage, it would directly destroy the idea of a life devoted to God." This passage, he says, can only be understood to mean that "the Apostle is describing the ordinary state of things, from the influence of which the believer is frequently not exempt, but that by no means a description of marriage, or of Christian marriage, is here given." Now, admitting that the Apostle is describing what marriage ordinarily is, it is certain that he is referring to Christian marriage, as the subject is directly before him: to suppose any reference to heathen marriage in his advice for the guidance of Christian society would be manifestly unallowable. But the commentator rightly says that Christian marriage does not *necessarily* imply a state of bondage to earthly cares and trials, though the Apostle undoubtedly teaches or implies that such is its manifest *tendency* in whatever degree realized, or even if not at all: just as in the corresponding clause of the sentence, the virgin's freedom from the duties of marriage leaves the fullest time and opportunity (whether or not they are duly improved) for her devotion to the Lord's service. Admitting this, the inference is unquestionable, that as regards Christian duties and obligations virginity is a higher or preferable state to that of marriage. St. John also intimates the same truth in the Apocalypse, when he says of the hundred and forty and four thousand before the Throne, who alone can sing the new song of the Redeemed and follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth, that they are not defiled with women, for they are virgins [xiv. 3, 4].

But the Scripture not only teaches the especial excellence of virginity, it also presents an example of its realization in Christian life. In St. Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, St. Luke speaks of his meeting the four daughters of St. Philip the Evangelist, who were virgins, or had made a profession of virginity. Had they been merely unmarried women, to record the fact would have been superfluous and unmeaning. They have been always, as à Lapide says, recorded in the catalogue of virgins. The pre-eminence of the virgin state is unanimously taught by the Fathers from the Apostolic age. Thus St. Ignatius, in his epistle to Polycarp, "If any one

quibus ex devotione fidelium tales consueverunt fieri ab antiquo" [Raynaldus, in continuation of Baronius, xlii. Concilium Budense]. They were forbidden also at York in A.D. 1367.

[1] "Est autem quoddam genus hæreticorum, superfluas existimantium sacras vigilias, et spirituali opere infructuosus, dicentes jussa temerari divina, qui noctem fecit ad requiem, sicut diem ad laborem" [*De Eccl. Off.* xxii.]

[2] "*Instantem* seu præsentem *necessitatem* non nulli interpretantur necessitatem moriendi. Quod non placet. Alii ingruentes persecutiones quas facilius ferunt et expeditius fugiunt qui conjugem et liberos non habent, secundum illud Salvatoris *Væ prægnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus* [Matt. xxiv.] Verum quia generalis est Apostoli doctrina pertinens etiam ad tempora ecclesiæ pacata: magis probo generalem commentarium quem huc adferunt plerique tam Græci quam Latini, per *instantem necessitatem* intelligentes hujus sæculi molestias et incommoda quæ plurimum secum trahit status conjugalis: quas paulo post, alio nomine, tribulationes carnis [v. 28] Apostolus appellat." [*Comment. in loco.*]

[3] *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, in loco*, Clark's transl.

can remain in chastity for the honour of the Lord's flesh, let him remain without boasting." And in his epistle to the Smyrnæans, he salutes the virgins. In the Apostolical Constitutions [iv. 14] we find the vow or profession of virginity clearly recognised. "Concerning virginity, we have received no commandment, but we leave it in the power of those that are willing as a vow [εὐχήν], exhorting them so far in this matter that they do not promise anything rashly, since Solomon says, 'It is better not to vow, than to vow and not pay.' Let [such] a virgin therefore be holy in body and soul, as the temple of God, as the house of Christ, as the habitation of the Holy Spirit. For she that vows [ἐπαγγειλαμένην] ought to do such things as are suitable to her vow [ἐπαγγέλμα], and to shew that her vow is real, and made on account of leisure for piety, and not to cast a reproach upon marriage." And Justin Martyr says that there are many men and women of sixty or seventy years of age who were made Christ's disciples from their youth, and remain in a state of virginity [ἄφθοροι διάμενουσι, *Apol.* i. 15]. Now, as the Apology from which this is quoted was addressed by St. Justin to the Emperor Antoninus about A.D. 148, these celibates, who were then of the age of sixty or seventy years, and whom, he says, he can produce from every nation, must have made their vow or profession during the lifetime of some of the Apostles, and, as can only be supposed, with their sanction. At the close of the second century we find a special reason assigned for the honour paid to virgins: though this was probably always understood or implied in the vow of virginity. Tertullian speaks of virgins as "espoused to Christ [*De Resurr. Carn.* lxi.], married to God, and preserving their beauty for Him" [*Ad Uxor.* i.]. St. Cyprian also says of one who had quitted her state as a virgin, that she was false, if not to a husband, yet to Christ, and describes in glowing terms the exalted rank of virginity in the Church, and of the special rewards promised to them in the heavenly kingdom [*De Habit. Virg.*].

We shall now sum up what is known, or may probably be conjectured, respecting virginity during the first three centuries. It was from the first a life-long profession. Virgins did not then live in community, but with parents or relatives. This is an acknowledged fact, which may be illustrated from certain irregularities which St. Cyprian censures amongst virgins, which could hardly have existed in community life, some of them frequenting the same bath with men, or, on account of their wealth, being adorned with rich clothing and ornaments. Probably their vow was at first secretly made, being only known to parents or relatives; though the virgin in some cases adopted a peculiar dress which would exhibit her profession to the world. Such a dress was probably not the general usage, and its adoption or not doubtless depended much on individual taste or judgment. Even wearing a veil, then the ordinary usage of females, was not universal amongst professed virgins at the close of the second century. Tertullian, in his treatise

De Velandis Virginibus, strongly recommends the custom as most becoming "the spouses of Christ," but his language by no means implies that such was then the ordinary usage.

The profession of virginity did not at first depend on or require ecclesiastical sanction. It may rather be called a lay-movement in the Church, which originated from the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles. They had promised that to the celibate should be given the highest rewards of future happiness and glory; numbers of both sexes, and of every age and condition of life, believed the promise, and deprived themselves of the nearest and dearest earthly joys for the kingdom of Heaven's sake.

There was not for the first two centuries, so far as is known, any organization amongst celibates of either sex, regulating the times of prayer, fasting, and other religious exercises. But soon afterwards, as might have been expected, we find a further development of the celibate profession; the Church giving a direct sanction to the vow of virginity, which was publicly made with certain rites and ceremonies, and punishing most severely those who were faithless to their vow. Thus it is enjoined by the 13th canon of the Council of Eliberis [A.D. 305], that if virgins consecrated to God (Deo sacratæ) commit adultery (adulteraverint) by violating their vow, they are to be excommunicated, and not even allowed to receive the Eucharist when dying, unless by a life of subsequent penitence proof has been given that their fall was owing to sudden temptation or infirmity. St. Ambrose, in the fourth century, says that a veil was given to the virgin on making her profession, and that it was made publicly, and as his words imply, with a certain liturgical service in Church [*De lapsu Virginis Consecratæ*, c. v.].

But a still more important development of the celibate life took place in the third century. Celibates, as we have seen, first lived with parents or relatives, or sometimes alone in caves and deserts, removed from the temptations of the world; but this mode of life, though suitable for some, was not found generally beneficial: life in community, in many respects, was obviously preferable, where there was not only retirement from the world, but a mutual association in prayer and works of charity, and an encouragement of each other to faith, good works, and perseverance in their profession. St. Antony [A.D. 251-356] is generally considered the founder of the monastic system in the Church, but there can be no doubt that when he renounced the world, and even at an earlier date, community-life, in some degree, existed among celibates in Egypt. Sozomen mentions that Pachomius first lived alone in a cave, but that an angel appeared to him commanding him to assemble some monks to instruct them; and he makes mention of their rules of prayer, fasting, and manual labour [Soz. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 14]. The first founder of religious communities of women is not certainly known; the initial stage would probably be that virgins in the same neighbourhood would agree to live together for mutual sympathy and help, and

would gradually form a rule of life of prayer, fasting, and good works. St. Athanasius, in his life of St. Antony, informs us, (which seems to imply that conventual life was already established amongst women,) that on renouncing the world he committed his sister to the care of a community of virgins, or, as some assert, made her their superior. [MONASTICISM.]

VIRTUES, THEOLOGICAL. All virtue is the imitation of God, and the perfection of any leads to union with Him: in all virtue also there is a human element founded on a recognition of creaturely inferiority. Thus courage in its highest aspect is an imitation of the Divine protest against wrong, "The Lord is a man of war;" but as wrong can be formidable to a limited and imperfect being, human courage includes contempt of danger. Often we measure courage by the degree of danger contemned, and this is reasonable if we test the strength of devotion to a good cause by the strength of danger which it conquers. Again, humility in one aspect is a recognition of the ever-present contrast between the littleness and imperfection of the creature and the perfect majesty of God; in another, perhaps a higher, it is an imitation of the all-embracing love of Him "Who humbleth Himself to behold the things that are in heaven and earth." It follows that the theological virtues are not distinguished from the moral or cardinal virtues, in the sense that the theological virtues are concerned with our duty to God and the moral virtues with our duty to man. The real distinction is, that the theological virtues presuppose a knowledge of the revealed nature of God as a condition of their exercise, while the moral virtues issue in such a knowledge, as it is written, "if any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine."

The theological virtues are Faith, Hope, Love, otherwise called Charity: of which two are preliminaries and conditions of the third, which includes them and will supersede them. There can be no doubt that the enumeration was determined originally by the well-known passage in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the division is sufficiently incidental to raise the question upon what systematic principle it originally rested, or if indeed it rested upon any. The three are practically inseparable, and it might be said with almost equal plausibility that each of them generates the others. The common order has been well given by Keble:—

> "Faith is their fixed unswerving root,
> Hope their unfading flower,
> Fair deeds of charity their fruit,
> The glory of their bower."

This implies that the order is as follows, first we believe the revealed law of truth and duty, then we desire the reward of obedience and the blessing of the triumph of righteousness, then we practise the duties lovingly. Another way of representing it would be that, first we look forward to what is promised, and then both practise what is commanded and also believe the testimony; yet another, and one which perhaps is as often to be traced in experience as either of the others, is when the soul begins by doing that which God has commanded, and so attains to desire that which He has promised, and to believe His record of Himself. This uncertainty as to the order in which they arise in the individual does not affect their logical order, which is the same as that in which St. Paul enumerates them. Faith is the virtue of the understanding, Hope, according to St. John of the Cross, is the virtue of the memory, Charity of the will. In other words, the theological virtues are the right relation of the reason, the imagination, and the will, to the spiritual world as presented in revelation. As the spiritual world is real, it is our perfection to believe in it; as it is desirable and not yet made fully manifest, it is our perfection to hope for it; as the Supreme Good is revealed as the centre and foundation both of the spiritual world and of the natural, it is our perfection to love Him, both in Himself and in all His operations both of nature and of grace, to love Him and to love all things for His sake, to obey Him and to be fellow-workers with Him. It is obvious that Faith and Hope are constituted virtues by the gift of revelation; if the certainty of the truths which are their objects were natural, faith and hope would simply be forms of prudence. And for this reason among others they are partial and transitory, their place is under an economy where we have to be guided by a revelation which is not homogeneous with the rest of our knowledge, and will be superseded altogether with our present knowledge when we attain, if we attain, the central point from which we can discern the natural order and connection of truth. For the same reason also love is dependent upon the gift of revelation while we remain under the present dispensation. Because love is permanent and absolute, it follows that it can have no basis in the partial and transitory knowledge which is all that is attainable here. Revelation says, "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength." Reason says, "Be not righteous overmuch," and again, "All things come alike to all . . . to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not." Revelation says, "Love your enemies." Reason says, "Remember that they may become your friends, and that your friends may become your enemies," and even if we suppose that reason is capable of rising precariously to a transcendental point of view, this high theory remains as an ideal to gild some actions instead of being a rule for all, and the greater part of life has still to be regulated upon the low ground of practical experience. It is clear, therefore, that God in Revelation is the ground of Faith, Hope, and Charity, which are therefore properly called theological virtues. They are inseparable, "Faith without works is dead, being alone;" as it consists in a realization of the unseen, it tends directly to disappear when what we are to realise loses hold upon our desires and our actions. Hope clearly presupposes Faith, and its life is still more visibly dependent upon charity. Charity, of course, implies faith, and, though absolutely disinterested, is still accom-

panied more or less consciously by Hope, because, as we love the supreme good, so we must desire its complete manifestation, and there is nothing selfish in the desire, though our own blessedness is included in the regeneration of all things. In the Lord's Prayer all three are united, "Hallowed be Thy name" is the prayer of Faith, "Thy kingdom come" of Hope, "Thy will be done" of Love.

VOCATION. A calling, or "inward motion by the Holy Ghost" [Jer. xxiii. 21; Heb. v. 4; Rom. x. 15] to the ecclesiastical state, is marked by right motives in seeking it,—that is, without desire of the glory of this world, or of income, or a pleasant, easy life, but by readiness in enduring pain and labour, and by desire to promote the glory of God, and the edifying and salvation of man. Bishop Andrewes explains to Peter du Moulin, that the words "pastor" and "vocation," in the sense placed upon them by Protestants, that is, with the meaning of ordination and ministers, were innovations of the sixteenth century; as the pastorate of Scripture [1 Pet. ii 25] and of ecclesiastical writers designates the office of bishops, and "vocation" has its special meaning. The Twenty-third Article is distinct upon this point: "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation ["Ecclesia" *Lat. Vers.*] before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent which *be chosen and called* to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." "Our Apostles," says St. Clement, "knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there should arise contention touching the name of the Episcopate, and for this cause, being endowed with a perfect prescience, they constituted the aforesaid (bishops and deacons) and thenceforward set down a succession, that when they were fallen asleep, then other men approved (of the Holy Spirit) might receive their office and ministry" [*ad Corinth.* c. xliv.]. The Thirty-sixth Article further and explicitly asserts that, "we decree all such to be rightly, orderly [ordine = *κατὰ τάξιν*], and lawfully consecrated and ordered," who have been "consecrated or ordered according to the rites" of the Ordinal; and in the preface to the latter it is said, "no man might presume to execute any of them" (the orders of bishops, priests and deacons) "except he were first called, tried, and examined, and known to have such qualities as are requisite for the same, and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved, and admitted thereunto by lawful authority," that is, "hath episcopal consecration or ordination." The candidate is therefore required to state that he "thinks he is *truly called*, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this realm (Ordering of Deacons, "this United Church of England and Ireland;" Ordering of Priests, and Consecration of Bishops), to the ministry of the Church."

VULGATE. [Versions.]

W

WAFER. The name technically given to the bread used for Holy Communion in Roman Churches, and allowed, though not commanded, by the Book of Common Prayer.

It is not proposed in this article to enter into the question of the use or non-use of leaven, but simply to state the history of the adoption of the wafer form. Yet it is difficult to determine with anything like certainty when the use of wafers began. At first, no doubt, the offerings of the people were consecrated, but it is easy to see how, as Christians became more numerous, this custom would be in many ways inconvenient and even objectionable. Moreover, feelings of reverence would teach that the bread used for so holy a purpose should be the very purest and best possible, and not that which was common, coarse, and liable to much impurity. It was partly on this account that the use of leaven gradually ceased in the West. It is certain, moreover, that the bread given at the Holy Communion had a special and marked appearance. Bede [*Eccl. Hist.* ii. c. 5] relates how the sons of King Sabert [A.D. 616] asked the Bishop Mellitus, "Why do you not give us also that white bread (panem nitidum) which you used to give to our father, and which you still continue to give to the people in the church?" Mabillon [*Analecta*, p. 151] quotes a Spanish writer, Eldefonso or Hildefonsus, who wrote A.D. 845. "Non debent," he says, "in hostiis scribi nisi unum ex his tribus quale vis, aut $\overline{\text{XPC}}$, aut $\overline{\text{IHC}}$, aut $\overline{\text{DS}}$, nisi tantum in una parte $\overline{\text{XPC}}$, et in alia crux cum duabus literis ita $\overline{\text{XPC}}$ $\overset{+}{\text{A}}\omega$. In uno nempe ferro, tamen magno, possunt quinque simul hostiæ formari." Martene mentions a pair of irons for baking these breads of very ancient date, as existing at Braine.

By the twelfth century it is clear that wafers had become general in the West. Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick [A.D. 1090], mentions irons for baking them [*Vet. Epist. Hibern. Syll.*, ed. Usserio, p. 59]. Honorius of Autun [circa 1120] says, "Statutum esse panem consecrandum in modum denarii formari vel fieri" [*De Gemma Animæ*, 66]. And the reason of this he gives in chap. xxxv., "ideo imago Domini cum litteris in hoc pane exprimitur quia et in denario imago et nomen imperatoris scribitur." Durandus mentions the same custom [*De Ritibus*, ii. c. 38, n. 6], and quotes from St. Epiphanius the word στρογγυλοειδῆς, "somewhat round," as applied to the altar-bread. Martene quotes Honorius as above, and also a very old manuscript he found at Molême, containing a couplet which would appear to have been commonly known:—

> "Candida, triticea, tenuis, non magna, rotunda,
> Expers fermenti non salsa sit hostia Christi."
> [*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* bk. i. c. 3, sec. 7.]

This couplet is also mentioned by a synod held in the Isle of Man in the fourteenth century. It seems clear that at the time Honorius wrote wafers were generally adopted.

Wafers were usually made by those in holy orders, or in their presence. Martene quotes "Theodulfus Aurelianensis Episcopus" as directing "Panes quos Deo in sacrificium offertis aut a vobis ipsis, aut a vestris pueris coram vobis nitide et studiose fiant" [*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* ut supra]. An Anglo-Saxon decree [*Eccl. Instit.* &c., ed. Thorpe, vol. ii. p. 404] says, "We also command that the ofletes[1] which in the Holy Mystery ye offer to God, ye either bake yourselves or your servants before you."

The Prayer Book of 1549 directed that the bread should be "unleavened and round, as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in divers pieces." Our present rubric, "It shall suffice," &c., was inserted in 1552. Bishop Cosin proposed a rubric containing the words "though wafer-bread (pure and without any figure set upon it) shall not be forbidden, especially in such churches where it hath been accustomed." It is plain that a rubric which pronounces the "bread such as is usual to be eaten" to be *sufficient* does not thereby prohibit wafers, but suggests rather the contrary, *i.e.* the ordinary use of wafers, and the permitted use of common bread. Historical evidence also confirms this interpretation. Archbishop Parker, writing to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, refers to the rubric, and says, "I trust that you mean not universally in your diocese to command or wink at the loaf-bread, but, for peace and quietness, here and there to be *contented* therewith" [*Corresp.* p. 460]. In his visitation articles he inquires "Whether they do use to minister the Holy Communion in wafer-bread, according to the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions?" Bishop Andrewes always used wafers, and doubt-

[1] The common name for altar-bread—also "obley."

less the troubled and rebellious character of the times, and the influence of the foreign reformers alone prevented it from being the regular custom.

The Oriental churches are very careful in the preparation of altar bread. In Greece it is made in the form of a round loaf, and stamped with the seal $\frac{\text{IC} \mid \text{XC}}{\text{NI} \mid \text{KA}}$ *i.e.* Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ, "Jesus Christ conquers." [Bona, *Rerum Liturg.* lib. vi. Mabillon, *De Pane Azymo.* Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* i. c. 3.]

WALDENSES. A sect founded in the South of France about the middle of the twelfth century, originally known by the name of "The Poor of Lyons," but afterwards called by the name of their founder Peter Waldo.[1]

Much has been written about the antiquity of the Waldenses, who were at one time supposed to have a direct line of association with the Primitive Church. But the popular ideas as to their antiquity have arisen from the fact that some of Waldo's followers migrated from Lyons to the country between France and Italy, then still occupied by some of the ALBIGENSES, and that superficial historians have confused their origin with that of the latter, who, though not themselves a sect of primitive antiquity, were in some way derived from the PAULICIANS. The association of the Waldenses with the Albigenses was, however, only of a local and social character, and as sects they were entirely distinct in their respective origins. Persons of more learning have been misled by ancient documents, such as the "Noble Lesson," which were once supposed to belong to the eleventh century; but these are now proved to be either forgeries or authentic documents of a later date than was supposed [Todd's *Books of the Vaudois;* Maitland's *Facts and Documents relating to Albigenses and Waldenses*].

Peter Waldo, Waldus, or, as he was sometimes called "Waldensis"[2] (that is of Veaux, or Waldum, his birthplace, near Lyons), was a rich merchant of Lyons, and is said to have engaged a young priest of literary tastes, named Stephen d'Evisa, to translate books for him which he was unable to read in the original languages in which they were written. Among such translations was a collection of patristic comments on the Gospels and some other portions of Holy Scripture. By much reading of these Waldo was influenced to seek a life of perfection according to the literal precepts of the Gospel, especially by "selling all that he had" to give to the poor. His new-born zeal, and the contagion with which ascetic mysticism always spreads among multitudes, soon made Waldo the leader of a large number of citizens, who assumed the name of the Poor of Lyons [A.D. 1160] from their avowed rule of poverty. Their religion becoming fanatical in its character they were rebuked by the Archbishop of Lyons, who forbad them to preach or to expound the Holy Scriptures. They answered, however, in holy words which every generation of fanatics presumptuously and profanely adopts, that Christ had commanded them to "preach the Gospel to every creature" [Mark xvi. 15], and that they "ought to obey God rather than men" [Acts v. 29]. Waldo and his followers claimed to hold a commission in the same manner as it was held by those to whom Christ had given it by word of mouth, and who received the inspiration of the Holy Ghost for their work, and thought it their duty to disobey the otherwise lawful commands of their ecclesiastical superior. This open resistance to authority brought about the condemnation of the Waldenses at the fourth Lateran Council [A.D. 1179], and led, eventually, to their excommunication by Lucius III. in A.D. 1183. Waldo himself died in the year 1192. Perhaps their resistance did a still more extensive though indirect mischief to the Church, by calling out this decree of excommunication than by their schism, for it laid the foundation and marked out the plan of the Inquisition [Maitland's *Facts and Docum.* p. 176]. When driven from Lyons they spread largely in Lombardy and Piedmont.

The Waldenses were, at first, merely a society of enthusiasts, who conformed to the Church of the mediæval period in everything except submission to authority; but whose freedom of action (rather than opinion) took the strong form of preaching when, where, and what, they liked, without ordination, and without commission or license. There were probably many lay-preachers among the monks and friars of the period, but they always acted in obedience to authority, and did not, therefore, offer a precedent to the new party. When that party was excommunicated, the necessities of the position they had assumed forced them (like the Methodists in England in a later age) to establish a ministry, and their departure from Catholic principles was the natural result. Their decadence went on gradually until the Reformation, when the Waldenses readily amalgamated with the followers of Calvin and the "Church of Geneva." Several of them had much to do with the spread of Socinianism at Geneva, to his great trouble, even in Calvin's lifetime. Since the Reformation there has been nothing to distinguish the Waldenses from other Calvinistic Protestants except their name; but, like the Huguenots of France, they suffered much persecution during the seventeenth century. At the present day their habits are less religious than those of most Protestants, but the Bible Society and other English mission institutions have used great efforts to reclaim them, and there

[1] The first trace of the name "Waldenses" is said to be in an edict of Ildephonsus, King of Arragon, which speaks of the "Waldenses, otherwise called the Poor of Lyons." The name sometimes had a mystical turn given to it, *q. d.* "Vallenses, in valle lachrymarum manentes." Hence the idea that the "Vallenses" were so called from the "valleys" of Piedmont.

[2] He is so called by Stephen de Belleville, a Dominican who wrote about the year 1225, some thirty years after the death of Waldo. "Waldenses autem dicti sunt a primo hujus hæresis auctore, qui nominatus fuit Waldensis. Dicuntur etiam Pauperes de Lugduno, quia ibi inceperunt in professione paupertatis. Vocant autem de Pauperes spiritu." But Maitland gives nine examples of persons named Waldo between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. [*Facts and Docum.* p. 108.]

is reason to hope these endeavours have not been altogether without success.

WAVE-OFFERING. The wave-offering according to Talmudic tradition, consistently also with the terms of the Law [Exod. xxix. 24; Lev. viii. 27], was made by the priest placing the wave-offering on the hands of the person who offered it, with his own hands beneath, and moving it forwards and backwards [מוליך ומביא, Talm.], to signify that it was offered to God, and restored by Him to the use of man; later Jewish tradition adds that it was waved also from right to left and *vice versa*, but with what symbolism does not appear. The wave-offering was made on the consecration of priests [Lev. viii. 25], the completion of the Nazarite's vow [Numb. vi. 20], the jealousy offering [Numb. v. 25], the leper's offering [Lev. xiv. 12], the bread of the first-fruits, the two lambs as a peace-offering at Pentecost [Lev. xxiii. 20], and the wave-sheaf on the morrow morn of the Paschal Sabbath. This latter rite was highly typical. St. Paul recognises its complete significance. "Now is Christ risen from the dead and become the first-fruits of them that slept" [1 Cor. xv. 20]; "Christ the first-fruits" [1 Cor. xv. 23. It would seem also that he was writing about the time of the Paschal feast; 1 Cor. v. 7, compare 1 Cor. xvi. 8]. In any case this provision of the Law shews that on the day following the Paschal Sabbath, throughout the whole of which our Lord lay in the sepulchre, this wave-offering of the first-fruits of the barley harvest would in due course have been made before the rent veil in the Temple. And on that same day Christ the first-fruits of them that slept came forth from the tomb. This wave-sheaf was so indispensable, doubtless as being intended to typify the Lord's resurrection, that when the harvest was not sufficiently forward at the new moon to give hope of a wave-sheaf of ripened corn, an entire month was intercalated, which month was simply VeAdar, the second Adar. [Harvey *on the Creeds*, 375.]

WEEKS, PROPHETIC. The only passage in prophecy where "weeks" are directly mentioned in a sense apparently different from the common one, but yet as a definite and intelligible measure of time, is Dan. ix. 24-27. It is, however, generally agreed that a large class of prophecies in both the Old and New Testaments are framed on the same principle as this one, and that it and they mutually illustrate one another. This principle is expressly enunciated in two passages,—Numb. xiv. 34, and conversely and more appositely, Ezek. iv. 6: in which places we are told that a day, in type, is to represent a year of history.

If this principle was recognised at all generally, and not only in the individual case of Ezekiel's symbolic action, nothing is more natural that these "prophetic days" should be grouped into "prophetic weeks," or periods of seven years. The septennial system of Hebrew chronology, and the repeated involution of the sabbatical period, must have made the grouping of years, like days, into weeks an obvious, if not a familiar, conception to the students of the Mosaic Law. There is indeed one passage [Gen. xxix. 27], and that a simple narrative one, where it is possible that a period of seven years is actually called a "week:" and though this is not the most probable explanation of the words, and a different one will actually contrast the "week" of days with the hebdomad of years, still it suggests a sense of a certain correlation between them. The seven years of service obtained the right to the week's wedding-feast.

Taking then the "weeks" of Daniel to be periods of seven years, it will be probable, to say the least, that the obscure prophecies, Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7, 11, 12; Rev. xi. 2, 3, 9, 11, xii. 6, 14, xiii. 5, are to be similarly understood. For, comparing these passages among themselves, it can hardly be doubted that they all refer to the same period—or, if more cautious language be preferred, that St. John referred to a period which *he* understood Daniel to have referred to, either directly or through a similar period typifying it. At any rate, it is almost certain that each writer is speaking of the same period in one passage as *he himself* does in the other; that the forty-two months of Rev. xi. 2, xiii. 5, are identical with the twelve hundred and sixty days of xi. 3, xii. 6; and again, that the "time, times, and a half," (*i.e.* three and a half years) of Dan. vii. 25 are the same as the similarly defined period of Dan. xii. 7, and that the twelve hundred and ninety, and thirteen hundred and thirty-five days, of Dan. xii. 11, 12, are an extension of these twelve hundred and sixty to a "month" or two longer. The "time, times, and a half," recurring in Rev. xii. 14, is so obvious a quotation from Daniel as to demonstrate a connection between the two groups of prophecy; but perhaps it is safer, in so obscure a matter, not to assume that the relation is that of absolute identity.

But whether the relation between them be more or less close, it cannot be accidental that they are capable of a common interpretation: and whatever may be their precise meaning, it is hardly doubtful that we have the right clue to it in the principle above named,—that a "day" in prophecy means a common year, and that these "days" are, for convenience of numeration or some other object, grouped together, not only into "weeks" of seven years, but into "months" of thirty years, and "times" of three hundred and sixty. Whatever the date from which the twelve hundred and sixty, twelve hundred and ninety, and thirteen hundred and thirty-five days are to be reckoned, whatever the nature of the events that are to follow at their respective terminations, a principle of interpretation which makes them thus mutually consistent is almost sure to be the true one. It seems indeed that in Daniel "a day" and "a week" are so definitely appropriated to this prophetical sense, that a periphrasis is required, to shew that the ordinary one is intended: thus we have the "three weeks of days" of x. 2, and "the two thousand three hundred evening-mornings" of viii. 14. To the latter is added the comment, "The vision of the

evening and the morning . . . is true," is to be understood literally. One other possible instance may be added of the same manner of computation, viz. Luke xi. 30. Here "the sign of Jonas the prophet" seems connected not with his resurrection after three days, as in Matt. xii. 40, but with his message to Nineveh: which was "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed." It seems at least possible that this may be intended to refer to the forty years which elapsed (according to the probable chronology) from the Crucifixion to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Hardly any critic of eminence has disputed this system of calculation, as the one to be applied to the (really or fictitiously) prophetic chronology of Daniel. It is of course impossible to disprove the conjecture, that the weeks may be literal weeks. Daniel praying for a restoration of Judah, a year or two before the restoration was to come, *may* have been encouraged by being told, that it should come in the course of one year and one hundred and twenty-five days: and we are not well enough acquainted with either the history or the minute chronology of the period to say that nothing happened corresponding to what Daniel describes, even in the 25th and 26th verses. Zerubbabel or some one else *may* have reached Jerusalem seven weeks after the decree of Cyrus, the rebuilding have lasted a year and sixty-nine days, and some one (suppose Salathiel or Pedaiah, who may have returned with his son) have been assassinated at the end of that time. The malicious opposition [Ezra iv. 5] of the enemies of the Jews *may* have resulted, not only in this assassination, but in an interruption of the worship at the altar on the temple-site, three or four days after it. But this conjectural history is so absurdly arbitrary, that no reasonable person would accept it. Supposing the prophecy genuine, is it not certain that Ezra would have recorded its fulfilment? Supposing it a late forgery, what should have put it into the forger's head, either to invent these details, which to his contemporaries would be no sign of veracity, or to record them from some document which, if authentic, was almost certainly forgotten and unknown?

The sole authority worth mentioning for this opinion is, that apparently the Septuagint translator did regard the seventy weeks as reaching from the time of the vision to the rebuilding of Jerusalem—in which Daniel himself was to have a share. But by his wild guess-work in the remainder of the passage, this writer has destroyed his claim to regard: there can be no doubt that the seven weeks and sixty-two weeks are of the same kind as the seventy, whether they coincide with them or not. He (partly by a different reading of the unpointed text, partly by sheer guessing and mistranslation) substitutes "years" for "weeks," and adds the seventy, seven, and sixty-two together—commencing, however, not from the beginning nor the end of the first seventy weeks, but (if one is to credit him with any meaning at all, or with suggesting any rational interpretation of the prophecy) with a chronological era of some importance, but nowhere suggested in this passage. It is plain that he is not, like a Targumist, paraphrasing so as to suggest a traditional interpretation, but forcing the text so as to support a conjectural one. Such an act is not necessarily fraudulent: the translator saw that some passages of the book referred to the age of Antiochus, and not unnaturally believed that this did; and not being too profound a Hebrew scholar, or having a literary conscience too intolerant of barbarisms, he may have believed that the prophet *meant* what he has made him say, and *said* something suggesting it. But, whether the paraphrase is honest or fraudulent, the interpretation is impossible.

It appears, therefore, that the key to the interpretation of the passage in Daniel is to understand "a week" as seven years: and it is not difficult to find several theories, more or less plausible, giving periods of time when the prophecy was, on this interpretation, fulfilled. Perhaps the two most reasonable views are [1] that the end of the weeks is fixed by the "causing sacrifice and oblation to cease" in the middle of the last of them, *i.e.* that the period ends with the destruction of the Jewish polity and temple; [2] that the period of seventy weeks is that from B.C. 458 to A.D. 33, beginning with "the going forth of" Artaxerxes' first "commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem," and ending with our Lord's appearance, His sacrifice, and His rejection by the Jews. The former view seems to suit Daniel's description best; and it would embody the spirit of the other, for the destruction of Jerusalem was the direct consequence of the rejection of Christ, and "cutting off of Messiah." But it is much harder than the other to reconcile with any probable scheme of Persian chronology.

WHITSUN DAY. The English name for the great feast of Pentecost, *i.e.* the fiftieth day from Easter. The etymology of the term has been strangely confused. It has been derived [*a*] from White Sunday, in supposed allusion to the white garments of the Neophytes, as Whitsuntide was one of the two chief seasons for baptism; and [*b*] from Wytsonday, *i.e.* Wit, or Wisdom Sunday, in reference to the outpouring of Wisdom upon the Apostles. But the real White Sunday is the octave of Easter, or Dominica in albis, and both these derivations must be abandoned when the proper use of the title is considered. It is not Whit Sunday but Whitsun Day, as Easter is Easter Day, and the week is Whitsun Week, not Whit Week, and the season Whitsuntide, not Whittide. In Yorkshire, and doubtless also in other parts of England, the feast is commonly called Whissun Day, the accent being strongly thrown on the first syllable, and the two days following Whissun Monday and Whissun Tuesday. We have also mention in Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law* of Whitsun (not Whit) farthings or Pentecostals. The name is thus derived, as Dr. Neale shews [*Essays on Liturgiology*, &c.], directly from Pentecost, passing by various corruptions, *Pingsten*, *Whingsten*, into the German *Pfingsten*, and the English *Whitsun*. The Germans have also

their *Pfingsten Woche* in exact correspondence to our *Whitsun Week.*

The great event which this festival celebrates is the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Church, and its observance may be traced almost to the beginning of Christianity. It would naturally take the place in the Christian Church of the Jewish feast of Pentecost. St. Epiphanius interprets Acts xx. 16 of this festival [*Hæres.* lxxv.; *Aerian.* vi.]. St. Irenæus names it in connection with the custom of standing at prayers [*Fragm. de Pasch.* in Justin Mart.]. Tertullian alludes to it frequently [*De Idol.* xiv.; *De Coron. Milit.* iii.; *De Bapt.* xix., &c.]. Origen names it in his work against Celsus [c. viii.], and St. Gregory Nazianzen calls it ἡμέρα Πνεύματος [*Orat.* xliv., *de Pentecost.*]. The term Pentecost was applied not only to the day itself, but to the whole fifty days between it and Easter, which were one continued festival. During this time all fasting and kneeling at prayers were prohibited, the standing posture at prayers being enjoined by the twentieth Canon of the Council of Nicæa.

During Pentecost it was usual to read in the Church the Acts of the Apostles [see authorities cited by Bingham, *Ant.* XIV. iii. 3]. It was also one of the chief times for the administration of Holy Baptism, in memory no doubt of the baptism by fire and the baptism of the three thousand.

In the Greek Church this festival still retains its ancient name, and its octave is called the "festival of all martyrs" (κυριακὴ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων μαρτυρησάντων). This latter day is the Western Trinity Sunday.

It is interesting to notice that on Whitsun Day, A.D. 1549, the Book of Common Prayer in English was first used.

WIDOWS. The widows of the Church are first mentioned as a class in Acts vi. 1 and ix. 39. The fuller account of their organization and rules for their admission into the roll (κατάλογος) of the Church are found in 1 Tim. v. 3-13. In this passage St. Paul gives directions on the subject to St. Timothy as Bishop of Ephesus. He speaks of the widows as a recognised body, and of their enrolment (χήρα καταλεγέσθω, κ.τ.λ.). To their number were admitted only such as [1] were sixty years of age, [2] had been but once married (univira), and [3] were "well reported of for good works." The younger widows were to be refused, for fear lest they should renounce their profession by a second marriage, and thus "cast off their first faith" (τὴν πρώτην πίστιν ἠθέτησαν) which was pledged, by that profession of widowhood, to our Lord. Such are spoken of by the Apostle as ἔχουσαι κρῖμα, "having condemnation," or as it is remarked by Tertullian, "*Habentes judicium quod primam fidem rescinderunt:* illam videlicet à quâ in viduitate inventæ, et professæ eam, non perseverant" [*De Monog.* 13].

After this plain authority of the New Testament it is not surprising to find the office and service of the widows frequently mentioned by early writers. St. Ignatius, writing to the Church of Smyrna, salutes τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας, or as it is in the longer form of the Epistle τὰς ἀεὶ παρθένους καὶ τὰς χήρας. The Apostolic Constitutions speak of the widows as an order from which the deaconesses were often chosen, though the virgins were to be preferred for that office [VI. xvii. 1]. "If any younger woman who hath lived only a little while with her husband, and hath lost him by death or by some other occasion, remain by herself, having the gift of widowhood (δῶρον χηρείας), she will be found blessed" [iii. 1]. But, as a rule, length of widowhood or age was required before they could make their profession. "If she (*i.e.* the widow) have lost her husband a long time ago, and have lived chastely and unblameably, and have well cared for her own household, like Judith and Anna, those illustrious ones, let her be reckoned among the number of the widows: but if she have only lately lost her husband let her not be trusted," &c. [viii. 25]. To the same effect, too, in the quasi-Ignatian Epistle to the Philippians we find a salutation to the "company of virgins and the band of widows" (τὸ σύστημα τῶν παρθένων, τὸ τάγμα τῶν χηρῶν). The rules for the admission of widows necessarily varied at different times. Tertullian implies that a widow who had not borne children was inadmissible—"ad quam sedem præter annos sexaginta non tantum univiræ, id est, nuptæ, aliquando eliguntur, sed et matres et quidem educatrices filiorum" [*De Virg. Veland.* c. ix.]. There was also a law of Theodosius to the same effect, but Bingham shews [*Antiq.* ii. 22] that the Church varied in practice in this particular. The rule of age also could not be constantly kept. Justinian mentions fifty or even forty as sufficient. But one qualification was most strictly required, viz. to have been the wife of but one husband.[1] So Tertullian, "Viduam adlegi in ordinationem nisi univiram non concedit" [*ad Uxor.* lib. i. c. 7].

The duties of the widows were similar to those of the deaconesses, and from their ranks the deaconesses were in part recruited. We read of their ministering to those in prison, and collecting the offerings of the faithful for the distressed. As a body they were presided over by the deaconesses, who were on that account called προκαθημέναι.

There was a difference in the ceremonies attending the consecration of widows and virgins. From the first priests were allowed to receive the vows of, and give the veil to, widows. Gelasius [A.D. 492-496] forbids the veiling of widows at any time, "quod nec auctoritas divina delegat, nec canonum forma præstituit" [*Ep.* ix. *ad Episc. Lucan.* c. 13]. Certainly, from the fifth century, bishops are strictly forbidden to perform this ceremony. But in the Roman rite "De Consecratione Viduæ" the widow is to be veiled by a priest, or to receive from the altar a veil consecrated by the bishop, and veil herself ("et ipsa

[1] Second marriages were only *tolerated* in the Primitive Church, a third marriage the Apostolic Constitutions say "shews great intemperance," and a fourth is "προφανὴς πορνεία καὶ ἀσέλγεια ἀναμφίβολος" [bk. iii. c. 2].

sibi, *non episcopus*, illud debet imponere"). The reason is to be found in the manifestly lower spiritual position of the widow as compared with the virgin. The Church always paid more honour to the estate of virginity, but the corruptions by which Christianity was surrounded were so great that it was necessary at first to lay very great restrictions upon those who professed the religious life; nor was it until the leaven of the Gospel had worked a great change in the world that those restrictions could be relaxed.

In the course of a few centuries the widows, together with the allied class of deaconesses, disappear from history. They were often found in the convents of later ages, but not as a distinct order, and, whatever their value to the community, were never invested with the special veil of the virgins. [Bingham, *Antiq.* bk. ii. c. 22, and bk. vii. c. 4. *Apostolic Constitutions*, bks. iii. and viii.].

WORD, THE [Ὁ Λόγος]. A mystical title of the Second Person in the Blessed Trinity, the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ.

The most conspicuous use of this title is in the writings of St. John. His Gospel opens with the declaration "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. . . . . And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only Begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth" [John i. 1-5, 14]. In the beginning of his first Epistle St. John also writes of "The Word of life" of which he and others had knowledge by their senses [1 John i. 1, 2]. In the Apocalypse the same Apostle describes the Saviour in mystical terms, and adds, "He was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood; and His Name is called, The Word of God" [Rev. xix. 13].

The manner in which this peculiar expression is used clearly marks it out as the designation of a Person; taking it out of the range of common language into that of special, technical, ecclesiastical or theological language. Thus the common idea of speech which is associated with a word, is not the primary notion set forth by the expression as used by St. John in this case, but is subordinated to that of Personality. [1] "The Word was *with* God" conveys the idea of one Person being with another Person, and not that of a verbal sound, a thought, or a manifestation of will being with Him. [2] The Word is represented as a personal Creator, "All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made." [3] The Word is declared to have a Divine Personality, "The Word was God." [4] The Word is said to have assumed human nature, "The Word was made [ἐγένετο] flesh, and dwelt among us." Whatever meaning, therefore, may underlie, or be comprehended in, this expression, no attention is drawn to that meaning by the writer, nor does he give any more indication of it than may be deduced from the expression itself. St. John simply dissociates it from its ordinary use, adopts it as a title of the Person respecting whom he writes, and leaves all explanation of the title to be ascertained, if at all, from other sources of information than the particular statements in the course of which it occurs. Such a mode of writing can only be accounted for in one of three ways: either by the supposition that the writer was using language so extremely familiar to his readers that no explanation was needed; or by the supposition that the explanation could be elsewhere found; or by the supposition that the expression contained a mystery which it was not intended, at that time, to reveal.

That "The Word" was familiar to Jews or Gentiles, as the title of a Person, is not proved, and is not at all probable. Some consider that Psa. xxxiii. 6, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made," or Psa. cxix. 89, "For ever, O Lord, Thy Word is settled in Heaven," were familiar examples of such a designation. But although "The Word" in these passages may now be properly interpreted of the Son of God, there is no proof that the Jews so understood them. Such an understanding has come upon us with the light of a later theology than theirs: and if, therefore, St. John adopted the title because he found it in the Psalms, he could not have adopted it because the meaning he intended was already familiar to the readers of those Psalms. Another Jewish origin for it has been found in "Memra," the Hebrew equivalent of Λόγος, which was substituted by the Scribes for the Sacred Tetragrammaton in their Targums and perhaps in their copies of the Old Testament books. But the most learned men have concluded that there is little probability in the supposition that "Memra" was used by the Jews with any reference to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.

Another set of critics trace out a heathen origin for the Λόγος of St. John, ὁ Λόγος holding a prominent place as a manifestation of, or emanation from, the Supreme Being, in the theological system of Plato: and this theory has been adopted so generally that it is perhaps difficult to convince one's mind of the extreme unreasonableness that there is in the supposition. Yet it is most unreasonable. For when the phrase was first used by the Apostle, he had not been long a resident in a Gentile land, and it is very improbable that he had become acquainted with Plato's writings. He had been for many years before the guardian of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and having attained manhood when he was called an "ignorant and unlearned" man, it is very improbable that either his office, his inclination, or his intellectual gifts (for he would hardly read Plato by miracle) would have suffered him to acquire such familiarity then, or during the few years of his residence at Ephesus, with the philosopher's writings as to make him introduce the expression as it is introduced in the Revelation; and that, too, when he was writing in Patmos, where he

was little likely to have a volume of Plato to refer to.

Moreover, in this first mention of "The Word" there is nothing of philosophy, and it is beyond all rational belief that St. John should take an *idea* out of the book of a philosophical heathen and apply it in the personal manner in which he has used the term in the Gospel and the Apocalypse. That he should take it out of a heathen writer and apply it to Christ is equally incredible. And almost as incredible is it that he should master the *Timæus* of Plato, so far as to be able thus to use his terminology in a familiar manner in one particular instance, and yet not to use it for any other purpose.[1]

The improbability of a Christian Apostle, and one of whom there is no reason to predicate much learning, thus abruptly borrowing a term of heathen philosophy is so great that a connecting link has been supposed between St. John and Plato in the Gnostics or in the Jew Philo. But there is no evidence whatever to indicate this, and the Logos of Philo is a mere abstract idea, not a Person as is the Logos of St. John. [Dorner's *Person of Christ.* Döllinger's *Jew and Gentile*, x. 3. Burton's *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Lect. vii., notes 90, 93].

A much more reasonable way of accounting for the use of this term is by supposing that St. John was inspired to adopt it as expressive of what he intended to convey by means of it, a knowledge of the relation between God the Father and God the Son. Thus St. Augustine explains that "the Son is called the Word of God, because His Father makes known His Will by Him, in the same manner that a man makes known his mind by words." This explanation has the advantage of being applicable to the senses "Reason" and "Definition," which Λόγος will bear in addition to that of "Word;" and most of what the Fathers have left on the subject is an expansion of St. Augustine's idea.

The primary object of St. John's prologue is, however, assuredly not that of setting forth the relation which exists between the Father and the Son, but that of exhibiting the Person of the Son Himself in Its most exalted phase as the foundation of his whole Gospel and Theology. None of the theories above referred to, nor all combined, seem to offer anything like a complete explanation of the manner in which the title came from the Apostle's pen: and all analogies founded on St. Augustine's theory, or any other, are rather to be taken as *illustrations* than *explanations*. There seems reason to believe that there is a mystery in the application of this name ὁ Λόγος to the Second Person in the Holy Trinity, which neither patristic nor other explanations and analogies have ever penetrated; and that when we have established the identity of the Word with the Son of God, we have gone as far as we were intended to go by the Inspirer of the Gospel, and try in vain to shew why the Son of God is named the Word and is the Word. That the holy Name Jehovah contains a mystery not wholly explained by the Eternal Being indicated in the inspired explanation "I AM," is a very common opinion: and it seems quite likely that an analogous mystery should attach itself to the distinctive Name of God the Son. In Isaiah ix. 6, it is expressly said that His Name shall be called "Wonderful," and the Hebrew word so translated is the same [פֶּלֶא] as is translated "Secret" in Judges xiii. 18, "Why askest thou thus after My Name, seeing it is secret?" In Rev. xix. 12, it is also said of One Whom no one can doubt to be the Son of God Incarnate, that "He had a name written, that no man knew but He Himself," which mysterious name, to be *understood* by no man until its meaning is revealed, appears to be the same referred to in the following verse, —"And His Name shall be called the Word of God." This all seems to make it probable that "The Word" is a "New Name" [Rev. iii. 12], assumed by the Son of God Incarnate with reference to His Eternal Individual Existence, but that there is a Mystery in It which will not be wholly, if at all, laid open until the time when we shall "know in part" no longer, and see no more "as through a glass, darkly." It seems sufficient for us to know certainly that the Word is a Person, eternally co-existing with the Father, by which Word all things were made; contented to believe that what lies hidden under that Name is not yet known; nor therefore, why it is used as it is by St. John.

But though the Name must thus, probably, remain inexplicable, a Mystery from first to last, the Person to Whom that Name is applied is too clearly indicated to allow of any doubt: and some of the attributes thus given by St. John as proper to that Person are stated in language which can only bear one straightforward meaning, attaching to Him the notions of a distinct Personality, an Eternal Being, and a Creative Power.

WORD, WRITTEN. A usual title of Holy Scripture. In 2 Pet. i. 19 we have τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον. St. Luke [iii. 4] refers to "the Book of the *words* (λόγων) of Esaias the prophet;" and by this term (λόγος) he designates his Gospel [Acts i. 1]. In full, what is understood is "the Word of God:"—"The seed is the Word of God" [Luke viii. 11; cf. St. Mark vii. 13; Acts xix. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 2]. For the distinction between ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, "the Word written" [Heb. iv. 12]; and τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, or the energy of the Spirit of God [Eph. vi. 17], see Lee on *Inspiration*, 4th ed. pp. 135, 539.

WORKS. It may seem to belong to ethics rather than to theology to answer, or attempt to answer, the primary question, "What is the distinguishing quality common to all right actions?" But the following preliminaries bearing on this

[1] In a few words, Plato's theory of the Logos was that it was mind or reason generated from or by τὸ Ἀγαθόν, and yet self-subsisting; that it contained the seminal principles of all existing things, and the original οὐσία of them all. He seems to have spoken of it as eternal, but does not appear to have attributed personality to it. Hagenbach considers that the relation between Plato's νοῦς or λόγος and God presents a very remote analogy to that of St. John. [*Hist. Doct.* sec. 40].

question are necessary to a theological consideration of the subject of works.

To give an action the character of right or wrong there must be in the doer of it ability to comprehend the nature of the action, and freedom at least of abstaining from the action. Where there is no understanding there is no responsibility; and the sinfulness of sins of ignorance is in proportion to the wilfulness of the ignorance.

Supposing then a competent understanding, the actions for which man is responsible proceed from the will. If we assert that involuntary actions are blameless, the proposition must be guarded by the statement that although the particular action be involuntary, it may proceed from a habit formed by previous acts of the will, and if so, must partake of the guilt of those acts. Thus evil thoughts in sleep may be only the continuation of the evil thoughts of the day. Voluntary actions may proceed immediately from the will, when the mind which wills does also itself act, as in loving, hating. These are called "elicit" actions. Or they may proceed from the will mediately, when the will commands another agent, as in outward deeds. These are called "imperate"[1] actions.

To judge of actions, whether it be when the mind reflecting on itself judges its own actions, or when one man judges the actions of another, there must be a rule. This rule must contain, more or less developed, the eternal and immutable principles of right and wrong, which exist in their perfection in the bosom of the Creator.[2] Rejecting the heresy which lays the foundation of morality in will, which teaches, with Ockam, that moral evil is only evil because it is prohibited, we know that God wills only that which is just; and that when He has spoken we have an infallible standard and guide. With what degree of certainty we know the will of God, with the same certainty we know the quality of actions.

Man without revelation is left to the traditionary inheritance of a knowledge of right and wrong divinely imparted at the beginning, or he is left to find that knowledge by the use of God's gift of reason. He has then only the exercise of his natural conscience, and the standard of that law which he is to himself [Rom. ii. 14]. See Butler, *Sermons on Human Nature*, ii. iii.].

When the mind is enlightened by a revelation of God's will, cleansed by the blood of Christ, and quickened by the grace of God, then there is the enlightened conscience of the spiritual man which knows all things and judges all things.

In judging actions the supreme conscience finds that an action good in all external circumstances may be really bad, from the evil of the motive which led to it. To relieve a distressed woman is externally good, to do so for the purpose of gaining her goodwill as the first step to seduction is bad. It finds further that a good purpose (supposing that such can really exist) cannot transform a bad action into a good one. To commit fraud for the purpose of building a church does not make the fraud justifiable. It finds also that the external consequences of an action cannot obliterate any evil attaching to the beginning of the action. It is easy to conceive money borrowed upon false security, that money successfully employed in establishing a business which spreads prosperity and happiness through a whole town, the money punctually repaid, and the security destroyed. The conscience quickly decides that the good consequences do not obliterate the original deceit.

These several cases shew that to constitute a good action the will must proceed according to immutable principles, which when expressed in law will not endure any transgression.

We may describe good actions, then, as those which proceed from a will acting in accordance with right reason which seeks out what is Divine, or with a revelation which declares what is Divine. [See Liguori, *Theol. Moralis.* lib. v., *De actibus humanis in genere*, art. i. ii.; Mackintosh, *Dissert. on Ethical Philosophy*, particularly the remarks on Butler, p. 347.]

The remark just now made that actions cannot be judged by their external consequences leads to the thought that there are internal consequences which if ascertainable would be sure tests of the action. All actions carry with them a just retribution in their effects upon the heart and mind. The righteous and the wicked eat of the fruit of their own ways, and are filled with their own devices.[3] Outwardly, there is sufficient exemplification of this law for the discipline and instruction of man [see Mede's *Sermon* on "As I have done so hath God requited me"], inwardly the law is without exception. But it is only partially that we can trace the inward working of this law; and for the doer of the

[1] Antinomianism must deny that these actions are imperate, that they proceed from, or are commanded by, the will.

[2] We may here ask, whether ethics as distinguished from theology can give an answer to the primary question as to the distinguishing quality of right and wrong, and whether, reference being made to theology, the question must not be thrown back upon the original mystery of the Self-existence of God. God is because He is. "I am that (because) I am ' is His Name. God is goodness. Goodness is, because God is. The pre-existence of the ideas of right and wrong in the eternal intellect is the foundation of the immutable nature of morality. So the Schoolmen generally taught. Right is right, not because God has commanded it, but because it corresponds to the nature of God; and, because it so corresponds, God has commanded it. Right actions, then, are those which correspond to the Divine Nature. Ethics is defined as the seeking out those rules and measures of human actions which lead to happiness, and the means to practise them. The happiness or greatness of man is in conformity to the Divine Nature. Right actions attain it by raising a man above himself to God. See Lord Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, bk. i. (on the Creation and Fall) and *Confession of Faith* (on the Fall); noticing that in the former Bacon speaks the language of Ockam, "God's commandments and prohibitions are the originals of good and evil:" in the latter he calls them "the rules of good and evil." In both he finds the Fall to be the attempt to know good and evil in their own principles and beginnings independently of God.

[3] See Prov. xiv. 14; Gal. vi. 7, where in ver. 7 the kind of seed is spoken of, in ver. 8 the nature of the ground. The soils are as entirely different as are the seeds.

wrong action, the very deed weakens the power of discerning its consequence.[1] This retributive effect of every action is included in our Lord's beatitudes and woes [Matt. v.; Luke vi.], as well as the reward which God may assign to each, accesses of glory or of pain, not deducible from the action itself.

From this counterpart of woes to beatitudes it may be inferred that every proposition regarding good works will have its correlative proposition regarding evil works. It will be necessary to give only those propositions which relate to good works. Their correlatives in the opposite will be easily supplied. If he that soweth to the spirit shall of the spirit reap life everlasting, he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption.

The doctrine of the Church of England concerning works are found in articles X.-XVI.; these being eminently controversial articles. The several controversies and the terms used in the articles are noticed under the titles FREE-WILL, FAITH, GRACE, JUSTIFICATION, MERIT. Referring to the statements there made regarding the several topics connected with the doctrine of works, we have now to notice—

I. Concerning works in general, [1] that in no case can good works be done without the grace of God. Here we take the term grace in its widest sense. Man unassisted can neither will nor do what is right. But God has in no case left Himself without witness, and His Spirit, though in very different degrees, strives with all men. Supernatural aid therefore is never wanting. [2] If we take the term merit in the sense which is now generally thought to be its proper sense, namely, to signify a claim upon another created by the rendering of services, which services might without blame have been withheld, then no created being can merit ought of the Creator. Such a claim can only be constituted in the respects in which the agent and the recipient are independent of each other. But the old Church use[2] of the word merit is very different, and according to it, merit signifies the fulfilment of the conditions which God has annexed to His promises, and the claim implied is not a claim of desert, but a claim of faith for the accomplishment of mercy. In speaking of Hosea's words, "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy," the harvest of mercy would have been said to be merited by the sowing.

II. Concerning good works before baptism, [1] of those to whom Christ has not been preached. These are pleasant to God (our thirteenth Article does not refer to them), and are preparatory to baptism, both as fitting the agent for its reception and as fulfilling the condition upon which God has promised more grace. The example of Cornelius is an indisputable proof. If the case has existed of such good works done, but not met by the grace of a higher revelation, we can only say, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" and that we cannot conceive the agent of such works suffering for want of the revelation which he would have obeyed had it been made to him. [2] Concerning the works, ostensibly good, of those who are unbaptized, to whom Christ has been preached. This is the case contemplated in our thirteenth Article. From the very nature of the case the words of the Article must be limited to those who continue in wilful rejection of the Gospel; for otherwise we should have the intolerable assertion that the prayers and alms of a sincere catechumen are not part of the repentance which rightly precedes baptism. Such works of a catechumen spring from an inchoate faith in Christ, they are pleasant to God, they are preparatory to baptism in the two ways before named, no less than the prayers and alms of Cornelius.

Like things may be said, in a lower degree, of those whose want of baptism is owing to inadequate or erroneous teaching. But with those to whom the Gospel has been adequately preached, and who wilfully reject baptism, the case is altogether and essentially different. They are not seeking for grace, but have rejected it when offered. Their actions, ostensibly good, are therefore not the fulfilment of the conditions on which grace is promised, and do not deserve grace of congruity. The actions do not spring from faith in Jesus Christ, not even from the undefined beginnings of an inchoate faith: they are not a part of the repentance which precedes baptism, and do not make the doers meet to receive the grace of baptism. The adoption of sons has been refused; the actions which God wills to be the actions of sons are the actions of aliens, and therefore have the nature of sin. It does not follow, however, that they are altogether sin. The Gospel does not countermand the principles of natural justice and philanthropy; and works done in obedience to those principles, although sinful in respect of the grace refused, may yet have the merit of the lower grade. Although they do not of congruity deserve the grace of baptism, nor make men meet for it, they may make men meet for the grace of repentance.

It is contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture, which represents every act of obedience,[3] however imperfect, as always met by God's mercy, to say that the man who does acts of justice and kindness is not nearer to true repentance than the man who rejects them. If our thirteenth Article be taken in the rigid and unlimited sense which some assign to it, it is open to the objection that God in commanding such works to be done has

[1] Isa. vi. 10; Matt. xiii. 14; Acts xxviii. 26; Rom. xi. 8.

[2] Thus Tertullian [*Scorpiac.* c. vi. p. 622, ed. 1641], "Aut quomodo multæ mansiones apud Patrem, si non pro varietate meritorum? quomodo et stella a stella distabit in gloria, nisi pro diversitate radiorum? Porro, et si fidei propterea congruebat sublimitatis et claritatis aliqua prolatio, tale quid esse oportuerat illud emolumenti, quod magno constaret labore, cruciatu, tormento, morte." Here the "merit" is the appropriateness that the greater faith receives the greater brightness. "Et ut peccatricis pœnitentia, secundum creatorem meruerit veniam præponere solitum sacrificio," where the woman's justification by faith is spoken of. [*Adv. Marc.* iv. p. 531.]

[3] The principle stated John vii. 17 is perfectly general, and embraces the earliest attempts at obedience. See 1 Kings xxi. 27-29; Deut. xxx. 4-6.

commanded sin, and that it leads to the conclusion, which indeed some have not hesitated to adopt, that morality is a hindrance to conversion.

III. The works of the Gospel then, works after baptism, are the only works that are in the highest sense called good. Grace higher in kind, not only in degree, is given by Jesus Christ, and a righteousness of a higher strain is accordingly required. Such good works are necessary to salvation; there can be no true faith without them, for they spring naturally from faith, it is of the very nature of faith to produce them: the faith that justifies is the faith that includes them, so that "they may be said to justify or not, according as they are in our minds associated or contrasted with faith:" they produce more grace, and one result of them is the knowledge of God's doctrine; in doing them it is lawful to have respect to the recompense of the reward: and finally they are, although imperfect, accepted of God's mercy in Christ as if they were perfect, so that, as the sufferings of saints are the filling up of that which is behind in the afflictions of Christ, the righteousness of saints is the completion of the righteousness of Christ in His mystical Body.

WORSHIP. This word is derived from the older English weorð-scipe, which is itself formed from "worth," the equivalent of "honour." It was used until recent times for honour paid to human persons as well as, or even more than, for honour paid to the Divine Persons. In the old Manuals of the Church of England the words of betrothal were "wyth myne body ych the honoure," but "God that commandest to worschipe thi fadir and thi moder," and "if ony man serue me, my fadir schul worschipe him," are found in Wickliffe's Bible at the end of the fourteenth century; while, in the "Liber Festivalis," every gentleman's house is called a "place of worship," as every gentleman was once addressed by his inferiors by the same title "your worship," which is still used for justices of the peace.

In more recent English a distinctive sense equivalent to λατρεία has been given to the word by means of the prefix "Divine," and it is frequently used without that prefix in the same sense in popular language. For want of attention, however, to the old usage, the "worship of the Saints" has often been confused with Divine Worship, and thus wrongly identified with Idolatry.

WORSHIP DIVINE. [Adoration. Prayer. Ritual.]

WRATH OF GOD. The word wrath is used for both the θυμὸς and the ὀργή of the New Testament. Where these words occur together the former is rendered indignation or fierceness. Θυμὸς is properly the outward manifestation, ὀργή the inward feeling. [See Trench, *New Test. Syn.* ser. i. sect. xxxviii.] But the distinction is not always adhered to. [See Septuag. Psa. lxxvii. 49.]

"God's wrath is not as ours, the trouble of a mind disturbed and disquieted with things amiss, but a calm, unpassionate, and just assignation of dreadful punishment to be their portion which have disobeyed." [Hooker (from Augustine) *Ecc. Pol.* VI. v. 4.] So Chrysostom, Ὀργὴ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐ πάθος ἀλλὰ τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις [*Hom. in Psa.* vii.]

The wrath of God then is, first, the judicial condemnation or disapprobation of sin; secondly, the consequent punishment. It is one side of God's justice, which renders to every man according to their deeds, that side which renders to them that are contentious indignation and wrath.

In declaring justice as an attribute of God, the Scriptures, more frequently perhaps than in any other case, employ terms which when used of men imply passion and emotion. Without these a sense of the strength of God's disapprobation of sin could not be given. God is grieved, wearied, fretted by sin: He hates, He abhors sin: sin stirs up indignation and wrath. Another point in which we must be careful not to think of God as we think of man, is, that with Him to Whom time cannot be attributed, the condemnation and the punishment of sin go together. "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die." With us time is an element. "Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years."

During the whole time of their impenitence sinners are under the wrath (ὀργὴ) of God, being by nature children of wrath; although such only as stumble at the Word, being disobedient, are appointed unto wrath. Throughout the period of long-suffering the revelation of righteous judgment is delayed, to give time for the repentance which satisfies God, and changes His indignation and wrath into mercy.

God's punishments are twofold, punishments of discipline, and punishments of recompence. The former are remedial acts of mercy; and the threatenings they contain are warnings to flee from the wrath to come. "Cum Deus evertit subsidium vitiorum, et copiosas libidines inopes reddit, misericorditer adversatur." "Nihil est infelicius felicitate peccantium, quâ pœnalis nutritur impunitas, et mala voluntas velut hostis interior" [Augustine, *Epist.* cxxxviii. *ad Marcell.*]. Such being their character, they are not necessarily remitted upon repentance. Their continuance is only a continuance of the same mercy which at first inflicted them, designed, it may be, to make repentance more complete, to prevent a return to sin, or for example to others, or to reprove the scandal which had been given. [See Num. xii. 1-14, xx. 1, xxvii. 12-14; 2 Sam. xii. 14; Isa. xxvi. 9, 10.]

Punishments of the latter kind, namely those of recompence, are alone to be attributed properly to God's Wrath. The former contained indeed the judicial condemnation of sin, but they flowed from the meeting of mercy and truth, of righteousness and peace. The latter are when the time of mercy and peace is past. They flow from God's "justitia vindicativa." This attribute of God is, in language borrowed (as noticed before) from human actions and emotions, stated to be vengeance [Rom. xii. 19; 2 Thess. i. 8]. In regard to it God is declared to be, in His Nature, a

consuming fire. In behalf of the righteousness of God, who thus deals with sinners, man's conscience may be safely appealed to. So St. Paul makes the appeal, Rom. iii. 6.

Temporal punishments are for the most part to be referred to the former class, but the world has seen some signal instances of recompence or vengeance. When God's Spirit could no longer strive with the old world, when the cry of the cities of the plain rose to heaven, when the iniquity of the Amorite was at its full, the vengeance came. In such cases the ministers of vengeance may be men or angels; or the vengeance may fall in what we call the natural order of God's providence. But in the final day of vengeance the Son Himself will be the minister of wrath [2 Thess. i. 7; Rev. vi. 16]. And the retribution which came on the Holy City is spoken of, as an anticipation of that day, as the coming of the Son of Man.

All such punishments due in revenge of sin, whether temporal or eternal, are remitted upon repentance [Matt. xii. 41]. The satisfaction of Christ makes our repentance acceptable; He was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.

This leads us, in the last place, to the question, How far it can be correctly said that our Lord bore the wrath of God. "Clearly the likeness between fallen man and our Lord Jesus Christ has of necessity limits which cannot be overpassed." [See Blunt's *Atonement*, p. 88.]

The pains of an evil conscience, the inward retribution which follows as the natural consequence of every sin, He Who had no sin could not feel. Nor could He Who not only had no sin, but was in obedience offering Himself an acceptable sacrifice to God, have a sense of the judicial disapprobation of God. But the outward manifestations of God's wrath, so far as they were then exhibited (for before the last day hell is not), He Who was made sin did bear. Fearfulness and trembling came upon Him, and an horrible dread overwhelmed Him, when God hid His face from Him, and He was troubled. So far He bore the wrath of the Father, that we might inherit the Father's favour.

X

XEROPHAGIA. Xerophagia, or the exclusive use of dry food, is connected with the duty of fasting. It is defined by Epiphanius to be bread and salt, and is combined with restriction in the use of water for washing. "Throughout the Holy Week," he says, the "people continue to use dry food [ξηροφαγεῖν], viz. bread and salt, using water only in the evening" [*Compend. Doctr. Cath.*]. Tertullian in like manner connects "lavacri abstinentiam" with the Xerophagia [*Adv. Psych.* i. sec. 14, 15]. The Pastor of Hermas, without exactly expressing the term, alludes to it when it is said; "illo die quo jejunabis nihil omnino gustabis nisi panem et aquam" [iii. 3]. It was the "jejunium fortissimum" of Jerome [*Ep.* 2]. The fiftieth canon of the Council of Laodicæa forbids the remission of fasting on the fifth day of the Holy Week, "fasting being continued throughout Lent, ξηροφαγοῦντες;" where Balsamon remarks, "not however on the Sabbaths and Sundays in Lent; for on these days we are not compelled ξηροφαγεῖν, as we are on the other days of the fast" [*Can. Ap.* 69]. Elsewhere he says that "not only in Lent but on the fourth and sixth days of the week we are expected ξηροφαγεῖν, fish alone being permissible;" to which however others added fowl, because in the Mosaic account of creation birds seem to have been formed from water [Gen. i. 20, and Socr. *H. E.* v. 22].

Y

YEAR. The present arrangement of the ecclesiastical year is one which has grown up and developed during the course of a long time, representing the wisdom of successive ages. As "to everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the sun," so to each of the great events of Christian times there has gradually been assigned a day or period of commemoration.

It could not but be that the anniversaries of the chief events of our Lord's life, and of the day on which the Holy Ghost came down upon the Church would be observed by His disciples. The days on which He died, rose, and ascended into heaven—the day on which they were themselves "endued with powers from on high" would ever stand out as prominent marks of the ecclesiastical year.

Accordingly it is not surprising to find that one of the very earliest questions debated in the Church was as to the time of keeping Easter. As early as A.D. 158, St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, went to consult Anicetus at Rome on this question, and the controversy which they could not settle was brought to a close by the Council of Nicæa.

Similar early testimony may be found to other festivals and solemn days. Good Friday must have been kept from the very first—the anniversary of the Lord's Death could never have been forgotten. So too we find St. Epiphanius speaking of St. Paul as keeping the feast of Pentecost, and quoting Acts xx. 16 in that connection [*Hæres.* lxxv., *Aerian.* vi.]. We find notices of the Epiphany as early as A.D. 200 [St. Clem. Alex. *Opp.* i. 408]; and of Ascension Day. St. Augustine observes that it, with other anniversary solemnities, was either instituted by the Apostles themselves or by plenary councils [*Ep.* liv. *al.* cxviii. *ad Januar.*].

Next after these, called by St. Proclus "days which the Lord hath made" [*Orat.* iii.], there arose the commemorations of the saints and martyrs of the Lord's Church. These are of very high antiquity. Eusebius records [*Ecc. Hist.* iv. 15] the epistle of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, relating the martyrdom of St. Polycarp [A.D. 168]. In this Epistle the Christians of Smyrna tell their brethren where the martyr's body was entombed, and how they intended, by God's permission, to assemble at that place, and celebrate his birthday (the beginning of his heavenly life) with joy and gladness.

The festival of St. Peter is traced back to the third century [Reinart, 617], and no doubt was observed much earlier as a festival of SS. Peter and Paul. Origen names the commemoration of the Holy Innocents [*Hom.* iii. *de diversis*] and St. Chrysostom the "Festival of all the martyrs," which was kept on the octave of Pentecost [*Hom.* lxxiv. *de Martyr. totius Orbis*].

In course of time moreover, other festivals were introduced; such as the Encænia, or Feasts of Dedication of Churches, mentioned by Sozomen and others, and doubtless in analogy with the Jewish feast named in John x. 22. Bishops were also wont to keep the anniversaries of their consecrations, and particular churches had special days of thanksgiving for great mercies and deliverances vouchsafed to them from God. Ordination was gradually limited to the Ember seasons, that thus there might be a special time of united prayer and fasting on behalf of the newly ordained. In certain parts of the year marriages were forbidden. Durandus gives these as from Advent Sunday to Epiphany, from Septuagesima to the octave of Easter, three weeks before the feast of St. John, and from Rogation Sunday to Trinity Sunday. The especial times for baptism were Epiphany, Easter, and Whitsuntide, but chiefly the two latter. During certain festal seasons kneeling at prayers was prohibited, *e.g.* from Easter to Whitsuntide inclusive by the twentieth canon of Nicæa. On the Lord's Day the standing posture was also adopted in memory of our Lord's Resurrection. Thus gradually were ordered and harmonized the seasons of the Church. "By the knowledge of the Lord they were distinguished: and He altered seasons and feasts. Some of them hath He made high days and hallowed them" [Ecclus. xxxiii. 8, 9].

The influence of this venerable system for good it is impossible to calculate. Not only in the services of the Church, but in the transactions of daily life the same guiding hand has been felt, the Church setting her mark upon all things. "Ecclesiastical festivals became seasons of home enjoyment; holy days were turned into holidays; the Church's children learnt, in private life, to think and to speak in the Church's way . . . the governors of the state fell almost unconsciously into the times and seasons of her who is not of this world: sheriffs were pricked on the morrow of St. Martin: lawyers reckoned by Hilary or Trinity Term, every class was subject to the same moulding influence. . . . It was the same influence always and everywhere at work; sometimes beautifully, sometimes amusingly, sometimes extravagantly, but always most really. *The Church, whatever her language, was herself vernacular.*" [Neale, *Essays*, &c., p. 508.]

Z

ZABIANISM, or astrolatry, has been derived by Pococke from the Aramaic root sabá, the heavenly host, from which same root SABIANISM is taken, but in the different sense of "to change religion," Sabianism being of a very versatile complexion, a syncretic fusion of the Magian, Parsee, and Christian systems. It is of this latter form of religion, doubtless, that Mahomet speaks in the Korân [Sur. ii. 29, v. 73, and xxii. 17], where he describes the religious systems of the world as Moslem, Jewish, Sabian, Christian, Magian, and Polytheistic. According to this arrangement the Sabians were monotheistic. But the Zabians were idolaters, dwelling in the north of Mesopotamia, in the biblical Haran. An Arabic Christian writer, quoted by Chwolsohn [*die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, ii. 14], says that they adopted the name of Zabian as being a religion tolerated by the Korân, and so escaped the persecution to which their star-worship would have exposed them, and the account is by no means improbable. As they in no sense affected Christian doctrine, the subject may be dismissed with this notice of their non-identity with the Sabians. They first gave planetary names to the days of the week; the feast day of each planet being determined by the time of its culmination; hence also the alchemists of the Middle Ages, and through them heralds, have borrowed the notion of assigning a particular metal and a particular colour to the several planets. In common with other Aramaic races they had a civil year, which began like the Jewish Rosh hashanah in autumn, and an ecclesiastical year commencing at the vernal equinox. Before the time of Mahomet they offered human sacrifices to the deities which they believed were embodied in the planets. A full and interesting account is found in Petersen's article "Zabier" in Herzog, drawn from Chwolsohn, and from Arabic and Persian notices of this sect.

ZWINGLIANISM. The system of polity and doctrine peculiar to the community of Zurich, when under Zwingli it separated itself from the obedience of Rome. From the conception of Zwinglianism must be excluded, on the one hand, that which Zwingli had in common with other reformers; and on the other hand his private opinions, which were not accepted by the community of Zurich. The system may be defined as that which, merging the state in the Church, turns the Church into a spiritual republic, without a priesthood, and with bare signs instead of sacraments.

Theoretically, Zwingli did not view the community in its two capacities, civil and ecclesiastical, and recognise accordingly, as belonging to it, two independent jurisdictions, temporal and spiritual: the community to him was a Church and nothing else. His magistrates were church-officers, deriving their authority equally with the ministry from the body of the faithful, and distinguished from them only by the character of the work which a division of labour assigned to each. Practically, the inevitable result was that which is usually stated to be the system of Zwingli, namely, that the sovereignty in spiritual as well as in temporal matters was vested in the civic authorities of each community.

Further, the Church was considered to be a congregation of faithful men, without including in the definition any provision for the rightful ministration of the Word and Sacraments, and therefore without provision for centres of external unity. Beginning with the principle that every one is at liberty to preach (preaching being the chief function of the ministry), some form of mission from the Church was soon found necessary for order's sake; but to the last all notion of priesthood, of holy orders, was rejected. Accordingly, the exercise of the keys was nothing more than this general preaching of the gospel, and the power of excommunication was vested in the magistrates. In Zwingli's theology sacraments are mere signs of initiation and of a pledge to continue in the outward society: they confer no grace, they minister no faith, they do not free the conscience; they are not even pledges of grace, they are tokens rather to the Church of the disposition of the recipient than to the recipient of his sonship in Christ.

This system was in some measure modified by Bullinger, who introduced something approaching to a recognition of a clerisy and of efficacy in sacraments; and again the influence of the Geneva ministers added to the Zurich doctrine of the Lord's Supper something of that Calvinistic teaching regarding receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, which is at least an approximation to Catholic truth [see Mosheim, *Hist.* v. p. 364, and Maclaine's note]. It was Swiss theology, so modified by Bullinger, that found advocates in England. Hooper was a faithful follower of Bullinger. Peter Martyr, Laski, Dryander, Ochin were on the same side, and with them acted most of the party of Marian exiles who had been received with much hospitality at Zurich. Hoadly's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is not distinguishable from Zwingli's. [Zwingli's *Works by Gualter*, 1544-5, particularly the treatises *Expositio Fidei Christianæ*, *De vera et falsa religione*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Archeteles*; *Basle Confession* [1536] and *Helvetic Confession* [1566] in *Sylloge Confess.* Oxf. 1827. *Liturgia Tigurina*, Engl. transl., London 1693.]

INDEX.

Abaddon, a name of Satan, 676
Abbot, formed from Abba, 2
Abbot, synonymous with Archimandrite, 41
Abelard and Realism, 137
Abelard, theology of, 747
Absolution an element of repentance, 640
Absolution in Old Testament, 3
Abstinence, days of, 274
Abstinence, total, 4
Acolythes, 131
Acolyth, order of, 527
Action, relation of doubt to, 219
Act of Submission, 722
Act of Supremacy, 722
Acts, Synodal, collections of, 727
Act, Toleration, 756
Actual Jurisdiction, 381
Adam, the Second, 338, 459
Adam, a type of Christ, 768
Advent, Second, 682
Æschylus, on evil, 675, n.
Aërius, on bishops and presbyters, 86
Aëtians, 44
Aëtius, and Arianism, 8
Aëtius, and Gloria Patri, 291
Affections, faith partly of the, 267
Affections, heart the ideal seat of, 302
Africa, Church of South, 485
Agde, Council of, 200
Ages, Dark, 182
Ahriman the counterpart of Sammael, 101
"Αιδης, translated "hell," 305
Αἰώνιος, 258
Aix-la-Chapelle, Council of, 286
Alcuin, and Adoptionism, 6
Alcuin, on Diptychs, 203
Alcuin, on Transubstantiation, 761
Alexander of Alexandria, and Apostolical Canons, 158, n.
Alexander of Alexandria, and Arianism, 41
Alexandria, Council of, 162
Allatius, Leo, on variations in Missa Præsanctificatorum, 478
Alogi, a name for Monarchians, 487
Alombrados, 323
Altars, use of, in Primitive Church, 253, n.
Amalric of Bema, Pantheism of, 539
Ambrose, St., on Adoptionism, 6
Ambrose, St., liturgy of, 16
Ambrose, St., on Arianism, 32
Ambrose, St., on Immersion, 75
Ambrose, St., on Baptism, 77
Ambrose, St., on Apostolic Baptism, 77, n.
Ambrose, St., on Bigamy, 84
Ambrose, St., on Celibacy, 118
Ambrose, St., on Eucharistic Sacrifice, 254
Ambrose, St., account of, 282
Ambrose, St., hymns of, 318
Ambrose, St., on "Ignorance" of Christ, 323
Ambrose, St., on Lavipedium, 398
Ambrose, St., on Fasting in Lent, 408
Ambrose, St., on Marriage, 443
Ambrose, St., on Missa, 454
Ambrose, St., on Original Sin, 556
American Church, British North, 485
American Church, North, 485
Ammianus, on the destruction of libraries in the East, 183
Ammonian Canons, 110
Ammonius, of Alexandria, diatessaron of, 202
Amoraim, 476
Anabaptists, 269, 512
Anabaptism, derived from Lutheranism, 31
Anabaptists, and Almsgiving, 15
Anabaptists, and the Fifth Monarchy, 473
Anaphora, the, 424
Ancyra, Council of, 161
Andrew, St., of Crete, on the Conception of St. Anne, 328
Andrew, St., on Eucharistic Sacrifice, 253, n.
Andrewes, Bishop, on Ordination, 526
Androgynous state of man, 98
Angel, Guardian, 299
Angels and Saints, Heaven the abode of, 304
Anglican Doctrine, on Ave Maria, 72
Anglo-Saxon Versions, 791
Anointing at Baptism, 76
Anointing, in Old Testament, 121
Anointing, spiritual gifts conferred by, 121
Anomœans, 44
Anselm, on differences in Ritual, 660
Anselm, on Divine Existence, 738
Anselm, St., on the Fall of Man and of the Angels, 459
Anselm, St., on Immaculate Conception, 328
Anselm, on Original Sin, 531
Anselm, treatise of, on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, 287
Anselm, Scholastic Theology originated by, 747
Anthem, derived from Ἀντίφωνα, 32
Antichrist, and Nero, 29, n.
Antichrist, Heresy the spirit of, 306
Antidicomarians, 562
Antinomians, 296
Antioch, Councils of, 159
Antioch, Council of the Dedication, 320
Antiquity, consent of, 142
Antitacti, 296
Ἀντίθεοι, 27
Apocrypha, rejected by the Jews, 103
Apollinarian error, Athanasian Creed and, 609
Apostasy, a sign of Second Advent, 685
"Apostle," the, 736
Apostles, and Gnosticism, 294
Apostles, and prayers for the dead, 586
Apostles, ordination of Bishops by, 85
Apostles, reserve enjoined upon the, 644
Apostolate, types of, in Old Testament, 36
Apostolical Church, holy character of, 517
Apostolical Church, Literæ formatæ in, 418
Apostolic labours, probable fields of, 37
Apostolic Liturgy, local developments of, 420
Apostolic Liturgy, traces of, 419
Aquinas, St. Thomas, on Baptism, 78, n.
Aquinas, on "Incomprehensible," 340
Aquinas, theology of, 748
Aquinas, on Re-ordination, 638
Aquinas, on Baptism, 346, n.
Aquinas, on Eternity, 246
Aquinas, on Hyperdulia of Christ's Human Nature, 319
Aquinas, on Immaculate Conception, 329
Aquinas, on Immersion, 75, n.
Aquinas, on Latria and Dulia, 397
Aquinas, on Marriage, 446
Aquinas, on Readers, 622
Aquinas, on the Resurrection Body, 652
Aquinas, on Schism, 682
Aquinas, on Transmutation of water in Baptism, 74, n.
Arabic Versions, 788
Archangels, 23
Archipelago, Indian, Buddhism in, 93
Aristeas, on Septuagint translation, 108, n.
Aristotle, on Evil, 262
Aristotle, on the Infinite, 346
Aristotle, on Sephiroth, 100
Aristotle, on οὐσία, 532
Arius, on Hypostasis, 319
Arius, opinions of, 41, 309
Arius, opposition to, 44
Arians, on the Pre-existence of Christ, 589, n.
Arianism contrary to Scripture, 42
Arianism, three theories of, 44, n.
Arles, Council of, 160
Arminius, account of, 46
Arminius, on Baptism, 47
Arminius, on Justification, 47

Arminius, on Lord's Supper, 47
Arminius, on Predestination, 47
Arnold, Dr., on the Epistles of St. Paul, 503
Arnold, Dr., on prophecy, 595
Arrogation, 5
Articles, and doctrine of Intention, 351
Articles, and use of images, 328
Articles, Arminianism, opposed to, 49
Articles, the Five, 48
Articles, the Six, 49
Articles, the Ten, 49
Articles, the Thirty-Nine, 49
Articles, Lambeth, 106, 394
Articles, Thirty-nine, on the descent into Hell, 201
Articles, on Grace of God, 298
Articles, on indulgences, 342
Article of 1536, on Invocation of Saints, 359
Articles, Lambeth, on Election, 235, n.
Articles, on Latitudinarianism, 395
Articles, on Opus Operatum, 524
Articles, on Original Sin, 531
Articles, on Ritual, 660
Articles, on Sacraments, 670
Articles, on Toleration, 757
Articles, on Transubstantiation, 760
Articles, on Universal Redemption, 779
Asceticism, in New Testament, 51
Ascetics, of Old Testament, 51
Ascodrutæ, 78
Asia, Buddhism in, 93
Asmodeus, identified with Abaddon, 2
Asmodeus, identified with Beelzebub, 73
Assemblies, Apostolical, 158, n.
Athanasius, St., account of, 282
Athanasius, St., and Apollinarianism, 34
Athanasius, St., and Archbishops, 40
Athanasius, St., on Arianism, 43
Athanasius, St., on Chorepiscopi, 120
Athanasius, St., on Circumincession, 129
Athanasius, St., on Deification, 190
Athanasius, St., on Faith, 18
Athanasius, St., and Gloria in Excelsis, 291
Athanasius, St., and Homoousion, 44, n.
Athanasius, St., on Hypostasis, 320
Athanasius, St., on "Ignorance" of Christ, 323
Athanasius, St., on the Nicene Creed, 511
Athanasius, St., and New Testament Canon, 109
Athanasius, St., on οὐσία, 533
Athanasius, St., on Sabellianism, 667
Athanasius, St., on Quartodecimans, 545, n.
Atheists and Epicureans, 57
Atheism, and Holy Scripture, 62
Atheism, causes of, 57
Atheism, literature of, 63
Atheism of Pantheism, 537
Atomism, 59
Atonement and Regeneration, 66
Atonement, in Old Testament, 65
Auberlen, on Lutheranism, 567
Audeans, sect of, 27
Augsburg Confession, on Consubstantiation, 151, n.
Augsburg, Diet of, and Interim, 354
Augustine, St., on Adoptionism, 6
Augustine, St., on Agapæ, 9
Augustine, St., and Anthropomorphism, 27
Augustine, St., on Antichrist, 28, 29
Augustine, St., on Ascension, 50
Augustine, St., on Baptism, 74
Augustine, St., on Manichean Baptism, 74
Augustine, St., on Baptismal Grace, 78, n.
Augustine, St., on Predestination, 101, n.
Augustine, St., on Original Sin, 102
Augustine, St., on election, 103
Augustine, St., on perseverance, 103, n.
Augustine, St., on Canonization, 113
Augustine, St., on Cathari, 116
Augustine, St., on the word Church, 128
Augustine, St., on the Invisible Church, 129
Augustine, St., on clergy, 131
Augustine, St., on Competentes, 134
Augustine, St., and doctrine of congruity, 145
Augustine, St., on Creationism, 169
Augustine, St., on Traducianism, 169
Augustine, St., on Heresy, 306
Augustine, on hymns, 317, n.
Augustine, St., on worshippers of pictures, 327
Augustine, St., on "Incomprehensible," 339
Augustine, St., and Infant Baptism, 344, n., 345
Augustine, St., on unbaptized infants, 346
Augustine, St., on interpretation, 355, n.
Augustine, St., on irresistible grace, 691
Augustine, St., on Latria and Dulia, 397
Augustine, St., on Lavipedium, 398, n.
Augustine, St., on doubt, 216, 219
Augustine, St., and Dualism, 224
Augustine, St., on Predestination, 233, n.
Augustine, St., on Emanation, 238
Augustine, St., on Eternity, 246
Augustine, St., on Eucharistic Sacrifice, 254
Augustine, St., on everlasting punishment, 260, 261, n.
Augustine, St., on fasting before Communion, 272
Augustine, St., account of, 283
Augustine, St., on free will, 290
Augustine, St., and Gnosticism, 293
Augustine, St., on the Gospels, 296, n.
Augustine, St., on Lay Baptism, 405, n.
Augustine, St., on Apostolic Liturgy, 419, 420
Augustine, St., on the honour paid to martyrs, 448
Augustine, St., on Donatist martyrs, 448, n.
Augustine, St., and Millenarianism, 473
Augustine, St., on Mishna, 477
Augustine, St., and the Saxons of England, 481
Augustine, St., on white robes of Neophytes, 507, n.
Augustine, St., and parable, 540
Augustine, St., on Paulianists, 552
Augustine, St., on Original Sin, 556
Augustine, St., his contest with Pelagius, 557
Augustine, St., on penitence, 561
Augustine, St., on prayers for the dead, 586, n.
Augustine, St., on preaching, 587
Augustine, St., on purgatory, 600
Augustine, St., and the Athanasian Creed, 610
Augustine, St., on Genesis, 631, n.
Augustine, St., on renovation, 637
Augustine, St., on re-ordination, 638
Augustine, St., on the Resurrection Body, 650, n., 651, n., 652, n.
Augustine, St., on Sacraments, 669
Augustine, St., on Sponsors, 715
Augustine, St., on Hypostatic Union, 774, n.
Augustine, St., on unity of the Church, 777
Augustine, St., on universal redemption, 102, n., 777, n., 779, n.
Augustine, St., on punishments of sin, 808
Augustinianism and Calvinism, 103
Augustinian doctrine, notions of Origen opposed to, 555
"Augustinus," Jansen's, 106, 361
Australian Church, the, 485
Auxerre, Council of, 272
Avesta, its resemblance to the Cabbala, 98

Baal, in New Testament, 73
Bacon, on angels, 22, n.
Bacon, on Atheism, 56
Bacon, on eternity, 22, n.
Bacon, on evil, 263, n.
Bacon, on the Jesuits, 370
Bacon, on Libertinism, 57
Bacon, on Church controversies, 605
Bacon, on Divine existence, 741
Bacon, on divisions in the Church, 565
Bacon, on the Law of Christ, 404
Bacon, on persecution, 564
Bacon, on Puritanism. 606, 607
Bacon, on the Sabbath, 667
Bacon, Roger, theology of, 750
Baius, account of, 106
Baius, and Pius V., 342, n.
Balaam, followers of, 512
Baptism, the, administered by Christ, 76
Baptism and election, 232
Baptism, form of, 77
Baptism, grace of, 78
Baptism, grace given in, 299
Baptism of Infants, 343
Baptism, illumination the result of, 324
Baptism in New Testament, 74
Baptism, its necessity to salvation, 77
Baptism, justification bestowed in, 385
Baptism, Lay, 404
Baptism, Lay, validity of, 405
Baptism, matter of, 74
Baptism, minister of, 77
Baptism, not to be repeated, 624
Baptism, Trine, 763
Baptism, Vernacular Office for, 764
Baptismal Lights, 413
Bari, Council of, 286
Baronius, on Simony, 700
Barnabas, epistle of, 278
Barrow, on the Jews, 376
Barter, on Apostolical succession, 40
Basil, St., account of, 282
Basil, St., Coptic liturgy of, 391, n.
Basil, St., and Hypostasis, 320
Basil, St., on Cenobitism, 119
Basil, St., on compline, 315
Basil, St., liturgy of, on Diptychs, 203
Basil, St., on indulgences, 341
Basil, St., on the origin of ritual, 656
Basil, St., on οὐσία, 532
Basil, St., on the resurrection of the body, 651

Basil, St., on subdeacons, 716
Basil, St., on Antitype, 34
Basilides, on Sephiroth, 100
Basilides, on the Nature of God, 532
Basle, Council of, and Immaculate Conception, 329
Baxter and Calvin, 104
Beatification and Canonization, 80
Bechai, Rabbi, on Shechinah, 697
Bede, on the Culdees, 179
Beelzebub, 73
Beelzebub, a name of Satan, 676
Beghards and Lollards, 428
Belial, a name of Satan, 676
Belief, states of, which exclude doubt, 216
Bellarmine, on celibacy of the Clergy, 117
Bellarmine, on purgatory, 599, 601, n.
Bellarmine and Ultramontanism, 770
Benedict, St., and his rule, 489
Benedict, St., on compline, 315
Benedicite, hymn, 358
Benediction, office of, 82
Benediction, in Old Testament, 81
Benedictines, 493
Benefices, reservation of, 643
Berkeley and matter, 455
Bernard, St., on Immaculate Conception, 329
Bernard, St., on sanctity of the Blessed Virgin, 330
Bernard, St., on the Trinity, 138
Bernard, St., and scholastic theology, 747
Bethell, Bp., on regeneration, 630
Bethlehem, Council of, and transubstantiation, 760
Beveridge, on Apostolical canons, 112
Bibliotheca Divina, 84
Bingham, on early use of word parish, 541
Bingham, on indulgences, 341
Bingham, on infant baptism, 344
Bishops, election of, 87
Bishops, English, jurisdiction of, 384
Bishops, English, succession of the, 383, n.
Bishops ordained by Apostles, 85
Blackstone, on parish, 541
Blackstone, on parson, 542
Blasphemy, different classes of, 88
Blood and atonement, 66
Blood, connection of soul with, 89
Blood, sacred character of, 89
Blunt, Charles, his works on Deism, 191
Blunt, Prof., on Apostolical Constitutions, 149
Blunt, J. H., on English liturgy, 424
Blunt, J. H., on papal supremacy, 722
Blunt, J. H., on sacraments, 670
Body, creation of the, 90
Body, influence of the Fall on, 90
Body, new creation of the, 509
Body, resurrection of the, 649
Böhm, Jacob, account of, 752
Bolingbroke, Lord, and Deism, 196
Bologna, concordat of, 139
Bona, Cardinal, on concomitance, 139, n.
Bona, on readers, 622
Boundaries, parish, 542
Braga, second council of, 272
Brahminism, a form of Pantheism, 538
Bramhall, Abp., on dispensation, 206
Bramhall, on external communion, 681
Bramhall, on monasteries, 519
Bread used for Holy Communion, 799
Briefs, in England, 15
Brooke, Lord, on mammon, 439
Browne, Bp., on Opus operatum, 525
Brown, on Divine existence, 742
Buddha, life and doctrine of, 92
Buddhism and Christianity, 93
Bull, Bishop, on circumcision, 130
Bull, Bp., on guardian angels, 299
Bull, Bp., on imputed righteousness, 333, n.
Bull, on invocation of saints, 358
Bull, on Monarchia, 486
Bulteel, on imputed righteousness, 333
Burke on Church and State, 756
Burton, Dr., on Simon Magus, 30, n.
Butler, Bp., on miracles, 474, n.
Butler, Bp., on natural religion, 630
Butler, Bp., on heathen sacrifices, 680

Cabbalists and Talmud, 377
Cabbala, Babylonish growth of the, 96
Cabbala on Shechinah, 698
Cæsarius, St., of Arles, on rogation days, 661
Cæsarius, St., of Arles, on Extreme Unction, 772
Cain, sacrifice of, 679
Calendar, English, festivals of, 285
Calixtus, George, and Syncretism, 725
Calvin and universal redemption, 777
Calvinism condemned by Eastern Church, 105
Calvinism, history of, 104
Calvin, on predestination, 102
Calvin, on the real presence, 623
Calvin, on reprobation, 102, n.
Calvin, on sacramental grace, 103, n.
Calvinism, resulting in Antinomianism, 31
Cambridge, Latitudinarian school of, 396
Canons, Apostolic, antiquity of the, 398
Canons, Eusebian, 13
Canonical Hours, 315
Canon Law in the Church of Rome, 398
Canon Law, the, 401
Canon in New Testament, 107
Canons on the use of immersion, 75, n.
Canterbury, Archb. of, the sacerdotal head of the English Church, 551
Canterbury, monastery founded by St. Augustine at, 492
Cappel, on Atheism, 63
Carthage, councils of, 158, 159
Carthage, 3d council of, on Agapæ, 10
Casaubon, on doubt, 219
Casaubon, on experimental science, 59
Casaubon, on sorcery, 58
Cases, reserved, 645
Cassian, and predestination, 105, n.
Cassian, and Semi-Pelagianism, 692
Casual synods, 726
Catalogue of Popes, 571
Cataphrygians, 495
Catechetical use of creed, 170
Catechism, Assembly's, 107
Catechumenorum, Missa, 477
Cathari, the, on the use of water in baptism, 74, n.
Catholic, Roman perversion of term, 116
Cealchythe, council of, and Scottish priests, 179
Celebration, Eucharistic, Apostolic form of, 255
Celibacy, 795
Cenobite life, advantages of, 119
Censures, ecclesiastical, 513
Ceremonies, enjoined on Neophytes, 507
Ceremonies of marriage, 445
Ceylon, Buddhism in, 93
Chalcedon, council of, 164
Chastity, 165
Chaucer, on cursing for tithes, 21
Chemoth identified with Baal, 73
Cherubim, 23
Chiliasts, 471
Choral service, 657
Chrysippus the Stoic on Fatalism, 275
Christ, absolutions by, 3
Christ and Asceticism, 51
Christ, as man unfallen, 338
Christ, blood of, 89, 90
Christ's coming, the manner of, 686
Christ, death of, 186
Christ, Divinity of, 206
Christ's Divinity the key-stone of Christianity, 213
Christ, His suffering death not in accordance with human nature, 547
Christ, "ignorance" of, 322
Christ, indwelling of, 711, n.
Christ, intercession of, 351
Christ, intercession of, in Heaven, 352
Christ, "in the name of," 504
Christ, law of, 403
Christ's mediation, glory of the Saints in Heaven derived from, 462
Christ, nativity of, 505
Christ, object of the presence of, 461
Christ, Passion of, 547
Christ, pre-existence of, 589
Christ, presence of, 590
Christ, resurrection of, 646
Christ, resurrection of, a triumph over death, 648
Christ, sacrifice of, 680
Christ, session of, 695
Christ, the brethren of, 563
Christ, the "first-born" Son of Mary, 562
Christ bearing God's wrath, 809
Christ, the office of priesthood delegated to others by, 590
Christ the second Adam, 459
Christ, union of the soul with, 713
Christianity, aspect of Neo-Platonism towards, 507
Christianity, Pagan philosophy and, 535
Christianity, popular paganism and, 535
Christianity, the Pagan state and, 534
Christian Church, law of restitution in, 645
Christian Church, Pentecost in, 561
Christian ritual, special objects of, 654
Christians, persecution of, by Pagans, 536
Christian year, division of, 284
Christology, of Old Testament, 128
Christology, Socinian, 704
Chrysostom, St., account of, 282
Chrysostom, St., and Alms, 15
Chrysostom, St., on name "Christian," 121
Chrysostom, St., and fasting in Lent, 408
Chrysostom, St., and Gloria in Excelsis, 291
Chrysostom, St., and Practice of Intinction, 355
Chrysostom, St., and Star of Bethlehem, 242
Chrysostom, St., and the word Bible, 84
Chrysostom, St., on Agapæ, 10
Chrysostom, St., on Agapetæ, 10
Chrysostom, St., on Anaphora, 255
Chrysostom, St., on Anathema, 19
Chrysostom, St., on Antichrist, 28
Chrysostom, St., on Antitype, 33, n.

Chrysostom, St., on Apostolic Liturgy, 419
Chrysostom, St., on Authority of the Church, 71
Chrysostom, St., on Benedicite, 81
Chrysostom, St., on Bigamy, 84
Chrysostom, St., on Christmas, 122
Chrysostom, St., on Confirmation by Priests, 86, n.
Chrysostom, St., on Consecration of the Holy Eucharist, 358, n.
Chrysostom, St., on ἐγκρατῆ, 117, n.
Chrysostom, St., on Eucharistic Sacrifice, 254
Chrysostom, St., on Everlasting Punishment, 260
Chrysostom, St., on Fasting before Communion, 272
Chrysostom, St., on Fast days, 274
Chrysostom on God's wrath, 808
Chrysostom, St., on Hermits, 311
Chrysostom, St., on "Incomprehensible," 339
Chrysostom, St., on Kiss of Peace, 391
Chrysostom, St., on Mystical Body, 90
Chrysostom, St., on Prayers for the Dead, 586
Chrysostom, St., on the Pre-existence of Matter, 590
Chrysostom, St., on Purgatory, 602, n.
Chrysostom, St., on the Reading of Lessons, 409
Chrysostom, St., on the Septuagint, 785
Chrysostom, St., on term Faithful, 268
Chrysostom, St., on Tithes, 755, n.
Chrysostom, St., on Vernacular, 783
Chrysostom, St., on the Unity of the Church, 766
Chubb, T., works of, on Deism, 195
Church, the, and the State, 564
Church, the, cannot enforce Temporal Penalties, 564
Church, the, Modern missions of, 482
Church, the, associated with Christ in the work of Intercession, 352
Church, Authority of the, 71
Church, differences in the, concerning the celebration of Easter, 543
Church, etymology of, 128
Church, evils of seclusion in, 185
Church, Infallibility of the, 340
Church, Methodism a movement in, 465
Church Militant and Church Triumphant, 511
Church, ministerial offices of, derived from Apostles, 36
Church, nature of the, 129
Church, New Creation relative to the, 510
Church, notes of the, 516
Church, testimony of the, on Polygamy, 569
Church, voice of Christ in the, 462
Church, Ancient, preaching in, 587
Church, African, on heretical baptism, 160
Church, Early, Hymns of, 318
Church, early missions of, 480
Church, Eastern, Deaconesses in, 186
Church, Eastern, on Procession of the Holy Ghost, 594
Church, English, on Confession, 142
Church, English, on Eternal Punishment, 182
Church, English, on Eucharistic Lights, 414
Church, English, and Everlasting Punishment, 260, n.
Church, English, on Forbidden Degrees, 189
Church, English, and Exorcism, 266
Church, English, and Lavipedium, 398
Church, English, and Missa Sicca, 479
Church, English, on New Testament Canon, 109
Church, English, and Predestination, 235
Church, English, on re-ordination, 638
Church, English, on restitution, 646
Church, English, on unbaptized infants, 346
Church, Early, its teaching, on the resurrection of the Body, 651
Church, English, on Universal Redemption, 779
Church, English, use of the Vernacular in, 784
Church, English, on works, 807
Church, English, Prayer for the Dead recognised by, 586
Church, Irish, Missionary spirit of, 491
Church, Primitive, absence of Images in, 326
Church, Primitive, Asceticism in, 51
Church, Primitive, Enthusiasm in, 239
Church, Primitive, Ordination of Bishops in, 86
Church, Roman, on New Testament Canon, 109
Church, Roman, on re-ordination, 638
Church, Unity of the, 775
Cicero on the Sibylline Oracles, 698
Cicero, on conscience, 146
Cicero on Fatalism, 275
Civil contract of marriage, 443
Civil Law, 400
Civil Power, Dependence of Lutheranism on, 436
Clarendon, Articles of, 41
Clarendon, Constitutions of, 150
Clement, St., of Rome and γνῶσις, 294
Clement, St., of Rome, on Baptismal Grace, 78
Clement, St., of Rome, on clergy, 130
Clement, St., of Rome, on Election, 233
Clement, St., on Apostolic Succession, 798
Clement, St., Liturgy of, 391, n.
Clement, St., Recognitions of, 78
Clement, St., and Gloria Patri, 291
Clement, St., on Christ's Divinity, 209
Clement, St., on Eclecticism, 11
Clement, St., on Laity, 394
Clement, St., of Alexandria, account of, 12, 281
Clement of Alexandria and the Nicolaitans, 512
Clement, St., of Alexandria on Baptismal Grace, 79
Clement, St., of Alexandria on Canon of Scripture, 107, n.
Clement, St., of Alexandria, on Christmas, 122
Clement, St., of Alexandria, on clergy, 130
Clement, St., of Alexandria, on Mammon, 439
Clement, St., of Alexandria, on the Epistle of Barnabas, 278
Clement VI., on Indulgences, 341
Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, 78, 625
Clergy, Benefit of, 83
Clergy, Celibacy of the, 116
Clergy, vestments of the, 656
Clinic Baptism, 75
Cobham, Lord, account of, 431
Codex Alexandrinus, 13, 291
Codex Ambrosianus, 786
Codex Coislinianus, 786
Codex Cottonianus, 786
Codex Ephraim, 786
Codex Sinaiticus, marks of its antiquity, 702
Codex Vaticanus, 782
Cœlestius, opinions of, 555
Cœlestius, opinions of, on unbaptized infants, 559
Cœna Domini, 434
Co-operation, Lay, 406
"Cohortatio," 12
Collins, Anthony, works of, on Deism, 193
Collier, on Puritanism, 605
Columba, St., account of, 491
Columba, St., and Northern Christianity, 179
Commemoration, Annual, 26
Commission, High court of, 513
Common Law, English, 402
Communion, Fasting before, 272
Comparative criticism, 176
Competentes, and The Lord's Prayer, 433
Comte, Augustus, account of, 578
Conception, Immaculate, 328
Confession, an element of Repentance, 640
Confession, Augsburg, 68
Confession, Augsburg, and Thirty-nine Articles, 70
Confession, Auricular, 70, 205
Confessions, Calvinistic, 107
Confessions, Calvinistic, on Election, 235, n.
Confession, Mediæval system of, 142
Confession, object of, 141
Confession, spiritual value of, 142
Confirmation, administered by priests, 86, n.
Confirmation, called "chrism," 121
Conscience, the gift of God, 146
Consciousness of doubt, 219
Consecrations by deprived bishops, 515
Consecration of Nuns, 519
Consolator, a meaning of Paraclete, 540
Constantine Copronymus and Iconoclasts, 321
Constantinople, Council of, anathemas of, 21
Constantinople, Council of, 163
Constantine, Labarum of, 393
Constantine the originator of Paulicianism, 552
Constitutions, Clementine, 400
Contract, natural, of Marriage, 442
Controversy, Paschal, 543
Conventicle Act, Charles II., 513
Convention, Archiepiscopal, 154
Convocation, and the Reformation, 156, 157
Convocation, rights of the Lower House of, 155
Corban, oblation referring to, 521
Corpus Juris Canonici, 399
Cosin, Bishop, on Puritan burial, 95
Cosmogony of the Cabbala, 99
Councils on Simony, 700
Courts, Synodal, 205
Cousin on Doubt, 218

Creation, Matter as relating to, 456
Creation, New, 507
Creation, proper sense of, 589, n.
Creator Spirit, definition of, 742
Creation, theories of, 168
Creation, work of the Son of God in, 168
Creed, Athanasian, origin of, 609
Creeds, Liturgical character of, 171
Creed, Nicene, 167
Creed, Nicene, its acceptance by the churches, 512
Creeds, statement of, on Christ's divinity, 207
Creeds, traces of, in Scripture, 169, 170
Crisp, Dr., on Imputed Righteousness, 332
Crœsus, on a future state, 538
Cross, form of, 176
Cross, symbolic use of, 178
Cross, types of, 177
Crown, eccelesiastical jurisdiction of, 380
Crusades, the offspring of enthusiasm, 269
Cursive MSS., 176, n.
Cyprian, St., account of, 281
Cyprian, St., commentary of, on The Lord's Prayer, 433
Cyprian, St., Encyclical of, 239
Cyprian, St., on Bishops, 85
Cyprian, St., on burial, 94, n.
Cyprian, St., on clinic baptism, 132
Cyprian, St., on choice of bishops, 87
Cyprian, St., on Confirmation, 144
Cyprian, St., on Councils, 159, n.
Cyprian, St., on election of Bishops, 87, n.
Cyprian, St., on Episcopacy, 242
Cyprian, St., on Eucharist, 248, n.
Cyprian, St., on the Evangelists, 297
Cyprian, St., on laity, 394
Cyprian, St., on marriage, 446
Cyprian, St., on ordination of penitents, 204
Cyprian, St., on Re-baptism, 624
Cyprian, St., on Sacraments, 668
Cyprian, St., on Sursum Corda, 723
Cyprian, St., on the "breath of life," 459
Cyprian, St., on virginity, 796
Cyprian, St., on Unity of the Church, 776
Cyril, St., of Alexandria, account of, 283
Cyril, St., of Alexandria, on Union Hypostatic, 774
Cyril, St., of Alexandria, on Eucharist, 247, n.
Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius, 164
Cyril, St., anathemas of, 21
Cyril, St., Confession of Faith, 105
Cyril, St., and Anthropomorphism, 27
Cyril, St., on Candlemas, 107
Cyril, St., on Adoptionism, 6
Cyril, St., on Baptismal grace, 78, n.
Cyril, St., on Liturgic intercessions, 427
Cyril, St., on Sursum Corda, 723
Cyril, St., on trine immersion, 76
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, account of, 282
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, on Antichrist, 29
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, on Catechumens, 115
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, on Confirmation, 144
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, on Eucharistic sacrifice, 254
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, on Eucharistic types, 248, n.
Cyril, St., of Jerusalem, on Immersion, 75

Damascene, St. John, on Antitype, 34
Damascene, St. John, on Theandric operation, 737
Damascene, St. John, on Trisagion, 766, n.
Damasus, on the Divinity of The Holy Ghost, 437
Damian, Peter, on Transubstantiation, 759
Daniel, on Episcopacy, 605, n.
Daniel, prophetic weeks of, 801
Day, Lord's, 432
Deaconess, duties of, 186
Dead, Burial of the, 94
Dead, Prayer for the, 585
De Civitate Dei, of St. Augustine, 283
Decline, intellectual, of the Church, 184
Decretals, the, 399
Degradation, form of, 188
Deism, relation of rationalism to, 616
Demoniacal Possession, 198
Descartes, dualism of, 224
Descartes, on Divine Existence, 739
Descartes, on doubt, 217
Desire and Volition, Heart the source of, 302
Deutero-Canonical books, 109
D'Holbach's Système de la Nature, 59, 64
Διαβολος, a name of Satan, 675
Diaconate, founded by the Apostles, 185
Dialectical Mystics, 501
Diatessaron, difficulty of constructing a, 202
Dies iræ, on the Sibylline Oracles, 698
Diet of Augsburg, 68, 69
Diocesan synods, 726
Dioceses, English, origin of, 203
Diodorus Sic. on Tithes, 755, n.
Diognetus, epistle to, 280
Diogenes Laertius, and the Magian ideas of God, 538
Dionysius of Alexandria and the Nicene Creed, 511
Dionysius, of Alexandria, account of, 281
Dionysius, on οὐσία, 532
Dionysius on Theophany, 751
Diptychs, 101
Disciplina Arcani, 171
Disciplina Arcani, Economy allied to, 230
Dispensation, old, mediators under, 459
Dispensation, three kinds of, 206
Divine Existence, physico-theological proof of, 740
Divine injunctions to Prayer, 583
Divine Nature, 505
Divine operations in man, Heart the subject of, 303
Divine Service, modes of celebrating, 657
Divines, Westminster Assembly of, on Puritanism, 604
Divinity of the Holy Ghost, 714
Doctrine, Catholic, test of, 116
Dogmatic Theology, 745
Döllinger, on the Jewish origin of Millennium, 471
Dominicans, enthusiasm of the, 240
Donatists, 85, 160
Dorner, on Mysticism, 501
Dort, Synod of, 48, 106, 107,
Doubt, History of, 218
Doubt, Origin of, 217
Doxology, Little, 291
Dragon, a name of Satan, 676
Drouven, on forms used in ordination, 88, n.
Druidism, transmigration of souls in, 465
Dualism, Buddhist, 457
Dualism, causes of, 225
Dualism, difficulties of, 226
Dualism, Gnostic systems and, 458
Dualism, history of, 220
Dualism, Manichæan, 457
Durandus on Sacramentals, 668
Durandus on Trinity Sunday, 765
Dualism, Platonic, 458
Dualistic theory of evil, 675
Durandus, on Easter, 227
Durandus, on Lavipedium, 398, n.
Dyer, on Calvinism, 105
Dynamical theory of Inspiration, 349

Early Christians and Millennium, 471
Early varieties of ritual custom, 660
Easter, Annotine, 25
Easter, difficulty of fixing the day, 545
Easter typified in the Jewish law, 228
Eastern Bishops on Purgatory, 602, n.
Eastern Church and celibacy, 118
Eastern Church and Rogation-tide, 661
Eastern Church, Christology of, 124
Eastern Church and Concomitance, 139 n.
Eastern Church, its form of Baptism, 77
Eastern mind, type of the, 554
Ecclesiastical censures, 513
Ecclesiastical discipline, 204
Ecclesiastical fasting, 273
Ecclesiastical foundations, 289
Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, 380
Ecclesiastical law, 400
Ecclesiastical privileges, early, 132
Ecclesiasticus, on Old Testament Canon, 108
Eclectic School, 11
Eclecticism, 293
Economy, a name of Incarnation, 4
Economy of Grace, position of Sacraments in the, 670
Ectene, 84
Edgar, King, law of, on parishes, 542
Edmund, King, laws of, on marriage, 444
Egypt, Pantheism in, 538
Elect, the, and grace of God, 298
Elijah, as connected with the Second Advent, 685
Elipand of Toledo and Adoptionism, 6
Ellicott, Bishop, on Inspiration, 350, n.
Ellicott, Bishop, on everlasting punishment, 259, n.
Elvira, Council of, 160
Ember Days, the, 274
Ember, etymology of, 370
Empire, Roman, and Dark Ages, 182
England, convents founded in, 491
England, influence of Mysticism in, 502
English Church Calendar, 101
English Church, image worship in, 327
English Church, missions of, 483
English Litany, Invocation of Saints in, 417
English Liturgy, oblation in, 522
Enoch, Book of, on everlasting punishment, 258
Enthusiasm and Atheism, 58
Enthusiasm and fanaticism, 268

Ephesus, Council of, 164
Ephesus, Liturgy of 423
Ephraem Rescript, 786
Epictetus, on conscience, 146
Epicureans and Atheists, 57
Epiphanius, St., on celibacy of the clergy, 118
Epiphanius, on Friday fasting, 274
Epiphanius, on Procession of the Holy Ghost, 594, n.
Epiphanius, on Rogations, 661, n.
Epiphanius and Cerinthus, 120
Epiphanius, on Arianism, 32
Epiphanius, on Assumption of Blessed Virgin, 55
Epiphanius, on Cathari, 116
Epiphanius, on the observance of Holy Week, 543
Epiphanius, on Mishna, 477
Epiphany and Nativity, joint celebration of, 123
Episcopal order, division of, 86
Episcopacy, growth of the true doctrine of, 606
Episcopate, distinct from presbyterate, 85
Episcopate, distinct from the priesthood, 526
ὁ ἐρχόμενος, a name of Christ, 1
Erigena, J. Scotus, work of, on Pantheism, 538
Erskine, Cardinal, on Bull "In Cœna Domini," 133
"Erudition for any Christian Man," on extreme unction, 772
Espousals, ceremonies of, 445
Estius, on Apostolical succession, 38, n.
Eternal death, 186
Eternal decrees, 187
Eternity, Lord Bacon on, 22, n.
Ethiopic version, 789
Eucharist, ablutions in, 2
Eucharist and Altar, 16
Eucharist, form of, 249
Eucharist, grace of, 249
Eucharist, invocation of Holy Spirit in, 357
Eucharist, litany connected with the, 417
Eucharist, matter of, 248
Eucharistic elements, Antitype, a name of, 34
Eucharistic lights, 414
Eucharistic sacrifice, prayer for the dead connected with, 586
Eucherius, St., of Lyons, on interpretation, 355, n.
Eunomeans, 44
Eusebian canons, 110
Eusebius, account of, 281
Eusebius, canons of, 110
Eusebius, on angels, 23
Eusebius, on Apostolical succession, 39, n.
Eusebius, on early councils, 159
Eusebius, on kneeling, 391
Eusebius, on Monarchianism, 487
Eusebius, on New Testament canon, 109, n.
Eusebius, on the Nicene Creed, 511
Eusebius, on the order of the gospels, 296
Eusebius, on the origin of Millenarianism, 471
Eusebius, on Papias, 280
Eusebius, on term Faithful, 267
Eutyches, heresy of, 164
Eutychians, 310, 494
Evangelicals, their original simplicity of life, 53
Evens, or vigils, fasting on, 275
Evil, origin of, 262
Excommunication, form of, 265
Excommunication, old form of, 20, n.
Existence, Divine, ontological proofs of, 738
Exorcists, 131, 200
Exorcists, order of, 527
Exposition of the Mass, 454
Extreme unction, history of the rite, 771
Extraordinary mission, 480
Ezra, Aben, on processional use of Hallel, 301
Ezra, and Talmudism, 728

Faber, on justification, as taught by the Fathers, 384, n.
Faith, analogy of, 18
Faith, articles of, 49
Faith, confession of, 141
Faith, implicit, 331
Faith, objective, 521
Faith, relation of doubt to, 220
Faith, rule of, 663
Faith, subjective, 521
Fall, loss of beauty consequent on the, 91
False decretals, 187
Fasting, exemptions from, 271
Fasting, objections to the practice, 270
Fatalism, not found in the Bible, 276
Fathers and choral services, 657
Fathers, on Advent, 7
Fathers, on Apostolical Canons, 112
Fathers, on celibacy of the Clergy, 117
Fathers, on concomitance, 139
Fathers, on deaconesses, 185
Fathers, on good works, 387, n.
Fathers, on justification, 384, n.
Fathers, on New Testament Canon, 109
Fathers, on Old Testament types of baptism, 74, n.
Fathers, and prayers for the dead, 599
Fathers, on punishment of the wicked, 181
Fathers, on reservation, 641
Fathers, on the Sibyl, 699
Fathers, on the Spirit as a title of Christ, 711
Fathers, on Transubstantiation, 761
Feasts, moveable, 285
Feeling and reason, 8
Feeling and the feelings, 8
Fees, burial, 94
Felix of Urgel and Adoptionism, 6
Ferrara, Council of, 287
Festival lights, 414
Fidelium, Missa, 477
Fiduciaries, 704
Finite, relation of the Infinite to, 347
Firmilian, on early synods, 158, n.
Five Articles, the, 48
First-fruits and Annates, 25
Flacianists, 5
Flagellentes, 268
Fleury, on Ultramontanism, 770
Font, blessing of, 82
Forbes, Bishop, on Protestantism, 596
Forbidden degrees, 189
Form of baptism, 76
Fossarii, 131
Fox, George, account of, 608
Franciscans, enthusiasm of the, 240
Frankel, on Haggadah, 300
Frankfort, Council of, 6
Freeman, on canonical hours, 315
Freeman, on elevation, 236
Freeman, on Intercession of Christ, 352
Freeman, on offertory, 522
Freeman, on the connection of hallelujah with oblation, 523
Freeman, on Kyrie Eleëson, 392
Freeman, on Trisagion, 766
Free-will, infinity in, 347
Fridays, fasting on, 274
Friuli, Council of, 6, 286
Fulgentius, on fatalism, 276
Funeral lights, 414

Galileo, and the Jesuits, 371
Gall, St., Tripartite rite of, 17
Gallican Church, Pragmatic Sanction in, 580
Gallican Liberties, the, 581
Gallican Liturgies, 423
Gallican Psalter, 790
Gassendi, on Atheism, 57
Γεέννα, translated "Hell," 305
Gelasius, Sacramentary of, and baptismal lights, 413
Gemara, account of the, 729
General Synods, 726
Generation, Eternal, 243
Gentilly, council of, 286
Gentile Church, Hellenists the centre of, 306
German and Norse Dualism, 220
German codes, on crime, 184
Germany, English and Irish missions to, 481
German Pantheism, 539
Germany, Rationalism in, 618
Gieseler, on the Clementine Homilies, 625
Gieseler, on Montanism, 79
Gieseler, on the origin of the Gospels, 502
Gieseler, on Universal Redemption, 777
Glory, spiritual meaning of, 292
Gnostics, doctrines of the, 294
Gnostics, on creation, 174
Gnosticism, and the Cabbala, 96
Gnosticism, the foundation of all heresy, 308
God, Heaven the abode of, 303
God, indwelling of, 711, n.
God, mother of, 497
God, the gradual revelation of, to the world, 644
God, the origin of life, 410
God, Scripture statements on the Incarnation of, 334
God, wrath of, 808
Good works, 805
Goodness, a Divine quality, 325
Good works indispensable to justification, 386
Gospel, the, 736
Gospel Lights, 413
Gothico-Gallican missal on purgatory, 601, n.
Grace, actual, 5
Grace at Clifford's Inn, 82, n.
Grace, indefectible, 341
Grace, means of, 458
Greater Excommunication, 264
Greater Sanhedrin, 673
Greece, Pantheism in, 538
Gregory of Nazianzum on conscience, 147, n.
Gregory of Nazianzum on Theophany, 750
Gregory, St., account of, 490
Gregory, St., Antiphonarium of, 32
Gregory, St., hymns of, 282, 318, n.
Gregory, St., sacramentary of, and baptismal lights, 413
Gregory, St., and Alleluia, 14
Gregory, St., and British bishops, 162, n.

Gregory, St., and Lent, 274
Gregory, St., and reservation of benefices, 643
Gregory, St., on burial fees, 94, n.
Gregory, St., on mode of celebrating Eucharist, 656
Gregory, St., on re-ordination, 637
Gregory, St., on use of pictures in churches, 327
Gregory, St., of Tours, on Rogation days, 274
Grote, on Scripture criticism, 175, n.
Grotianism, 397
Grotius, and the Lord's Prayer, 332
Guardian angels, 24
Guéranger, on Apostolic Liturgy, 419
Guerinets, 323
Guyon, Madame, Quietism of, 613

Habitual jurisdiction, 381
Hades of Roman Theology, 201
Hades personified by Abaddon, 2
Haggadol, Hallel, 301
Hales, on Latitudinarianism, 396
Hallam, on English Arminianism, 48
Hallam, on Papal authority, 371
Hallam, on Pascal's letters, 363
Hallam, on the Pallium, 721
Hands, Imposition of, 331
Harvey, on Apollinarian heresy, 610
Harvey, on our Lord's resurrection, 647
Health, effects of fasting on, 271
Heart, Shechinah of God's presence in, 697
Heathen, salvation of the, 495
Heathenism, evil of, 264
Heaven, situation of, 305
Hefele, on Apostolical canons, 112
Hegel, on the Divine existence, 533
Hegel, Pantheism of, 743
Hegel, on Sephiroth, 100
Hell, descent into, 201
Henry VIII., statute of, on dispensations, 206
Herbert, George, on casuistry, 115
Herbert, Lord, of Cherbury, 191
Heretics, Christian, dualism of, 223
Heretics, opinions of, on the body of Christ, 337
Hermas, Shepherd of, 280
Herrnhuters, the, 495
Herodotus, and the Persian ideas of God, 538
Hervey, on imputed righteousness, 331
Heylin, on Arminius, 46, n.
Heylin, on the Augsburg Confession, 106
Hickes, on oblations in the Eucharist, 253, n.
Hilary, St., account of, 282
Hilary, St., on Adoptionism, 6
Hilary, St., on Antichrist, 28
Hilary, St., on Episcopacy, 242
Hilary, St., on Novatianism, 518, n.
Hilary, St., on original sin, 556
Hilary, St., on purgatory, 599, n.
Hilary, St., on the sacrifice of Christians, 657
Hilary, St., and the Athanasian Creed, 610
Hilda, St., account of, 492
Hillel, sayings of, 314
Hindustan, Buddhism in, 93
Hippolytus, on γνῶσις, 294, n.
Hippolytus, on economy, 229
Hobbes and Deism, 191
Holy Eucharist, sacrifices a type of, 671
Holy Ghost, blaspheming against, 88
Holy Ghost, procession of the, 592
Holy Ghost, the, 713
Holy Ghost, indwelling of, 711, n.
Holy Ghost, office of, 714
Holy Orders, 526
Holy Water, blessing of, 82
Hooker, on appetite, 8
Hooker, on Burial Service, 95
Hooker, on Confession, 640
Hooker, on Contrition, 351
Hooker, on the Fall of Angels, 22
Hooker, on Grace, 297
Hooker, on Grace and Labour, 298
Hooker, on God's wrath, 808
Hooker, on Jewish and early Christian confession, 141
Hooker, on Justification, 387, n.
Hooker, on the necessity of mediation, 460
Hooker, on power of the keys, 390
Hooker, on Repentance, 640
Hooker, on Schism, 682
Hooker, on the Trinity in Unity, 320
Hooker, on Ubiquity, 770
Hooker, on Hypostatic Union, 774
Hormisdas, on Apostolical canons, 111
Host, carrying of the consecrated, 642
Human Nature, 506
Human Nature, renewal of, 637
Humanity, religion of, 579
Humbert, on Apostolical canons, 111
Hume's definition of miracles, 474
Hymns of the Church, on Christ's divinity, 208
Hypapante, a name for Candlemas, 107
Hypostatic Union, 774

Ἰχθύς, 251, n.
Ἰχθύς, Tertullian on, 79
Iconium, council of, 159
Ideology, 502
Ignatius, St., on Baptism, 77
Ignatius, St., on Christ's divinity, 209
Ignatius, St., on Clergy, 130
Ignatius, St., and Amen, 17
Ignatius, St., and Concomitance, 138
Ignatius, St., and γνῶσις, 294
Ignatius, St., on Election, 233
Ignatius, St., on Episcopacy, 85
Ignatius, St., epistles of, 279
Ignatius, St., on Eucharistic sacrifice, 252
Ignatius, St., and Gnosticism, 31
Ignatius, St., on Marriage, 443
Ignatius, St., and Star of Bethlehem, 242
Ignatius, St., and Theophoroi, 752
Ignatius, St., on virginity, 796
Ignatius, St., on widows, 803
Illumination, apart from knowledge, 324
Illiberis, council of, 160
Imagination, Infinity as symbolized in, 348
"Immensus," 339
Impassibility, a Divine quality, 325
Impediments of marriage, 445
Imputed righteousness, 31, n.
Incarnation, Divine Nature relative to the, 506
Incarnation, purpose of, 338
Incarnation, results of, 337
Incarnation, Scripture language on, 336
Incarnation, session of Christ the complement of, 696
Incarnation, the Blessed Virgin the moral instrument of, 451
Incarnation, the Blessed Virgin's position in the economy of, 451
Indestructibility, a Divine quality, 325
India, early missions to, 481
India, work of the Church in, 485
India and Japan, Xavier's mission to, 482
Indicative Absolution, 4
Indefinite, the, 346
Indulgences, abuse of, 342
Indulgences, a name for Libelli Pacis, 410
Indulgences, sale of, 205
Innocent I., on Extreme Unction, 772
Innocent, St., on Paulianists, 552
Inspiration, Dynamical theory of, 236
Inspiration, revelation distinct from, 652
Institution gives cure of souls, 179
"Institution of a Christian Man," on Indulgences, 343
"Institution of a Christian Man," on Extreme Unction, 772
"Institution of a Christian Man," on Limbus, 416
"Institution of a Christian Man," on the Popedom, 596
"Institution of a Christian Man," on Sacraments, 669
Institution of Baptism, 76
Institutes of Calvin, 105
"Inter Beneficiatos," 139
Intercessory character of primitive Liturgies, 427
Interdict, Papal, 205
Intermediate state, Paradise associated with, 541
Interpretation, four kinds of, 355
Interpretation, literal, 417
Interpretation, metaphorical, 463
Invisible Church, the, 129
"Ipso facto" excommunication, 265
Irenæus, St., and succession of the Popes, 571
Irenæus, St., creed in, 14
Irenæus, St., account of, 281
Irenæus, St., and infant baptism, 344
Irenæus, St., and millennium, 472
Irenæus, St., on Antitype, 34
Irenæus, St., on Apostolical succession, 39, n.
Irenæus, St., on baptismal grace, 79
Irenæus, St., on bishops, 85
Irenæus, St., on canon of Scripture, 107, n.
Irenæus, St., on creation, 167
Irenæus, St., on faith, 18
Irenæus, St., on fasting in Lent, 407
Irenæus, St., on Gnostic baptisms, 77
Irenæus, St., on Incarnation, 333
Irenæus, St., on "ignorance" of Christ, 323
Irenæus, St., on "Incomprehensible," 339
Irenæus, St., on Prototype, 597
Irenæus, St., on the Apocalypse, 110
Irenæus, St., on Apostolical Succession, 85, n.
Irenæus, St., on the Blessed Virgin, 450, n.
Irenæus, St., his description of Cerinthus, 120
Irenæus, St., on the Evangelists, 297
Irenæus, St., on the Nicolaitans, 512
Irenæus, St., on the obedience of the Blessed Virgin, 452
Irenæus, St., on the observance of Easter, 543
Irenæus, St., on the rule of faith, 663
Irenæus, St., on the word orthodox, 532
Isidore, St., on Gospel lights, 413
Isidore of Seville, on penitence, 561
Islamism and Predestination, 277
Itala Version, 789

James, St., Liturgy of, 421
Jansen, his deductions from Augustine, 362
Jehovah, Name, antiquity of, 368
Jehovah, derivation of the Name, 364
Jehovah, origin of Name, 365
Jehovah, pronunciation of Name, 364
Jerome, St., account of, 283
Jerome, St., on Agapæ, 9
Jerome, St., on Agapetæ, 10
Jerome, St., and Alleluia, 14
Jerome, St., on Amen, 17, 17, n.
Jerome, St., on Antichrist, 28
Jerome, St., on Apostolic Liturgy, 419
Jerome, St., on authenticity, 71
Jerome, St., on Baal, 73
Jerome, St., on baptism, 77
Jerome, St., and the word Bible, 84
Jerome, St., on bishops, 85
Jerome, St., on bishops and presbyters, 86
Jerome, St., and the Cabbala, 97
Jerome, St., on canonization, 113
Jerome, St., and classical study, 184
Jerome, St., Comes of, 133, 107
Jerome, St., on confirmation by priests, 86, n.
Jerome, St., on clergy, 130
Jerome, St., on creationism, 169, n.
Jerome, St., on deacons, 185
Jerome, St., and Ebionites, 228
Jerome, St., on Episcopacy, 242
Jerome, St., on Eucharist, 248, n.
Jerome, St., on the Evangelists, 297
Jerome, St., on extinction of culture in the West, 183
Jerome, St., on heresy, 306
Jerome, St., on lay priesthood, 407
Jerome, St., on Lent, 408
Jerome, St., on the minister of baptism, 77, n.
Jerome, St., on Mishna, 477
Jerome, St., on the order of the Gospels, 296, n.
Jerome, St., on Parable, 539
Jerome, St., on Polycarp's epistle, 278
Jerome, St., on preaching, 588
Jerome, St., on presbyterian ordination, 86, n.
Jerome, St., on purgatory, 600
Jerome, St., on revelation, 652
Jerome, St., on Sephiroth, 99
Jerome, St., on the Septuagint, 786
Jerome, St., on sign of cross, 177
Jerome, St., on the use of lights, 413
Jerome, St., on transmigration, 464
Jerome, St., his Vulgate, 790
Jerusalem, bishops of, prerogatives appertaining to, 162, n.
Jerusalem, council of, 105
Jerusalem Talmud, on the observance of the Passover, 548
Jerusalem, Two Targums of, 733
Jesuits, constitution of order, 370
Jesuitism, dangers of, 371
Jesuits, enthusiasm of the, 240
Jesuits, learning the, 370
Jesuits, murders committed by, 372
Jesuits, missionary spirit of, 374
Jesuits, suppression of, 373
Jesus, baptizing in Name of, 77
Jesus, miraculous conception of, known to few, 335
Jews, fast days of the, 273
Jews, the, on baptism, 344 n.
Jewish Asceticism, 50
Jewish cavils on prophecies of Incarnation, 334
Jewish Church, prayers for the dead in the, 585
Jewish confession, 141
Jewish disabilities, removal of, 379
Jewish dispensation, polygamy under, 567
Jewish election of grace, 234, n.
Jewish form of benediction, 82
Jewish oblations, 521
Jewish origin of Millennium, 471
Jewish Pentecost, ceremonies of, 561
Jewish Sabbaths, 666
Jetsira, the, 96
Joma, on Shechinah, 698
Jonathan, Targum of, 732
John Baptist, date of birth, 123
John, St., and the term ὁ Λόγος, 804
John, St., Liturgy of, 423
Johnson, on Apostolical Succession, 39
Josephus, on Old Testament Canon, 108
Josephus, on Sanhedrin, 673
Josephus, on transmigration, 649 n.
Judaism in Europe, 378
Judaism, its terminable character, 376
Judge of man, the same as his Mediator, 462
Judge ordinary, 527
Judgment, the last, 688
Julian, on the Redeemer's office, 555
Julius I., decree of, on Intinction, 355
Jurisdiction, Apostolic system of, 381
Jurisdiction, Hierarchy of, 312
Jurisdiction, patriarchal, 551
Jurisdiction, Sub-apostolic system of, 382
Justification, as taught by Luther, 435
Justification, formal cause of, 387, n.
Justinian, on Apostolic Canons, 112
Justinian, on Cenobites, 119
Justinian, law of, on sponsors, 715
Justinian, on Vernacular, 783
Justin Martyr, on Angels, 23
Justin Martyr, on Apostolic Liturgy, 420, n.
Justin Martyr, on baptismal grace, 79
Justin Martyr, on illumination, 324
Justin Martyr, on kiss of peace, 391
Justin Martyr, on Limbus, 415
Justin Martyr, on original sin, 528
Justin Martyr, on preaching, 587
Justin Martyr, on reading of lessons, 408
Justin Martyr, on the resurrection of the body, 651, n.
Justin Martyr, on revelation, 652
Justin Martyr, account of Eucharistic service, 255
Justin Martyr and Infant Baptism, 344
Justin Martyr and the Vernacular, 783
Justin Martyr, on Virginity, 796

Kant, on Divine existence, 739
Karaite observance of the Passover, 548
Karaite sect, 377
Karkuph Version, 788
Κατάληψις, 339
Kaye, Bishop, on οὐσία, 532, n.
Keble, on ceremonies, 439
Kherem, identical with anathema, 19
Kindred and affinity, table of, 9
Knowledge, a Divine quality, 325
Knox, on justification, 384, n.
Knox, A., on puritanism, 607
Knox, A., on superstition, 720
Koran, on Fatalism, 277
Krazer, on Apostolic Liturgy, 255, n.
Krazer, on the Holy Communion, 656

Labarum, origin of, 393
Lactantius, account of, 281
Lactantius, on sign of Cross, 177
Lactantius, on transmigration, 464
Lactantius, on white robes of Neophytes, 507, n.
Lactantius, and Millennium, 472
Laity, influence of, in England, 407
Lambeth Articles, 106
Laodicea, first council of, on Agapæ, 10
Laodicea, council of, 162
Lateran, 4th council of, on Transubstantiation, 760
Latimer, on canonization, 114
Latin creeds, 171
Latin Fathers, effects of legal training on, 554
Latitudinarians, 48, 256
Latria, 7
Latronum Synodus, 164
Laud, Archbishop, on condignity, 140
Laud and Arminianism, 48, n.
Laurence, Archbishop, on Book of Enoch, 258, n.
Laws of nature, 506
Law of simony, 701
Law respecting blasphemy, 89
Law, unwritten, the, 377
Law, Christian, respecting blood, 89
Law, English, on forbidden degrees, 189
Law, English, on heresy, 307
Laying on of hands necessary to ordination, 591
League, Schmalkaldic, 70
Lecky, on the Positivists, 579
Lecky, on rationalism, 615, n.
Lectores, 131
Legatine Synods, 153
Leibnitz, on the origin of evil, 674
Leighton, Archbishop, on doubt, 216
Leighton, and Evangelicalism, 257
Lent, consecration in, 642
Lent, in the Eastern Church, 274
Leo, St., account of, 283
Leo, St., on Christ's presence with his people, 461
Leo, St., on creationism, 169, n.
Leo, St., on Lent, 408
Lesser Excommunication, 265
Lesser Litany, 392
Lesser Sanhedrins, 673
Lessons, appointment of, 409
Le Vasser, on scepticism, 680
Levitical dispensation, use of lights in, 413
Libertinism and Atheism, 57
Liddon, on "ignorance" of Christ, 323
Liebermann, on Catholicity, 517
Life, blood the vehicle of, 89
Life, sacred character of, 410
Light and the Divine presence, 411
Lightfoot, on the Sanhedrin, 673
Light, ritual use of, 413
Liturgical use of the Lord's Prayer, 433
Liturgies, ancient, on elevation, 236
Liturgies, early, Eucharistic sacrifice in, 252, n.
Liturgies, early, on transubstantiation, 761
Liturgies, Greek, on Sacramental presence, 252, n.
Liturgies, literature of, 427
Liturgies, on Sacramental presence, 252
Liturgies, structure of, 424
Liturgy, Ambrosian, 17
Liturgy, Mozarabic, 497
Liturgy, origin of, 418
Locke, on person, 566
Locke, and Deism, 192
Locke, on the authenticity of Scripture, 617
Locke, on Divine revelation, 616
Locke, on the Holy Eucharist, 616

Logos, the, appearance of, to holy men of old, 751
Lollardism, 512
Lollardism, history of, 429
Lombard, Peter, on re-ordination, 638
Lombez, council of, and Albigenses, 11
Lopez, Gregory, Quietism of, 612
Lord, Our, His acts of mediation, 460
Lord, Our, the baptism of, 76, n.
Lord, Our, evidence of His resurrection, 646
Lord, Our, fitness of, by nature for the office of a mediator, 459
Lord, Our, His glory hidden in intercourse with men, 644
Lord, Our, perpetual presence of, with His church, 460
Lord, Our, prayers for the dead sanctioned by, 585
Lord, Our, representations of, lawful, 327
Lord, Our, union between and the Virgin Mary, 451
Loyola, Ignatius, account of, 370
Lucian, and adoration of Christ, 207, n.
Lucian, on the Lord's Prayer, 433
Lucian, the martyr, letter of, 410
Lucifer, a name of Satan, 676
Lucretius, on Fatalism, 275
Lull, Raimand, Theology of, 748
Luther, Antinomianism, result of his teaching, 30
Luther, on consubstantiation, 151
Luther, on confession, 436, 640
Luther, on justification, 387
Luther and Orders, 435
Luther and Ritual, 435
Luther and the Sacraments, 435
Lyndwood, on anathema, 20, n.
Lyndwood, on immersion, 75, n.
Lyons, council of, 287

Macaulay, on Pascal's letter, 363
Macaulay, on the Jesuits, 371
Maçon, Council of, 7
Maçon, Second Council of, 272
Macknight, on imputed righteousness, 332, n.
Maffei, on Apostolical Canons, 111
Magic, presumption against God, 437
Magic and Atheism, 58
Maimonides and Demiurge, 197
Maitland, on the fallen angels, 22, n.
Maimonides, on Haggadah, 300
Maimonides, on Hosanna, 314
Maimonides, on the Law, 377
Maitland, on the origin of Millenarianism, 472
Maldonatus, on procession of the Holy Ghost, 594, n.
Mamertus and Rogation Days, 661
Man, fall of, 268
Man, heart the internal state of, 302
Man, his need of an Intercessor, 351
Man, image of God in, 325
Man, new creation of his mental and spiritual faculties, 510
Manes, account of, 439
Manes, assumption of the name Paraclete by, 541
Manichees, 308
Manichees and almsgiving, 15
Manichean dualism, 223
Manning, on papal supremacy, 721
Mansel, on miracles, 475
Mansel, on sin, 701
Mansel, on the indefinite, 346
Marcion, account of, 440
Maréchal's Dictionnaire des Athées, 60, 65
Maréchal, on Atheism, 57
Mariana, on assassination, 371, n.
Maries, the four, 563
Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, on the Azymites, 289
Mark, St., Litany of, 417
Mark, St., Liturgy of, 422
Marriage, chief ceremonies of, 445
Marriage, impediments to, 445
Marriage, its indissoluble character declared by our Lord, 214
Martene, on Kyrie Eleëson, 392, n.
Martene, on Missa Sicca, 479, n.
Martensen, on purgatory, 603, n.
Martensen, on eternity, 247
Martyrs, term of saint applied to, 672
Martyr, Justin, account of, 281
Martyr, Justin, apology of, 35
Martyr, Justin, and alms, 15
Martyr, Justin, on Amen, 17
Martyr, Justin, on Christ's Divinity, 209
Martyr, Justin, on election, 233
Martyr, Justin, second apology of, 35
Martyr, Justin, on the term faithful, 268
Mason, on imputed righteousness, 332
Mass, ordinary of the, 527
Masses, different kinds of, 659
Massinger, on Atheism, 57
Materialism and Atheism, 60
Materialist views on the soul, 706
Mathematics and Atheism, 59
Matrimony, its essential part as a sacrament, 444
Matter, pre-existence of, 590
Matter, source of, 457
Maximus, on Theophany, 751
Mayence, Council of, 273
Mazarin Bible, 790
Mede, on the Jewish origin of Millennium, 471
Mediate mission, 480
Mediation, necessity for, 458
Mediæval Church and Dark Ages, 184
Mekkubbalim, 96
Melanchthon, on confession, 640
Melanchthon, on notes of the Church, 516
Melanchthon, on original sin, 531
Melanchthon, on predestination, 106, n.
Melanchthon, on repentance, 640
Meletian schism, 161, 463
Melito, apology of, 35
Melito and Anthropomorphism, 27, 27, n.
Menaion, 447
Mendelssohn, Moses, account of, 379
Menologion, 447
Metaphor compared with allegory, 14
Methodism and Asceticism, 53
Methodism, schismatical aspect of, 468
Methodius, on the Blessed Virgin, 452
Michael, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the Latins, 287
Micrologus, on "Ite, missa est," 454
Middleton, Dr., on miracles, 617
Milan, breviary of, 17
Mill, on the Captain of the Lord's host, 24, n.
Mill, on miracles, 475
Millenarians, 471
Milman, on image worship, 327
Milman, on Manichean martyrs, 449, n.
Milman, on Romanism, 662
Milman, on the "Tractatus" of Spinoza, 716, n.
Milner, on purgatory, 599, n.
Miltiades, apology of, 35
Milton, on Atheism, 57
Milton, on evil, 263
Milton, his primeval Christology, 123
Milton, on independent principle, 604
Milton, on Protestantism, 596
Milton, on Satan, 677
Minor orders, 526
Minister of baptism, 77
Ministration of angels, 25
Minucius Felix, Octavius of, 35
Miracles no violation of law, 719
"Mirror of Our Lady," on Ave Maria, 72
"Mirror of Our Lady," on The Lord's Supper, 434
Mishna, account of, 728
Mishna, growth of the, 476
Mishna, on Sanhedrin, 674
Mishna, translations of, 731
Mission conference, on polygamy, 569, n.
Mithra, mysteries of, and Eucharist, 254, n.
Mixed synods, 726
Molinos, Michael de, account of, 611
Molinos, teaching of, 612
Moloch identified with Baal, 73
Monasticism, benefits of, 489
Monasticism favourable to mysticism, 500
Monasticism, origin of, 487
Monasteries, government of, 518
Monasteries, nurseries of fanaticism, 268
Monica, on her burial, 95
Monotheism, origin and relation of Polytheism to, 570
Monophysites, 256, 494
Monophysite version of Scriptures, 788
Montalembert, on monks, 488
Montanists, 369
Montanists and Millenarianism, 473
Montanus, account of, 495
Moral Law, 403
Moravians, missionary spirit of, 496
More, Henry, on enthusiasm, 58
More, Sir T., on canonization, 114
Morinus, on forms used in ordination, 88, n.
Mormon, book of, 496
Mortal and venial sin, 701
Mosaic Law on forbidden degrees, 189
Mosaic Law on restitution, 645
Mosaic law of marriage, 449
Mosaic types of reconciliation, 628
Moses and Elias, appearance of, to our Lord, 759
Mouravieff, on Eastern rite of confirmation, 86, n.
Mozarabic Liturgy, kiss of peace in, 391
Mozarabic Missal, on purgatory, 601, n.
Mozley, on miracles, 474, n.
Myrk, on Ave Maria, 72
Myrk's instructions for parish priests, 49
Mystical body, 90
Mystics and feeling, 8
Mystics, dialectical, 501
Mythology, heathen and evil, 675, n.
"Mythic," as first applied to Scripture, 502

Nantes, edict of, 316
National Church, synod of, 152
National synods, 726
Natural body, 90
Natural morality, 495
Natural religion, 630
Natural religion, revealed religion the culmination of, 635

Nazarites, 51
Nazianzen, St. Greg., account of, 282
Nazianzen, Greg., on Easter, 227
Neale, on Eastern hours, 315
Neale, on Western mattins, 315
Neander, on infant baptism, 344, n.
Negative accommodation, 4
Newman, Dr., on the Trinity, 765, n.
Neocæsarea, council of, 161
Neo-Platonic school, 11
Nestorianism, 310
Nestorius, doctrines of, 507
Nestorius, heresy of, 163
New England, settlement in, 484
Newman, on Semi-Arianism, 691
New Testament, 736
New Testament use of word Church, 128
Newton, Sir I., on Divine existence, 740
Nice, Council of, 44, 158, 159, 160
Nirvâna, 92
Nisan, fourteenth, introductory character of, 545, n.
Noëtus, heretical opinions of, 552
Notarikon, the, 97
Novatians, 116
Novatian and Cornelius, 204
Novatians, doctrine of the, 517
Nuns, convents for, 488
Nyssen, St. Gregory, account of, 282
Nyssen, St. Gregory, on everlasting punishment, 259
Nyssen, St. Gregory, on the resurrection of the body, 651, n.

Oaths, lawfulness of, 520
Obedience, 166
Oblation, forms of the prayer of, 523
Ochinus, Bernard, account of, 703
Ockham, William of, account of, 750
Octavius of Minucius Felix, 35
Œcolampadius on the Divinity of Christ, 45, n.
Œcumenical Synods, 726
Odo, Abp., on tithes, 755, n.
Offerings at the altar, 522
"Offices," called "ceremonies," 120
Offices of burial, 95
Office, mediatorial, the manner of exercising it, 459
Official, office of an, 524
Oldcastle, Sir John, on the Eucharist, account of, 429, n., 431
Old English use of the word superstition in, 720
Old Testament, 737
Old Testament, choral service in, 657
Onkelos, Targum of, 732
Operations, intellectual, heart the seat of, 302
Operation, Theandric, 737
Ophite hymn, on γνῶσις, 294
Optative form of Absolution, 4
Optatus, on ΙΧΘΤΣ, 360
Oracles, Sibylline, 698
Oracles, Sibylline, Christian use of, 698
Oracles, Sibylline, successive versions of, 698
Order, hierarchy of, 312
Orders, minor, 406
Ordinaries, cases reserved to, 645
Ordinary mission, 480
Ordination, matter of, 87, 526
Ordination, power of, conferred by Our Lord, 480
Ordination, validity of, 88
Origen, account of, 281
Origen, on Antichrist, 29
Origen, on Christ's Divinity, 209
Origen, on Creationism, 168
Origen and Ebionites, 228
Origen, on everlasting punishment, 259, 259, n.
Origen, on evil, 674
Origen and "Idiotæ," 322
Origen and infant baptism, 345, n.
Origen, on interpretation, 355, n.
Origen, account of, 12
Origen, his belief in the transmigra- of souls, 464
Origen, his efforts to harmonize philosophy and Christianity, 527
Origen, on milleunium, 472
Origen and the Septuagint, 786
Origen's Tetrapla, 786
Origeniani turpes, 527
Original Sin and Immaculate Conception, 331
Orleans, Council of, on Agapæ, 10
Orleans, First Council of, 274
Ormuzd, account of, 98
Ostiarii, 131
Our Lord, pastoral office of, 550
Overall, Bishop, on the descent into hell, 201, n.
Oxford, Council of, and Feast of Conception, 328, n.
Ozanam, on barbarian vices, 184

Pachomius, account of, 119
Paganism, decline of, 537
Paley, on Divine existence, 743
Palmer, on Latin baptisms by affusion, 75, n.
Palmer, on purgatory, 601
Παντελὴς ἀφορισμὸς, 34
Pantheism, history of, 537
Pantheism and Quietism, 613
Pantheistic theory of evil, 675
Papal supremacy, 720
Papal system of jurisdiction, 383
Papias, work of, 280
Paradise, spoken of by Our Lord, 541
Parker, Achbishop, his form of convocation, 155
Parson, requisites for becoming such, 542
Pascal, letters of, 363
Paschal controversy, 161
Paschal sacrifice, mode of celebration, 549
Paschal sacrifice, time of the, 548
"Passions lied" hymn, 319
Passive obedience, 514
Passover, confusion of the Jews as to the day of keeping it, 543
Pastor, its perverted sense, 798
Patriarchal system of jurisdiction, 383
Patrick, St., short account of, 490
Patrick, St., and Ireland, 481
Patrick, St., on Easter, 227
Patripassians, 210, 309
Paul, St., his Epistles a proof of Christianity, 502
Paul, St. Liturgy of, 423
Paul, St., Liturgy traced in the writings of, 419
Paul, St., trichotomy of, 706
Paul, St., and concomitance, 138
Paul, St., and St. James, apparent contradiction of, on justification, 388
Paul, St., on polygamy, 568
Paul, St., on the resurrection of the body, 650
Paul, Bishop of Antioch, account of, 160
Paul of Samosata, heresy of, 309
Paulianists, 77
Paulicians, principles of the, 552
Paulinus, St., on the use of lights, 413
Peace, kiss of, 390
Pearson, Bishop, on Christ, our mediator and judge, 462
Pearson, Bishop, on election, 232
Pearson, Bishop, on the fall of man and of the angels, 459
Pearson, Bishop, on "Incomprehensible," 339
Pearson, Bishop, on repesentation, 641
"Peculiars," 265
Pelagianism, 163, 310
Pelagius, opinions of, on original sin, 557
Penance, the three kinds of, 560
Penance, in primitive Church, 204
Penitential discipline, 639
Pentateuch, Elohistic and Jehovistic writers of, 369
Pentecost, 802
Pepuzians, 495
Perambulations, 661
Perceval, on consecration of bishops, 515
Perfectibilists, 323
Perfection, counsels of, 164
Perfection, threefold, kinds of, 165
Perkins, on Atheism, 57
Perrone, on the doctrine of satisfaction, 343
Perrone, on indulgences, 341
Perone, on Opus operatum, 524
Perpetua, St., her visions of purgatory, 601
Persecutions, chronological table of, 536
Perseverance, final, 289
Personality, incorporeal, ancient ideas of the soul as, 705
Personality of the Holy Spirit, 713
Persons, anointing of, 26
Pesachim, Tr., on Hallel, 301
Peter, St., Liturgy of, 422
Peter, St., his altar at Rome, 16
Peter, St., power of the keys committed to, 390
Phantasiastæ, 215
Philo and the Cabbala, 98, 100
Philo, on demiurge, 197
Philo, on Old Testament canon, 108
Philosophy, Greek, dualism of, 222
Philoxenian version, 109, n., 788
Photius, on Apostolical Constitutions, 149
Pietists, the, 436
Pius VI., on indulgences, 341
Pius IX., on latitudinarianism, 396, n.
Placentia, Council of, 274
Plague burials, 95, n.
Plato, dualism of, 223
Plato, his idea of doubt, 217
Plato's Logos, 805, n.
Plato and οὐσία, 532
Plato on a Divine Spirit in man, 712, n.
Plato, on the sufferings of a good man, 547, n.
Platonists, English, 396
Pliny's letter to Trajan, 9
Pliny and Christian adoration of Christ, 207
Pliny and Libellatici, 410
Pliny, on deaconesses, 185
Plotinus, Enneads of, 197
Plutarch, on Syncretism, 725
Ποιεῖν, meaning of, 252, n.
Points, five, 289
Politics, secularization of, and Atheism, 58
Polycarp, and Gloria Patri, 291
Polycarp, Gloria in Excelsis, 291

Polycarp, epistle of, 278
Polytheism, 632
Pope, cases reserved to the, 645
Popes, their claim to confer benefices, 643
Popes, precedence of in councils, 726
Porphyry, on demiurge, 197
Port-Royal, account of, 361
Porter, office of, 526
Portiforium, 90
Positive accommodation, 5
Possession, demoniacal, 198
Poverty, 166
Power, a Divine quality, 325
Power of the keys, 390
"Prædestinatus," by Sirmond, 694
Præsanctificatorum, Missa, 477
Praxeas, account of, 552
Prayer, bidding, 84
Prayer Book, Christ's divinity recognized in, 208
Prayer Book of 1549, on absolution, 4, n.
Prayer, the effect of, 583
Prayer Book, on extreme unction, 773
Prayer, The Lord's, 432
Prayer, The Lord's, and the Embolismus, 238, 433
Prayer, The Lord's, liturgical use of, 433
Prayer, objections to, 584
Prayer, the origin of, 582
Prayers for the dead, primitive practice of, 359
Prebend, origin of the, 588
Precatory absolution, 4
Predestination in Scripture, 234
Pre-existence of souls, a doctrine of Origen, 527
Presbyterians, 775
Presence of Christ, spiritual life consisting in, 461
Presence, real, 623
Presence, virtual, 623
Priest, functions of, 591
Priesthood, its existence common to all nations, 591
Priesthood, lay, 407
Priesthood, necessity for, indicated by Christ, 591
Primate, superior to ordinary archbishop, 40
Primers, 316
Primitive ceremonies of baptism, 75
Primitive Church, its theories of purgatory, 599
Primitive Church, martyrs in, 448
Primitive Church, relation of Augustinian and Pelagian doctrine to, 558
Pro-Anaphora, 424
Processions, 659
Prophecy, moral and predictive elements of, 596
Prosper, on Semi-Pelagianism, 692
Protestantism, as an historical term, 596
Protevangelium, the, 450
Prothesis, the, 424
Provincial councils, 152
Provincial councils, presbyters admitted to, 153
Provincial synods, 726
Provisors, statute of, 206, 599, 643
Prudentius, on A and Ω, 1
Psalms, Hallel, processional use of, 301
Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum of, 733
Psychological Dualism, considerations in favour of, 225
Punishment, everlasting, 253
Puritans, omission of burial services by, 95
Puritan principles, as stated by Neale, 604
Puritanism, causes of, 605
Pusey, on Lay Baptism in the early Church, 404
Pusey, on Mariolatry, 441
Pusey, on the titles given to the Blessed Virgin, 453
Pusey, on the angel of the Lord, 23, n.
Pusey, on Ultramontanism, 770
Pusey, on Unity of the Church, 776
Pyrrhonists, 217

Quadratus, apology of, 35
Quaker meetings, 608
Quakers on ritual, 653
Quesnel and Jansenism, 773
Quignonez, Cardinal, reformed breviary of, 409

Racovian Catechism, 45, n.
Radbertus, Paschasius, on Invocation of Holy Spirit in the Eucharist, 358, n.
Radbertus, Paschasius, on the Grace of the Eucharist, 249, n.
Radenhausen, on Atheism, 61
Ratherius and Anthropomorphism, 27
Rationalism, defence of, 620
Rationalism, progress of, 615
Ratisbon, Synod of, 6
Reader, Office of, 526
Real Presence, materialist views of, 762
Redemption, universal, 777
Redmayne, Dr., on Celibacy, 118, n.
Reformatio Legum, on everlasting punishment, 260, n.
Reformers on Predestination, 104, n.
Religion, Affections and, 8
Religious contract of Marriage, 443
Religious obedience, test of among Pagans, 534
Remonstrants, 48
Rénan, on Scripture criticism, 175
Repentance, elements of, 639
Responsive services and double choir, 658
Resurrection, the general, 687
Revealed religion, 633
Revelation, inspiration distinct from, 349
Revelation, mysteries necessary to, 635
Ridley on Confession, 640
Righteousness, imputed, 331
Rite, Ambrosian, 16
Rite, ceremony distinct from, 120
Rite, Roman, opposition to at Milan, 16
Ritual, general objects of, 653
Ritual, necessity of, 652
Robertson, on doubt, 220
Rogation Days, the, 274
Roman Canon, on prayers for the dead, 661, n.
Roman doctrine of Indulgence, 341
Roman doctrine of persecution, 565
Roman Empire, codex of law in, 400
Roman form of abjuration, 2
Roman form of Ave Maria, 72
Roman Law of adoption, 5
Roman Law on affinity, 9
Roman Law of canonization, 113
Roman Law on marriage, 446
Roman Ordinal on subdeacons, 716
Roman Propaganda, the, 483
Romanism, Puritan conception of, 662
Roman rite of Benediction, 82
Roman view of repentance, 640
Roman Vulgate, 790
Romanus, Clemens, epistles of, 277
Roscellin and Nominalism, 137
Rose, on rationalism, 619
Royal Supremacy, 722
Ruffinus, account of, 283
Ruffinus, his opinions, 555
Ruffinus, on recitation of creed, 170
Ruffinus, on Pope Clement, 572
Russian Church and Transubstantiation, 760

Sabbatical year, 666
Sabians and Baptism, 668
Sabians, sacred books of the, 668
Sacerdotal benediction, 82
Sacramental Matter, 458
Sacraments, Unity of the Church preserved by, 776
Sacraments, effects of the, 525
Sacraments, history of the term, 668
Sacraments, intention in the celebration of, 351
Sacraments, modes of regarding them, 525
Sacraments, mysteries connected with, 500
Sacraments number of the, 669
Sacramentaries, Missal, a development of, 479
Sacrifice, Eucharistic, 252
Sacrifice, use of Blood in, 89
Sacrifices under the Law, 679
Sacrifice, Vicarious, 792
Saints, communion of, 134
Saints, images of, 327
Saints, invocation of, 358
Saints, invocation of, in Litanies, 417
Saints, intercession of, 353
Salutation, Angelic, 22, 72
Samaritan Version, 788
Sanction, Pragmatic, 580
Sanctus, the, 736
Sanhedrin, numerical value of word, 98
Sarum, Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum, 116
Sarum, Consuetudinary, 292
Sarum, liturgy of, 391
Sarum, use of Kyrie Eleëson, 392, n.
Satan, names and titles of, 675
Satan, nature and attributes of, 677
Satan, personality and origin of, 676
Satisfaction, an element of repentance, 640
Scandinavia, French and English missions to, 482
Scepticism and Atheism, 59
Scepticism, superstition connected with, 720
Schism of East and West, 175
Schism, Meletian, 463
Schleiermacher, on feeling, 8
Schoettgen, on the hidden manna, 621, n.
Scholastic Theology, 746
Schmalkaldic League, 70, 640
Science and Atheism, 59
Scotists, 140
Scotus, Duns, theology of, 749
Scripture, accommodation in, 4
Scripture, canon of, 107
Scripture criticism, 175
Scripture, hymns in, 318
Scripture, illustrations of fasting, 270
Scripture, use of Elohim in, 237
Sections, Ammonian, 17
Seleucia, council of, 8
Self, heart in the sense of, 303
Self-consciousness, heart used for, 303
Semler, opinions and theories of, 618
Seneca, on a divine spirit in man, 712, n.

Seneca, on conscience, 146
Seneca, on fatalism, 275
Seneca, on the benefit of suffering, 263, n.
Sensationalists, 456
Sephiroth, 99
Septuagint and the Cabbala, 98
Septuagint, true history of, 784
Seraphim, 23
Serpent, a name of Satan, 676
Servetus, account of, 775
Service-books, 659
Service, choral, 657
Shaftesbury, Lord, and Deism, 193
Shakespeare, on auricular confession, 70
Shamanism, 235
Shammai and Hillel, characters of, 313
Shammatta identical with Anathema, 19
Shepherd of Hermas, 79
Sign of the Cross, how made, 177
Sin, actual, 5
Sin after baptism, 79
Sin, death a consequence of, 186
Sin, original, 528
Sin, original, derived not imputed, 530
Sins, confession of, 141
Sirmium, council of, 162
Sismondi, on revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 317
Slavonic and Persian Dualism, 221
Sleidan, on Antinomianism, 30, n.
Smith, Joseph, the founder of Mormonism, 496
Societies connected with the Church of England, 406
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 484
Socinus, Faustus, account of, 703
Socrates, account of, 283
Socrates, on Arianism, 41
Socrates, on canon, 107
Socrates, on Celibacy of the Clergy, 118
Socrates, on Responsive Services, 658
Socrates, on Semi-Arianism, 689, n.
Socrates, on the council of the Dedication, 689
Socrates, on the observance of Lent, 407
Solifidianism, Luther's, 30
Souls, pre-existence of, 589
Sozomen, account of, 283
Sozomen, on Anthropomorphism, 27
Special Providence, 598
Speculative Theology, 744
Spener, account of, 567
Spinoza, on Eternity, 246
Spinoza, on Sephiroth, 100
Spinoza, Pantheism of, 539
Spinoza, system of, 707
Spirit, the, a title of our Lord, 711
Spiritual affinity, 9
Spiritual body, 91
Spiritual death, 186
Spiritual jurisdiction, 381
Statute law, 403
Stanhope, Lord, on toleration, 565
Statute of St. Mary Ottery, Devon, on processions, 659
Stephen, Bp. of Autun, on Transubstantiation, 759
Stephens' editions of Bible, 790
Strauss and mythical theory of Scripture, 502
Streaneshalch, council of, 546
Stromata, of Clemens Alex., 281
Subdeacons, duties of, 716
Submission, act of, on sacred synod, 155
Succession, Apostolical, 37
Suetonius, on persecution of the Jews, 536, n.
Suffering, benefit of, 263
Sunday, Trinity, 765
Supper, Lord's, 434
Suspension, causes of, 201
Suspension, sentence of, 494
Swedenborg, account of, 724
Symeon of Thessalonica, on Trisagion, 766
Symeon of Thessalonica, on Ter Sanctus, 736
Synods, episcopal, 154
Synods, Legatine, 153
Syncretism, 11
Syrian and Greek creeds, 172
Syriac, Peshito Version, 788
Système de la Nature of D'Holbach, 455

Tables, chronological, 125
Table, chronological, of persecutions, 536
Table, chronological, of Popes, 571
Table, chronological, of Antipopes, 33
Tables, comparative, of creeds, 171, 172, 173, 174
Table, comparative, of the four parent liturgies, 423, n., 424
Table of Quietest "Via ad Sapientiam," 612
Table of Scripture authorities for creed, 170
Table, Lord's, 434
Tacitus, on Judaism, 376
Tacitus, on the persecutions of the Christians, 536, n.
Talmud, contents of, 730
Talmud, glosses of, on the Law, 377
Talmud, works on the, 378
Talmud, on Hosanna, 314
Talmud, on penance, 560
Talmud, on Shechinah, 697
Tanaim, the, 728
Targum, use of סנהדרין in the, 673
Targumists, 123
Τάρταρος, translated "hell," 305
Tatian, diatessaron of, 201, 297
Tatian, on the "Heavenly Logos," 712
Tatian, on the Resurrection of the Body, 651
Tauler, account of, 501
Taylor, Jeremy, Bp., on contrition, 151
Taylor, Jeremy, Bp., on conscience, 146
Taylor, Jeremy, on doubt, 219
Taylor, Jeremy, on excommunication, 20
Taylor, on the law of Christ, 404
Taylor, Jeremy, on Quietism, 611
Taylor, Jeremy, on sacraments, 339
Taylor, Jeremy, on toleration, 565
Taylor, Jeremy, on Ultramontanism, 770
Tertullian, account of, 281
Tertullian, apology of, 35
Tertullian and Anthropomorphism, 27
Tertullian, on Antichrist, 29
Tertullian, on Apostolical Succession, 38
Tertullian and Homoousion, 44, n.
Tertullian, on authenticity, 71
Tertullian, on Baptism, 74
Tertullian, on Baptismal Grace, 79
Tertullian, on blood, 89
Tertullian, on canon, 110
Tertullian, on canonical hours, 315
Tertullian, on Christ's divinity, 209
Tertullian, on clergy, 130
Tertullian, on Confirmation, 144
Tertullian, on councils, 158, 159, n.
Tertullian, on degrees of bliss, 807, n.
Tertullian, on dualism, 226
Tertullian, on Early Church Councils, 111
Tertullian, on Easter, 227
Tertullian, on economy, 229
Tertullian, on faith, 18
Tertullian, on Friday fasting, 274
Tertullian, on Gnostic rejection of baptism, 78
Tertullian, on γνῶσις, 294
Tertullian, on ΙΧΘΥΣ, 360
Tertullian, on immersion, 75
Tertullian, on Infant Baptism, 345
Tertullian, on infanticide, 535
Tertullian, on intermediate state, 354, n.
Tertullian, on kiss of peace, 390, 391
Tertullian, on Lay Baptism, 404
Tertullian and laity, 394
Tertullian, on Lay Priesthood, 407
Tertullian, on the Lord's Prayer, 432. n.
Tertullian, on marriage, 443
Tertullian, on mortal sins, 204
Tertullian, on name "Christian," 121
Tertullian, on oblation, 522
Tertullian, on offertory, 522
Tertullian, on original sin, 530
Tertullian, on the Paschal fast, 543
Tertullian, on penance, 559
Tertullian, on personality, 566
Tertullian, on prayers for the dead, 586
Tertullian, on pre-existence of souls and matter, 590, n.
Tertullian, on procession of the Holy Ghost, 595
Tertullian, on public games, 535
Tertullian, on Purgatory, 601
Tertullian, on the Resurrection of the Body, 651
Tertullian, on rogations, 661, n.
Tertullian, on the rule of faith, 663
Tertullian, on Sacraments, 668
Tertullian, on sign of Cross, 177
Tertullian, on "the Spirit" as a title of Christ, 712
Tertullian, on spiritual jurisdiction, 382
Tertullian, on standing to pray, 392
Tertullian, on swearing by the Emperor, 535, n.
Tertullian, on term faithful, 267
Tertullian, on Traducianism, 168
Tertullian, on the Trinity, 765, n.
Tertullian, on universal redemption, 777, n.
Tertullian, on virginity, 796
Tertullian, on widows, 803
Tetrapla, 786
Thaumaturgus, St. Greg., account of, 281
Theism and atonement, 633
Theodore, account of, 492
Theodoret, account of, 283
Theodoret, examples of bigamy, 84
Theodoret, on anathema, 19
Theodoret, on Antichrist, 29
Theodoret, on Arianism, 41, n.
Theodoret, on the clergy, 130
Theodoret, on divorce, 568, n.
Theodoret, on οὐσία, 532
Theodoret, on re-ordination, 638
Theodoret, on Theophany, 751
Theodotus, the founder of Monarchianism, 486
Theodotus and Gnosticism, 42
Theology, Cabbalistic system of, 97

Theology, influence of Nonjurors on, 516
Theophanies, 23
Theophanies of Old Testament, 210
Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, apology of, 35
Theophilus, on Baptismal Grace, 79
Theophilus, on the order of the Gospels, 297, n.
Theophorus, a name of Ignatius, 125
Theophylact, on Antichrist, 29
Theophylact, on Cenobites, 119
Thirlwall, on Homeric pictures of disembodied souls, 705
Tillotson's saying on the Athanasian Creed, 49, n.
Tindal, Matthew, and Deism, 194
Tischendorf, on the order of the Gospels, 297
Tischendorf, on the Vatican Codex, 783
Toland, and Deism, 192
Toledo, Council of, 272, 286
Toplady, on universal redemption, 778
Total abstinence, 4
Tractarians and Asceticism, 53
"Tractatus Theologico-Politicus" of Spinoza, 709
Tradition, authority due to, 148
Traducianism, 168
Transfiguration, festival of the, 759
Transmigration, Buddhist, 92
Transmigration, history of, 463
Transmutation of baptismal element, 74
Transubstantiation, controversy respecting, 761
Transubstantiation, history of the term, 759
Trench, Archbp., on authenticity, 71
Trench, Archbishop, on demoniacal possession, 199
Trench, Archbishop, on parables, 540
Trent, catechism of, on eternity, 246
Trent, council of, on indulgence, 342
Trent, council of, on original sin, 531
Trent, council of, on transubstantiation, 760
Trichotomy, 706
Tridentine Catechism, on purgatory, 602
Tridentine Catechism, on re-baptism, 625
Trullo, council in, on Agapæ, 10
Trullan Council, canon of, 477, n.
Type, different to allegory, 14
Types of baptism, 74
Tyre, council of, 162
Teetotalism, 53
Temptation of Christ and Asceticism, 55
Temptation, five kinds of, 734
Temura, the, 97
Tenison, Archbishop, on excommunication, 265
Test Act, the, 513
Testament of the twelve Patriachs, 78
Testament, New, canon of, 109
Testament, New, laity in, 394
Testament, New, law of Christian prayer in, 583
Testament, New, mention of Sanhedrin in, 673
Testament, New, mention of the Shechinah in, 696
Testament, New, polygamy forbidden in, 569
Testament, New, Syriac version of, 109
Testament, New, use of the word "mysteries" in, 499
Testament, New, on Christ's Divinity, 336
Testament, Old, canon of, 107
Testament, Old, laity in, 393
Testament, Old, "Name of God" in, 504
Testament, Old, paradise in, 451
Testament, Old, prophecies of the Incarnation in, 334, n.
Testament, Old, types of Eucharist in, 247
Testament, Old, on use of images, 327
Tetzel, form of indulgence used by, 342
Teutonic race, its peculiarity, 184

Ulphilas and the Goths, 480
Uncial MSS., 176, n.
Understanding, faith partly of the, 267
Uniformity, Act of, 403
Union, Hypostatic, 337
United Brethren, 495
United States, Episcopal orders in, 485
United synods, 726
Ursinus, on Syncretism, 725
Usuard, martyrology of, 447
Utilitarianism, 634
Utrecht, Jansenist Archiepiscopal See of, 363
Utrecht, synod of, 364

Vaughan, on universal redemption, 778
Vendidad, 222
Vessels, sacred, ablution of, 2
Vicar-general, office of, 524
Victor, Hugh Saint, theology of, 747
Villemaind, on Monks, 488
Vincent of Lerins, rule of, on tradition, 116
Viret, on Deism, 190
Virgil's prediction of Christ, 699
Virgin, Blessed, Assumption of, 55
Virgin, the Blessed, moral instrument of the Incarnation, 441, 451
Virgin, Blessed, sanctity of the, 329
Virgin Mary, personal history of the Blessed, 449
Virgin Mary, present condition of, 452
Virgin Mary, theory of her mediatorial position, 453
Virginity, perpetual, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 562
Virginia, colonization of, 483
Vision, Beatific, the final state of blessedness, 81
Visible Church, the, 129
Vocation, a name for mission, 480
Voet, on causes of Atheism, 58

Waldo, Peter, account of, 800
Walton, Christopher, on theosophy, 752
Waterland, on the Divinity of Christ, 43, n.
Wesley, John, account of, 465
Wesley, on the progress of Methodism, 466
Wesley, on separation from the Church, 467
Wesley, on the use of the Prayer Book, 469
Wesleyans, enthusiasm of the, 240
Western Church, Christology of, 124
Western Church, imposition of celibacy in, 118
Western Church, its forms of benediction, 82
Whately, Archbp., on miracles, 475
Whewell, on conscience, 147
Whitby, council at, 492
Wicked, nature of their punishment, 181
Wickliffe, teaching of, 428
Will, faith partly of the, 267
Will, free, 289
Wilberforce, on the sacrifice of Christ, 460
Williams, Archbishop, on excommunication, 265
Williams, on Mariolatry in the Greek Church, 442
Wilson, Daniel, summary of Evangelicalism, 257
Woman, creation of, 90
Women, purification of, 603
Woolston and Deism, 194
Worms, edict of, 69
Worship, fetish, 631
Worship, subjective, 521
Worship, objective, 521
Worship of Christ, 207
Worship of images, 326
Written word, the, 805

Xenophon, on tithes, 755, n.

Zinzendorf, Count, account of, 496
Zohar, book of, 96
Zonaras, on anathema, 19
Zoroaster and the Cabbala, 98
Zoroaster and Dualism, 221

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